

VOLUME 1.

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# CONTENTS

## PART I

- [1. The New Inquisitors – Heretical Scientists Purged from Academia](#)
- [2. The Rivkin Project: How Globalism Uses Multiculturalism to Subvert Sovereign Nations](#)
- [3. Apartheid: Lest We Forget \(Or Never Knew\)](#)
- [4. Breaking the Bondage of Interest – A Right Answer to Usury](#)
- [5. Marx Contra Marx: A Traditionalist Conservative Critique of The Communist Manifesto](#)

## PART II

- [6. Roots of the Present World Conflict – Zionist Machinations and Western Duplicity During World War I](#)
- [7. Wall Street and the March 1917 Russian Revolution](#)
- [8. Wall Street and the November 1917 Bolshevik Revolution](#)
- [9. Lessons From America's Intervention in Russia 1918-1920](#)
- [10. Stalin's Fight Against International Communism](#)
- [11. The Moscow Trials in Historical Context](#)
- [12. Trotsky, Stalin & The Cold War: The Historic Implication & Continuing Ramifications of the Trotsky-Stalin Conflict](#)
- [13. Joe McCarthy & the Establishment Bolsheviks](#)
- [14. A Contemporary Evaluation of Francis Parker Yockey](#)

## PART III

- [15. German Nationalist Jews During the Weimar and Early Third Reich Era](#)
- [16. Myth of the Big Business - Nazi Axis](#)
- [17. Religion, Mysticism and the Myth of the “Occult Reich”](#)
- [18. The Yockey-Thompson Campaign against Post-War Vengeance](#)
- [19. Reductio ad Hitlerum as a Social Evil](#)
- [20. Historical Revisionism and 'Relativizing the Holocaust'](#)
- [21. The Symbiosis Between Anti-Semitism and Zionism](#)

## PART IV

- [22. Wagner as Metapolitical Revolutionary](#)
- [23. Oswald Spengler: May 29, 1880 – May 8, 1936](#)
- [24. Aleister Crowley as Political Theorist](#)
- [25. Lenin](#)
- [26. Gabriele D'Annunzio](#)
- [27. Filippo Marinetti](#)
- [28. Ezra Pound](#)
- [29. William Joyce](#)
- [30. Nelson Mandela: Another False God](#)
- [31. Mikhail Gorbachev: Globalist Super-star](#)
- [32. Václav Havel: The “Inner Enemy”](#)

1.

## **THE NEW INQUISITORS: HERETICAL SCIENTISTS PURGED FROM ACADEMIA**

The Stalin and Hitler regimes were both noted for their repression of scientists and intellectuals who did not toe their respective party lines.

Many Left-wing academics, centered on the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory, were sponsored to leave Germany and emigrate to the US, where they took over the social sciences and created a virtual totalitarianism of their own in American academia.<sup>1</sup> This has often been referred to as “cultural Marxism” but has come to be popularly termed “Political Correctness.”<sup>2</sup> Ironically, those who fled a totalitarian regime laid the foundations for a system that is intolerant of views that do not accord with their central dogma, namely that man is shaped by environment rather than genes and is thus infinitely malleable; therefore, all men are potentially equal.

Essentially the same position was insisted upon in the USSR, to the extent that Mendelian genetics was banned as heretical and replaced by the neo-Lamarckian doctrine of a charlatan, Trofim Lysenko, an obscure plant breeder from Odessa who almost brought Soviet agriculture to collapse by his insistence that new strains of crops

could be created by environmental conditioning. Lysenko claimed that one species of wheat could be converted to another by subjecting it to external influences, a process he called “vernalization.” Thereby, winter wheat could be transformed into spring wheat by subjecting it to cold, which would shock it into germinating another variety. Those Soviet scientists who rejected Lysenko’s ideas were removed from their positions. In 1940 N. I. Vavilov, first president of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, whose team proved that Lysenko’s notions on wheat breeding were fallacious, was arrested, and he died of a heart attack in solitary confinement in 1943. Mendelian genetics was smeared as “Nazi,” and the Seventh International Congress of Genetics, which was to be held in Moscow in 1937, was cancelled.<sup>3</sup>

### **Western Repression**

Nonetheless, while the USSR eventually freed itself from the Lysenko dogma, its Western equivalent, the cultural anthropology of Franz Boas<sup>4</sup> *et al.*, and the sociology of the Frankfurt School of Theodor Adorno, *et al.*<sup>5</sup> has remained dominant in Western academia. Those who challenge these dogmas are smeared and purged.

Repression of heretical scientists in the West might be more subtle (but not invariably so), such as the denial of funds if research does not accord with orthodoxy. It was the imposition of such biases in funding that prompted the formation of the Pioneer Fund in New York in 1937, “to advance the scientific study of heredity and human differences,” by providing grants to institutions for specific studies that are unable to obtain money from “government sources or from larger foundations.” Recipients have included H. J. Eysenck, Arthur Jensen, William Shockley, Ernest van der Haag, and J. Philippe Rushton.<sup>6</sup> Most or all of these scientists have been subjected to verbal and physical assaults for their research in a situation that shows that the bounds of scholarly inquiry in the West are very limited. The Pioneer Fund comments on this situation:

*Some of those who strongly oppose behavior genetic and psychometric research have sometimes made bizarre and false charges against scientists who conduct these studies, subjecting them to harassment, including dismissal and threats of*

*dismissal, stalled promotions, mob demonstrations, and threats of physical violence, even death. Some physical attacks have actually occurred. These politically motivated attacks on the Pioneer Fund and its grantees are documented in *The New Know-Nothings* by Morton Hunt, and *Race, Intelligence and Bias in Academe* by Roger Pearson.<sup>7</sup>*

The following are some examples of scientists who have endured the stigma of heresy.

### **William Shockley**

Shockley, a Nobel Prize-winning physicist, applied science to the question of Negro and Caucasian IQ discrepancies and supported eugenics. Hence the great scientist suddenly became a “broken genius.”<sup>8</sup> Dr. Shockley was reduced to appearing at lectures holding a placard upon which he wrote a couple of basic points about race and IQ, or writing a few points on a blackboard, as frenzied Leftists did not give him the opportunity to speak.<sup>9</sup> Ed Brayton,<sup>10</sup> a liberal commentator who agreed that Shockley should have been opposed, yet was troubled by some of the methods, wrote:

*After he won the Nobel Prize he became interested in eugenics and became one of the leading voices of racism in the US. Wherever he went, he was the object of fierce protests – as well he should have been.*

*But in many places those protests did not merely register their disagreement and disgust with Shockley’s views, they also tried – and often succeeded – in preventing him from speaking. They did this in a variety of ways, from drowning him out with bullhorns to storming the stage to intimidating the groups that invited him to withdraw their invitation. This was especially true on college campuses.*

*. . . In 1973, Shockley was invited to speak at Staten Island Community College but was unable to do so because a group of students, predominately white, made it impossible for him to be heard.*

*. . . The following year, Shockley was scheduled to debate Roy Innis of the Congress on Racial Equality at Yale. Once again, protesters managed to*

*prevent the event from being held. The head of the Progressive Labor Party at Yale declared freedom of speech to be a “nice abstract idea used to enable people like Shockley to spread racism.” A local minister in New Haven called for a demonstration to take place that would be “as peaceful as possible and as violent as necessary” to prevent Shockley from speaking.*

*With such threats of violence and disruption, the Yale Political Union decided to withdraw the invitation to take part in the debate. A second campus group stepped in to extend an invitation, but they too ended up withdrawing under the intimidation of threats of violence from those on campus. A third potential sponsor likewise withdrew under pressure, and the debate never took place.<sup>11</sup>*

### **Frank Ellis**

A lecturer in Russian and Slavic studies at Leeds University, Ellis was pushed into early retirement in 2006 after being suspended earlier that year, pending disciplinary proceedings. He had opined that Black IQ scores are lower, surely a matter that is not in contention, regardless of the reasons. Ellis’ heresy is that he had stated in a BBC 5 Live interview<sup>12</sup> that he supported the views in the book *The Bell Curve*,<sup>13</sup> by eminent American psychologists Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray.<sup>14</sup> Ellis had expressed private views that had not been associated with Leeds University, stating that he had become interested in the way issues are suppressed after studying Soviet and post-Soviet regimes.

Leeds University Secretary Roger Gair said that Ellis had the right to express his opinions but not the right to discriminate against students and colleagues, although the latter was never in question. Ellis’ harassment by the University seems to have been a matter of acceding to Left-wing troglodytes.

### **James Watson**

The co-discoverer of the molecular structure of DNA, for which he jointly won a Nobel Prize in 1962, Watson was, at the age of 79, harassed into a publicly



humiliating retraction after stating that Black Africans lack creative intelligence. In an apology reminiscent of Galileo's apology to the Inquisition for his comments about heliocentricity, Watson stated:

*I am mortified about what has happened. More importantly, I cannot understand how I could have said what I am quoted as having said. I can certainly understand why people, reading those words, have reacted in the ways they have. To all those who have drawn the inference from my words that Africa, as a continent, is somehow genetically inferior, I can only apologize unreservedly. That is not what I meant. More importantly from my point of view, there is no scientific basis for such a belief.*<sup>15</sup>

Despite his back-peddling, London Science Museum cancelled a sold-out lecture Watson was to give. The Federation of American Scientists said it was outraged that Watson "chose to use his unique stature to promote personal prejudices that are racist, vicious and unsupported by science." Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory, Long Island, New York, removed Watson as Chancellor.

Yet while Dr. Watson took fright and claimed he could not understand how he made such a statement, he had not long previously written in his autobiography:

*There is no firm reason to anticipate that the intellectual capacities of peoples geographically separated in their evolution should prove to have evolved identically. Our wanting to reserve equal powers of reason as some universal heritage of humanity will not be enough to make it so.*<sup>16</sup>

His latter views are consistent with Watson's political evolution. Starting as a Leftist professor at Harvard, where he was among the faculty who declared themselves for America's withdrawal from Vietnam,<sup>17</sup> Watson rejected the Left because of its fundamental opposition to the genetic foundations of human behaviour. He stated in 2007: "I turned against the left wing because they don't like genetics, because genetics implies that sometimes in life we fail because we have bad genes. They want all failure in life to be due to the evil system."<sup>18</sup>

Francis Crick, another of the three Nobel Laureates who discovered the DNA double-helix, had expressed views similar to those of Watson. Crick was combative,

and during the controversy of American psychologist Arthur Jensen's paper in the *Harvard Educational Review* on IQ differences among races, Crick threatened to resign as a Foreign Associate of the American National Academy of Sciences if steps were taken to "suppress reputable scientific research for political reasons." He supported the research of both Shockley and Jensen.<sup>19</sup> Crick's correspondence<sup>20</sup> shows he had a significant interest in eugenics and the question of IQ heritability. For example he wrote to Dr. John T. Edsall of the Fogarty International Center, National Institutes of Health, in discussing Shockley and Jensen, that:

*As to your point about the I. Q. results on American Indians being mainly due to their cultural tradition, this may be so, but personally I doubt it. How do you explain the relatively poor I. Q. performance of the children of middle-class American Negroes?*<sup>21</sup>

In particular in 1969 in a talk on the "Social Impact of Biology," broadcast in shorted version by the BBC, Crick stated, as he described it to Lord Snow:

*As far as I remember I said that the biological evidence was that all men were not created equal, and it would not only be difficult to try to do this, but biologically undesirable. As an aide I said that the evidence for the equality of different races did not really exist. In fact, what little evidence there was suggested racial differences.*<sup>22</sup>

Hence, when poor old Watson was stating that he did not know of anything in science that would induce him to believe that IQ differences were inherited, we may read this in the same light as Galileo's retraction to Inquisition.

### **Chris Brand**

Brand lectured in psychology at Edinburgh University for nearly thirty years (1970–1997). During the 1980s he served on the UK's Council for National Academic Awards. His book *The g Factor* was published in 1996 where he stated that there are inherited differences in IQ between races.

As a result of his views in *The g Factor*, Brand's lectures were disrupted by the

Trotskyite-run Anti-Nazi League, in typical Trotsky-Troglodyte manner, and his book was withdrawn by John Wiley and Sons. Hence the merits of scholarship were – again – determined by thuggery.

After a complaint from the Chaplain of Edinburgh University, who was a supporter of the riotous Anti-Nazi League, Brand was suspended then dismissed for bringing the university into “disrepute,” that is, discussing issues that fall outside the *de facto* limitations of inquiry imposed on academia by intellectually-questionable, politically-motivated, self-serving “elites.”

After his removal from Edinburgh University, Brand ended up working as a waiter during 1998–1999 (while he was also Director of the California-based Institute for the Study of Educational Differences), which seems reminiscent of the way Germany’s intelligentsia became menial laborers under the post-1945 process of “de-Nazification.” Brand writes in summation:

*The case was to go before a Scottish Employment Tribunal in 1999; but Edinburgh University offered a settlement of the maximum that any UK court could have offered for “unfair dismissal,” saying it was paying out “to prevent the airing of Brand’s opinions and views at public expense” (Times Higher 5 xi ‘99, p. 2) – a surprising attitude for a university. I accepted this settlement since to have proceeded to a trial would probably have been deemed “frivolous” by the Tribunal and put me at risk of paying what would have been the University’s enormous costs.<sup>23</sup>*

The real reason for Brand’s removal from Edinburgh was his book *The g Factor*. The circumstances include the following:

*Despite very favourable reviews (e.g. in ‘Nature’), “The ‘g’ Factor” fell foul of “political correctness” about race and IQ. In press interviews, Brand freely agreed there was a Black-White IQ difference, that the difference was substantially genetic, and that he was (qua supporter of the London School) what Kamin et al. had for years been allowed to call a “scientific racist” — or a “race realist.” On April 17, 1996, “The ‘g’ Factor” was withdrawn as ‘repellent’ by Wiley & Sons (New York and Chichester). Wiley followed up their*

*modern version of censorship by refusing to publish a new book on 'g' by Berkeley's Emeritus Professor Arthur Jensen — a proposal which Wiley had had under consideration for nine months.*<sup>24</sup>

So much for the credibility of Wiley as a scholarly publisher. As for Edinburgh University, Principal Sir Stewart Sutherland felt obliged to emphasize to the media that he regarded Brand's research as "false and personally obnoxious."<sup>25</sup> The methodology of the inquisitors in academia is to meet any challenge with moral outrage not counter-evidence. They are often backed up by inane commentary from the news media and the delirious antics of the Western equivalents of Mao's Red Guards.

### **Andrew Fraser**

A lecturer in law at Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia, Fraser was prevented from teaching after having written a letter to the local press criticising immigration from Black Africa.<sup>26</sup> For this crime against humanity, "University vice-chancellor Professor Di Yerbury responded with a three-page memo to staff announcing that Professor Fraser would not teach until further notice . . ." <sup>27</sup> A report in *The Weekend Australian* stated:

*Professor Fraser yesterday rejected an offer by the university to buy out his contract and launched a bitter attack on Vice-Chancellor Di Yerbury, describing her as an "intellectual coward." Professor Yerbury responded by suspending Professor Fraser from teaching, citing a report in The Australian yesterday in which he claimed a group called Smash Racism was planning to disrupt his classes. . . . "We have a duty to act decisively to protect his safety and that of others on campus," she said. Professor Yerbury told The Weekend Australian late yesterday that she would seek legal advice if he made further unauthorized public statements. . . . Yerbury said she was not bothered by Professor Fraser's personal attack on her. "I will wear that as a badge of honour," she said. "I made the apology because I was distressed and ashamed he had associated the university with views which so fundamentally*

*contravened its position.*”<sup>28</sup>

Two points here: (1) Apparently writing the letter to a suburban newspaper should have first been approved by the university; (2) Again the inquisitors in academia work in tandem with sociopathic Marxist rioters to repress freedom of expression and inquiry.

In September 2005, the law journal of Deakin University was directed not to publish Professor Fraser’s peer-reviewed paper “Rethinking the White Australia Policy.”<sup>29</sup>

### **Nicholas Kollerstrom**

A physicist and historian of science specialising in astronomy, Kollerstrom was an honorary research fellow in Science and Technology Studies at University College London (UCL). In 2008 his fellowship was terminated after he had written articles for the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) critiquing aspects of Auschwitz the previous year. Dr. Kollerstrom appears to be a left-liberal belonging to the Green and Respect parties and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, but that did not save him. A press release from UCL curtly stated:

*UCL has been made aware of views expressed by Dr. Nicholas Kollerstrom, an Honorary Research Fellow in UCL Science & Technology Studies.*

*The position of Honorary Research Fellow is a privilege bestowed by departments within UCL on researchers with whom it wishes to have an association. It is not an employed position.*

*The views expressed by Dr. Kollerstrom are diametrically opposed to the aims, objectives and ethos of UCL, such that we wish to have absolutely no association with them or with their originator.*

*We therefore have no choice but to terminate Dr. Kollerstrom’s Honorary Research Fellowship with immediate effect.*<sup>30</sup>

According to *The London Jewish Chronicle*, there had also been disquiet at UCL

regarding Kollerstrom's "conspiracy theories" involving the 9/11 attacks, and other issues.<sup>31</sup> How these views impacted on Kollerstrom's credibility as a physicist has not been explained.

### **Greg Clydesdale**

Greg Clydesdale of Massey University,<sup>32</sup> New Zealand, was declared heretical in 2008 by Members of Parliament, the news media, the Race Relations Conciliator, and academia for having written a paper that documented the blatantly obvious: Polynesians are an economic underclass in an economy whose manufacturing base has long since been wrecked.

Pointing out with statistical data the continuing underachievement of Polynesians educationally and professionally is analogous to the boy who cried out "the emperor has no clothes." Yet, the head of the "Pasifika" department, Sione Tu'itahi, at Clydesdale's own university, castigated his colleague. The banal reaction was featured on Massey's website lest the university be mistaken as having endorsed empirical evidence rather than emotion-laden dogma on such matters.

Furthermore, the university demonstrated its malice against Dr. Clydesdale, commenting: "Massey University has welcomed the announcement by Race Relations Conciliator Joris de Bres that he will investigate Dr. Clydesdale's report. It is expected that several Massey academics and other staff will be pleased to participate in any review."<sup>33</sup>

Dr. Clydesdale was obliged to forego the presentation of his paper to an academic conference on economic development in Brazil: New Zealand's false image as a multicultural utopia could not be exposed to the outside world, any more than negative aspects of life behind the Iron Curtain could be exposed to outside scrutiny.

\* \* \*

Several decades ago Wilmot Robertson, a scholar of the Right and author of *The*

*Dispossessed Majority*, had a regular feature in his magazine, *Instauration*, entitled “Cultural Catacombs.” In the dark age of this civilization the catacombs seem to be where real scholars will be increasingly driven.

An alternative was offered by another genuine scholar, Dr. Clyde N. Wilson:

*I fear that the academic situation is here the same as you describe it there—corrupt and substandard. It is normal to complain about the reign of Political Correctness, but not enough attention has been given to the sheer incompetence and lack of genuine scholarly vocation among the professoriate today. I see no remedy for the universities except unlikely revolution. The fact is that all genuine intellectual life for the foreseeable future will have to take place outside the formal institutions.*<sup>34</sup>

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- 18 - *Esquire Magazine*, October 19 2007, <http://www.esquire.com/features/what-ive-learned/ESQ0107jameswatson>
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- 20 - See: <http://profiles.nlm.nih.gov/ps/browse/ResourceBrowse/CID/SC/p-sort/chron/TYPE>
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## 2.

# **THE RIVKIN PROJECT: HOW GLOBALISM USES MULTICULTURALISM TO SUBVERT SOVEREIGN NATIONS**

During October 19-22, 2010, Charles Rivkin, US Ambassador to France, invited a 29-member delegation from the Pacific Council on International Policy (PCIP) to a conference in France, the stated purpose of which was to discuss Arab and Islamic relations in the country.<sup>1</sup> The meeting was part of a far-reaching subversive agenda to transform that entire character of France and in particular the consciousness of French youth, which includes the use of France's Muslim youth in a typically manipulative globalist strategy behind the usual façade of “human rights” and “equality.”

### **Globalist Delegation at US Embassy**

The PCIP report states of the conference:

*...The delegation further focused on three key themes. First, the group examined Franco-Muslim issues in France through exchanges with Dr. Bassma Kodmani,*

*Director of the Arab Reform Institute, and Ms. Rachida Dati, the first female French cabinet member of North African origin and current Mayor of the 7th Arrondissement in Paris. A trip to the Grand Mosque of Paris and a meeting with the Director of Theology and the Rector there provided additional insight. Second, meetings with Mr. Jean-Noel Poirier, the Vice President of External Affairs at AREVA (a highly innovative French energy company), and with Mr. Brice Lalonde, climate negotiator and former Minister of the Environment, highlighted energy and nuclear policy issues and the differences between U.S. and French policies in these arenas. And finally, the delegation explored the connections between media and culture in California (Hollywood) and France in meetings at the Louvre, the Musee D'Orsay, and at FRANCE 24 – the Paris-based international news and current affairs channel.<sup>2</sup>*

The over-riding concern seems to have been on matters of a multicultural dimension, including not only Arab and Islamic relations in France, but perhaps more importantly in the long term, a discussion on the impact of Hollywood “culture” on the French.

The USA has long played a duplicitous game of “fighting terrorism” of an “Islamic” nature as one of the primary elements of its post-Cold War stratagem of manufactured permanent crises, while using “radical Islam” for its own purposes, the well-known examples being: (1) supporting Bin Laden in the war against Russia in Afghanistan; (2) backing Saddam Hussein in the war against Iran; (3) supporting the Kosovo Liberation Army in ousting the Serbs from mineral-rich Kosovo, the KLA having been miraculously transformed from being listed by the US State Department as a “terrorist organization,” to becoming “freedom fighters.”

When US globalists pose as friends of Muslims, the latter should sup with the Great Shaitan with an exceedingly long spoon.

### **What is the Pacific Council on International Policy?**

The PCIP, of which Rivkin is a member, was founded in 1995 as a regional appendage of the omnipresent globalist think tank, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR),<sup>3</sup> It is headquartered in Los Angeles, but “with members and activities

throughout the West Coast of the United States and internationally.” Corporate funding comes from, among others:

Carnegie Corporation of New York

Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

City National Bank

The Ford Foundation

Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation

The William & Flora Hewlett Foundation

Rockefeller Brothers Fund

The Rockefeller Foundation

United States Institute of Peace <sup>4</sup>

The PCIP is therefore yet another big player in the globalist network comprising hundreds of interconnected organizations, lobbies, “civil society” groups, NGOs, and think tanks, associated the US Government, and with banks and other corporations. As usual, there is a conspicuous presence by Rockefeller interests, and the interesting character, Nicky Rockefeller, is a member, despite the insistence of some “skeptics” that he doesn’t actually exist.

### **Why France?**

France has long been a thorn in the side of US globalism because of its stubborn adherence to French interests around the world, rather than those of the manufactured “world community.” Despite Sarkozy, France is one of the few states left in Western Europe with the remnant of a national consciousness. The best way of destroying any such sentiment is to weaken the concepts of nationhood and nationality by means of promoting “multiculturalism.” Was it only a coincidence that the 1968 student revolt, sparked by the most puerile of reasons, occurred at a time both when the CIA was very active in funding student groups around the world, and when President De Gaulle was

giving the USA a lot of trouble? De Gaulle did little to play along with American's post-war plans. He withdrew France from NATO military command. Even during World War II as leader of the Free French, he was distrusted by the USA.<sup>5</sup> Of particular concern would have been De Gaulle's advocacy of a united Europe to counteract US hegemony.<sup>6</sup> In 1959 he stated at Strasbourg: "Yes, it is Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, it is the whole of Europe, that will decide the destiny of the world." The expression implied détente between a future neutralist Europe and the USSR. In 1967 he declared an arms embargo on Israel and cultivated the Arab world. This is the type of statesmanship that globalists fear. With the buffoonery of Sarkozy, and mounting tension with disaffected Muslim youth, a backlash could see an intransigently anti-globalist, "xenophobic" regime come to power. In today's context, what better way now to subvert French nationalism and head-off any potential to revive as an anti-globalist force, than to use France's large, unassimilated Islamic component, just as the Bolshevik revolution was undertaken to a significant extent by the disaffected minorities of the Russian Empire?

Of interest also is the interest of the PCIP delegation in the influence of Hollywood on French culture. This might seem at first glance to be an odd concern. However Hollywood, as the symbol of international cultural excrescence, is an important factor in globalization, in what amounts to a world culture-war. Ultimately the goal of globalism is not to promote the survival of ethnic cultures and identities, but rather to submerge them into one big melting pot of global consumerism, to uproot every individual from an identity and heritage and replace that with the global shopping mall, and the "global village." Therefore multiculturalism should be viewed as the antithesis of what it is understood as being. So far from the global corporates wanting to promote so-called multiculturalism in terms of assuring the existence of a *multiplicity of cultures*, as the term implies; it is to the contrary part of a dialectical process whereby under the facade of humane ideals, peoples of vastly different heritage are moved across the world like pawns on a chess board. It is an example of Orwellian "doublethink."<sup>7</sup> It is notable that the instigators of the "velvet revolutions" now sweeping North Africa and reaching into Iran are largely "secularized" youths without strong traditional roots. Similarly, the best way to solve France's ethnic

conflicts and to assure that France does not re-emerge again to confront US/globalist interests, is to dialectically create a new cultural synthesis where there is neither a French culture nor an Islamic culture, but under the banner of “human rights” and “equality,” a globalist youth-based culture nurtured by Hollywood, MTV, cyberspace, MacDonald’s and Pepsi. That this is more than hypothesis is indicated in the manner by which the secular youth revolts now taking place in North Africa have been spawned by an alliance of corporate interests, sponsored by the US State Department and sundry NGOs such as Freedom House.<sup>8</sup> The North African “revolutionaries” are just the type of “Muslim” that the globalists prefer; spawned and nurtured with the cyber-consumer mentality.

So what are Rivkin and the US State Department up to in France, that they should be so interested in the place of Hollywood and of Muslims in the country?

### **The Rivkin Project for Subverting French Youth**

That year (2010), when Rivkin had invited a delegation of fellow PCIP members to France, he had outlined a program for the Americanization of France that primarily involved the use of the Muslim minorities and the indoctrination of French youth with corporate globalist ideals. The slogan invoked was the common commitment France and America historically had to “equality.” Wikileaks released the “confidential” Rivkin program. It is entitled “Minority Engagement Strategy.”<sup>9</sup> Here, Rivkin outlines a program that is a far-reaching interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign nation and, more profoundly, seeks to change the attitudes of generations of Muslim and French youth so that they might be merged into a new globalist synthesis; or what might be called a new humanity: *Homo economicus*, or what the financial analyst G Pascal Zachary calls “The Global Me,”<sup>10</sup> to achieve what Rivkin describes as USA’s “national interests.” Rivkin begins by stating that his Embassy has created a “Minority Engagement Strategy,” that is directed at Muslims in France. Rivkin states as part of the program: “...We will also integrate the efforts of various Embassy sections, target influential leaders among our primary audiences, and evaluate both tangible and intangible indicators of the success of our strategy.”<sup>11</sup>

Rivkin is confident that France's history of ideological liberalism "will serve us well as we implement the strategy outlined here... in which we press France...." Note the phrase: "press France". America's global agenda is linked by Rivkin to his blueprint for transferring France into "a thriving, inclusive French polity [that] will help advance our interests in expanding democracy and increasing stability worldwide." The program will focus on the "elites" of the French and the Muslim communities, but will also involve a massive propaganda campaign directed at the "general population," with a focus on the young.

The program also includes redefining French history in the school curricula to give attention to the role of non-French minorities in French history. It means that the Pepsi/MTV generation of Americans and their mentors in academe will be formulating new definitions of French culture and writing new pages of French history to accord with globalist agendas. Towards this end: "...we will continue and intensify our work with French museums and educators to reform the history curriculum taught in French schools."

"Tactic Number Three" is entitled: "Launch Aggressive Youth Outreach." As in other states targeted by the US State Department and their allies at the Soros network, Freedom House, Movement.org, National Endowment for Democracy, Solidarity Center,<sup>12</sup> and so forth; disaffected youth are the focus for change. Leading the charge on this effort, the Ambassador's inter-agency Youth Outreach Initiative aims to "engender a positive dynamic among French youth that leads to greater support for U.S. objectives and values." Can the intentions be stated any plainer? It is Americanization culturally and politically. It is here that we can most easily get past the cant and see what is behind the strategy: to form a generation "that leads to greater support for U.S. objectives and values" (sic). These "U.S. objectives and values" will be sold to the French as "French values" on the basis of the bourgeoisie ideals of 1789 which continue to encumber French ideology on both Left and Right. The young French will be taught to think that they are upholding French traditions, rather than acting as the useful idiots of Americanization, and concomitant banality of the global shopping mall. A far-reaching program incorporating a variety of indoctrination methods is outlined:

*To achieve these aims, we will build on the expansive Public Diplomacy programs already in place at post, and develop creative, additional means to influence the youth of France, employing new media, corporate partnerships, nationwide competitions, targeted outreach events, especially invited U.S. guests.<sup>13</sup>*

The program directed at youth in France is similar to that directed at the youth that formed the vanguard of the “velvet revolutions” from Eastern Europe to North Africa. Potential leaders are going to be taken up by the US State Department in France and cultivated to play a part in the future France of American design:

*We will also develop new tools to identify, learn from, and influence future French leaders.*

*As we expand training and exchange opportunities for the youth of France, we will continue to make absolutely certain that the exchanges we support are inclusive.*

*We will build on existing youth networks in France, and create new ones in cyberspace, connecting France’s future leaders to each other in a forum whose values we help to shape — values of inclusion, mutual respect, and open dialogue.<sup>14</sup>*

Here Rivkin is advocating something beyond influencing Muslims in France. He is stating that a significant part of the program will be directed towards cultivating French youth, the potential leaders, in “American” ideals, under the façade of French ideals. The US State Department and their corporate allies and allied NGOs intend to “shape their values.” The globalist program for France is stated clearly enough to be the re-education of French youth. One would think that this is the most important role of the French Government, the Catholic Church and the family; the latter two in particular.

As in the states that are chosen for “velvet revolutions” part of the strategy includes demarcating acceptable political boundaries. As Hillary Clinton recently stated in regard to the type of state the US Establishment expects to emerge after Qaddafi, the new Libya should be an “inclusive democracy,” open to all opinions, as

long as those opinions include a commitment to “equality” and “democracy;” in other words, there must be a new dispensation of freedom in Libya, so long as that freedom does not extend beyond America’s definition of it. And if someone oversteps the lines of acceptable democracy, there are American bombs on the standby. In the context of France, however, it is clear that the demarcation of French politics according to globalist dictates cannot include any elements of so-called “xenophobia,” (sic) which in today’s context would include a return to the grand politics of the De Gaulle era. Hence, “Tactic 5” states:

*Fifth, we will continue our project of sharing best practices with young leaders in all fields, including young political leaders of all moderate parties so that they have the toolkits and mentoring to move ahead. We will create or support training and exchange programs that teach the enduring value of broad inclusion to schools, civil society groups, bloggers, political advisors, and local politicians.*<sup>15</sup>

Rivkin is outlining a program to train France’s future political and civic leaders. While the programs of US Government-backed NGOs such as the National Endowment for Democracy are designed to develop entire programs and strategies for political parties in “emerging democracies” (sic), this can be rationalized by stating that there is a lack of experience in liberal-democratic party politics in certain states. The same can hardly be used to justify America’s interference in France’s party politics. Towards this end Rivkin states that the 1000 American English language teachers employed at French schools will be provided with the propaganda materials necessary to inculcate the desired ideals into their French pupils: “We will also provide tools for teaching tolerance to the network of over 1,000 American university students who teach English in French schools every year.” The wide-ranging program will be co-ordinated by the “Minority Working Group” in “tandem” with the “Youth Outreach Initiative.” One of the issues monitored by the Group will be the “decrease in popular support for xenophobic political parties and platforms.” This is to ensure that the program is working as it should, to block the success of any “extreme” or “xenophobic” party that might challenge globalization.

Rivkin clarifies the subversive nature of the program when stating: “While we



could never claim credit for these positive developments, we will focus our efforts in carrying out activities, described above, that prod, urge and stimulate movement in the right direction.”

What would the reaction be if the French Government through its Embassy in Washington undertook a program to radically change the USA in accordance with “French national interests,” inculcating through an “aggressive outreach program” focusing on youth, “French ideals” under the guise of “American ideals on human rights?” What would be the response of the US Administration if it was found that the French Government was trying to influence the attitudes of Afro-Americans, American-Indians, and Latinos? What if French officials were ordered to take every opportunity to “press” US officials to ask why there are not more American Indians in Government positions? What would be the official US reaction if it were found that French language educators in American schools and colleges were trying to inculcate American pupils with ideas in the service of French interests, and to reshape attitudes towards in a pro-French direction in foreign policy? The hypothetical reaction can be deduced from the US response to the “Soviet conspiracy” when Senate and Congressional committees were set up to investigate anyone even vaguely associated with or accused of being aligned to the USSR. So what’s different? The USA perpetrates a subversive strategy in the interests of its globalist cooperate elite, instead of in the interests of the USSR or communism. It is not as though the USA has had much of a cultural heritage that it can present itself to any European nation, let alone France, as the paragon of good taste and artistic refinement upon which a national identity can be reconstructed in a dialectical process that requires cultural deconstruction.

### **The Role of Multiculturalism in the Globalist Agenda**

Many nefarious aims have been imposed under the banners of multiculturalism and associated slogans such as “equality” and “human rights.” Like the word “democracy,” used to justify the bombing of sundry states in recent history, these slogans often serve as rhetoric to beguile the well-intentioned while hiding the aims of

those motivated by little if anything other than power and greed. One might think of the manner by which the issue of the *Uitlanders* was agitated to justify the Anglo-Boer wars for the purpose of procuring the mineral wealth of South Africa for the benefit of Cecil Rhodes, Alfred Beit, et al. A similar issue was revived in our own time, under the name of “fighting apartheid,” and while the world was jubilant at the assumption to power of the ANC, the reality has been that while the Africans have not benefited materially an iota, the *parastatals* or state owned enterprises are being privatized so that they can be sold off to global capitalism. When the patriarch of South African capitalism, Harry Oppenheimer, whose family was a traditional foe of the Afrikaners, died in 2000 Nelson Mandela eulogized him thus: “His contribution to building partnership between big business and the new democratic government in that first period of democratic rule can never be appreciated too much.”[16] The “democracy” Oppenheimer and other plutocrats in tandem with the ANC, had delivered to South Africa is the freedom for global capital to exploit the country. Mandela stated the result of this “long march to freedom” in 1996: “Privatization is the fundamental policy of the ANC and will remain so.”<sup>17</sup>

It is the same outcome for South Africa that was achieved by the “liberation” of Kosovan minerals in the name of “democracy” and in the name of the rights of Muslims under Serb rule, while other Muslims under their own rule are bombed into submission by the USA and its allies. In commenting on the privatization of the Johannesburg municipal water, which is now under the French corporation Suez Lyonnaise Eaux, the ANC issued a statements declaring that: “Eskom is one of a host of government owned ‘parastatals’ created during the apartheid era which the democratically elected government has set out to privatize in a bid to raise money.”<sup>18</sup> The future of *parastatals* is more relevant to understating what happened in South Africa than the overthrow of apartheid; and provides a case study in the operations of globalism.

### **The Character of Global Capitalism**

The nature of the globalist dialectic has been explained particularly cogently by

Noam Chomsky:

*See, capitalism is not fundamentally racist – it can exploit racism for its purposes, but racism isn't built into it. Capitalism basically wants people to be interchangeable cogs, and differences among them, such as on the basis of race, usually are not functional. I mean, they may be functional for a period, like if you want a super exploited workforce or something, but those situations are kind of anomalous. Over the long term, you can expect capitalism to be anti-racist — just because it's anti-human. And race is in fact a human characteristic — there's no reason why it should be a negative characteristic, but it is a human characteristic. So therefore identifications based on race interfere with the basic ideal that people should be available just as consumers and producers, interchangeable cogs who will purchase all the junk that's produced — that's their ultimate function, and any other properties they might have are kind of irrelevant, and usually a nuisance.<sup>19</sup>*

### **France as a Social Laboratory for Globalization: Paris as a “Global City”**

The Rivkin offensive is the latest in a long-time program of undermining French identity. France is a dichotomy of cosmopolitanism as the result of its bourgeoisie revolution of 1789, while nonetheless maintaining a stubborn traditionalism and nationalism, which the globalists term “xenophobia.” It is manifested in even small ways such as the legal obligation of French public servants and politicians to only speak to foreign media in French, regardless of their knowledge of any other language; or the widespread resistance in France to McDonald's. France, like much of the rest of the world, is however fighting a losing battle against globalization. Jeff Steiner's column “Americans in France,” refers to the manner by which the French at one time resisted the opening of the American fast food franchise as “part of an American cultural invasion.” Steiner writes:

*...That seems to be past as McDonalds has so become a part of French culture that it's not seen as an American import any longer, but wholly French. In short, McDonalds has grown on the French just like in so many other countries.*

*I've been to a few McDonalds in France and, except for one in Strasbourg that looks from the outside to be built in the traditional Alsacien style, all McDonalds in France that I have seen look no different than their American counterparts.*

*Yes, there are those that still curse McDo (They are now a very small group and mostly ignored.) as the symbol of the Americanization of France and who also see it as France losing its uniqueness in terms of cuisine. The menu in a French McDonalds is almost an exact copy of what you would find in any McDonalds in the United States. It struck me as a bit odd that I could order as I would in the United States, that is in English, with the odd French preposition thrown in.*

*If truth were told, the French who eat at McDonalds are just as much at home there as any American could be.<sup>20</sup>*

This seemingly minor example is actually of much importance in showing just how a culture as strong as that of, until recently, an immensely proud nation, can succumb, especially under the impress of marketing towards youngsters. It is a case study *par excellence* of the standardization that American corporate culture entails. It is what the globalist elite desire on a world scale, right down to what one eats. It is notable that the vanguard of the initial resistance to the opening of McDonald's came from farmers, a traditionalist segment of Europe's population that are becoming increasingly anomalous, and will under the globalist regime become an extinct species in the process of agricultural corporatization.

Nonetheless, given France's historical role of maintaining sovereignty in the face of US interests, even in the current time with its opposition to the war against Iraq, France remains one of the few potentially annoying states in Europe. An added concern is that the French, despite their acceptance of McDonald's, and their liking for American trash TV, will translate the remnants of their "xenophobia" into the election to Office of a stridently anti-globalist party, as reflected in the electoral ups and downs of the Front National, whose policy would not be in accord with either US foreign policy, or with privatization and cultural Americanization. Hence the Front National, like other anti-globalist parties, can be attacked by red-herring slogans about "racism"

and “hate” to deflect from the real concern which is anti-globalization. This is a major reason for Rivkin’s far-reaching subversive and interventionist program to assimilate Muslims into French society, which in so doing would also have the result of fundamentally transforming French consciousness into a more thoroughly cosmopolitan mold. The intention is clear enough in the Rivkin Embassy documents where it is stated that the Embassy will monitor the effects of the “outreach” program on the “decrease in popular support for xenophobic political parties and platforms.”

R J Barnet and R E Müller in their study of the global corporation, *Global Reach*,<sup>21</sup> which was based on interviews with corporate executives, showed that the French business elite have long been seeking to undermine the foundations of French tradition. Jacques Maisonrouge, president of the IBM World Trade Corporation “likes to point out that; ‘Down with borders’, a revolutionary student slogan of the 1968 Paris university uprising – in which some of his children were involved – is also a welcome slogan at IBM.”<sup>22</sup> Maisonrouge stated that the “World Managers” (as Barnett and Muller call the corporate executives) believe they are making the world “smaller and more homogeneous.”<sup>23</sup> Maisonrouge approvingly described the global corporate executive as “the detribalized, international career men.”<sup>24</sup> It is this “detrribalization” that is the basis of a world consumer culture required to more efficiently create a world economy.

In the 1970s Howard Perlmutter and Hasan Ozekhan of the Wharton School of Finance Worldwide Institutions Programme prepared a plan for a “global city.” Paris was chosen for the purpose. Prof. Perlmutter was a consultant to global corporations. His plan was commissioned by the French Government planning agency on how best to make Paris a “global city.” Perlmutter predicted that cities would become “global cities” during the 1980s. For Paris this required “becoming less French” and undergoing “denationalization.” This, he said, requires a “psycho-cultural change of image with respect to the traditional impression of ‘xenophobia’ that the French seem to exclude.” The parallels with the current Rivkin program are apparent. Perlmutter suggested that the best way of ridding France of its nationalism was to introduce multiculturalism. He advocated “the globalization of cultural events” such as international rock festivals, as an antidote to “overly national and sometimes

nationalistic culture.”<sup>25</sup>

Is this aim of undermining France’s “overly national and sometimes nationalistic culture” the purpose of Rivkin’s interest in associations between Hollywood and French culture, as reported by the PCIP itself in regard to the delegation that met in France in 2010, when, “the delegation explored the connections between media and culture in California (Hollywood) and France.”<sup>26</sup> Rivkin knows the value of entertainment in transforming attitudes, especially among the young. After working as a corporate finance analyst at Salomon Brothers, Rivkin joined The Jim Henson Company in 1988 as director of strategic planning. Two years later, he was made vice president of the company. The Jim Henson Company, while producing the endearing characters of “Sesame Street,” had a social agenda directed at toddlers. The social engineering purpose becomes evident when one recalls that the production was funded by the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, and the US Office of Education. Lawrence Balter, professor of applied psychology at New York University, wrote of the production that it, “...introduced children to a broad range of ideas, information, and experiences about diverse topics such as death, cultural pride, race relations, people with disabilities, marriage, pregnancy, and even space exploration.” The series was the first to employ educational researchers, with the formation of a Research Department.<sup>27</sup> Of passing interest is that the Carnegie Corporation and the Ford Foundation are also patrons of the Pacific Council on International Policy. Whether one thinks that such methods aimed at pre-schoolers are laudable depends on one’s perspective, just as one might agree with the Rivkin program of inculcating French youth with globalist ideals in the service of “American interests.”

### **Creating the World Consumer: Homo Economicus: “The Global Me”**

As Chomsky has pointed out, global capitalism sees humanity in terms interchangeable cogs in the production and consumption cycle. The summit of corporate human evolution is transformation into “detrribalized, international career men” described enthusiastically by G Pascal Zachary, financial journalist, as being an “informal global aristocracy”, recruited over the world by the corporations, depending

totally on their companies and “little upon the larger public,” a new class unhindered by national, cultural or ethnic bonds.<sup>28</sup>

Barnett and Müller quoted Pfizer’s John J Powers as stating that global corporations are “agents for change, socially, economically and culturally.”<sup>29</sup> They stated that global executives see “irrational nationalism” as inhibiting “the free flow of finance capital, technology and goods on a global scale.” A crucial aspect of nationalism is that “differences in psychological and cultural attitudes, that complicate the task of homogenizing the earth into an integrated unit.... Cultural nationalism is also a serious problem because it threatens the concept of the Global Shopping Center.”<sup>30</sup>

It is this “cultural nationalism” which is described by Rivkin, and all other partisans of globalism, as “xenophobia,” unless that “xenophobia” can be marshaled in the service of a military adventure when bribes, embargoes and threats don’t bring a reticent state into line, as in the cases of Serbia, Iraq, and perhaps soon, Libya. Then the American globalist elite and their allies become “patriots,” but still don’t seem to do much combat.

Barnet and Müller cite A W Clausen when he headed the Bank of America, as stating that national, cultural and racial differences create “marketing problems”, lamenting that there is “no such thing as a uniform, global market.”<sup>31</sup> Harry Heltzer, Chief Executive Officer of 3M stated that global corporations are a “powerful voice for world peace because their allegiance is not to any nation, tongue, race or creed but to one of the finer aspirations of mankind, that the people of the world may be united in common economic purpose.”<sup>32</sup>

These “finer aspirations of mankind,” known in other quarters as greed, avarice, Mammon-worship... have despoiled the earth, caused economic imbalance, and operate on usury that was in better times regarded as sin. These “finer aspirations,” by corporate reckoning, have caused more wars than any “xenophobic” dictator, usually in the name of “world peace,” and “democracy.”

The Rivkin doctrine for France — which according to the leaked document, must be carried out in a subtle manner — is a far-reaching subversive program to

transform especially the young into global clones devoid of cultural identity, while proceeding, in the manner of Orwellian “doublethink” in the name of “multiculturalism.”

## Notes:

- 1 - “2010 France Country Dialogue,” PCIP, <http://www.pacificcouncil.org/page.aspx?pid=583>
- 2 - “2010 France Country Dialogue,” *ibid.*
- 3 - “Founded in 1995 in partnership with the Council on Foreign Relations,” PCIP, Governance, <http://www.pacificcouncil.org/page.aspx?pid=373>
- 4 - Corporate and Foundation funding: <http://www.pacificcouncil.org/page.aspx?pid=513>
- 5 - S Berthon, *Allies At War*, (London: Collins, 2001), p. 21.
- 6 - A Crawley, *De Gaulle* (London: The Literary Guild, 1969), p. 439.
- 7 - “The power of holding two contradictory beliefs in one’s mind simultaneously, and accepting both of them....” George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (London: Martin Secker and Warburg, 1949), Part 1, Ch. 3, p. 32
- 8 - K R Bolton, “Tweeters of the World Revolution: The Digital New-New Left,” *Foreign Policy Journal*, February 28, 2011, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2011/02/28/tweeters-of-the-world-revolution-the-digital-new-new-left/>
- Tony Cartalucci, “Google’s Revolution Factory – Alliance of Youth Movements: Color Revolution 2.0,” *Global Research*, February 23, 2011, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=23283>
- 9 - C Rivkin, “Minority Engagement Report,” US Embassy, Paris, <http://www.wikileaks.fi/cable/2010/01/10PARIS58.html>
- 10 - G Pascal Zachary, *The Global Me: Why Nations will Succeed or Fail in the Next Generation* (New South Wales, Australia: Allen and Unwin, 2000).
- 11 - C Rivkin, *op. cit.*
- 12 - K R Bolton, “The Globalist Web of Subversion,” *Foreign Policy Journal*, February 7, 2011, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2011/02/07/the-globalist-web-of-subversion>
- 13 - C Rivkin, *op. cit.*
- 14 - C Rivkin, *ibid.*
- 15 - C Rivkin, *ibid.*
- 16 - “Mandela honours ‘monumental’ Oppenheimer”, *The Star*, South Africa, August 21, 2000, [http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set\\_id=1&click\\_id=13&art\\_id=ct20000821001004683O150279](http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=13&art_id=ct20000821001004683O150279)
- 17 - Lynda Loxton, , “Mandela: We are going to Privatise,” *The Saturday Star*, May 25, 1996, p.1.
- 18 - ANC daily news briefing, June 27, 2001. See also “Eskom”, *ANC Daily News Briefing*, June 20, 2001, [70.84.171.10/~etools/newsbrief/2001/news0621.txt](http://70.84.171.10/~etools/newsbrief/2001/news0621.txt)
- 19 - Noam Chomsky, *Understanding Power: The Indispensable Chomsky* (New York: The New York Press, 2002), pp. 88-89.
- 20 - J Steiner, “Americans in France: Culture: McDonalds in France,” [http://www.americansinfrance.net/culture/mcdonalds\\_in\\_france.cfm](http://www.americansinfrance.net/culture/mcdonalds_in_france.cfm)
- 21 - R J Barnet and R E Müller, *Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporations* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974).
- 22 - R J Barnet and R E Müller, *Ibid.*, p. 19. For an update on Maisonrouge see: IBM, <http://www->



[03.ibm.com/ibm/history/exhibits/builders/builders\\_maisonrouge.html](http://03.ibm.com/ibm/history/exhibits/builders/builders_maisonrouge.html)

23 - Barnett & Müller, *ibid.*, p. 62.

24 - R J Barnet and R E Müller, *ibid.*

25 - R J Barnet and R E Müller, *ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

26 - "2010 France Country Dialogue," PCIP, *op. cit.*

27 - L Balter, *Parenthood in America: An Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 1 (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2000), p. 556.

28 - G Pascal Zachary, *The Global Me* (New South Wales: Allen & Unwin, 2000).

29 - Barnett & Müller, *op.cit.*, p. 31.

30 - Barnett & Müller, *ibid.*, p. 58.

31 - Barnett & Müller, *ibid.*

32 - Barnett & Müller, *ibid.*, p. 106.

3.

## **APARTHEID: LEST WE FORGET (OR NEVER KNEW)**

South Africa’s “architect of apartheid,” Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, and its leading opponent, mining magnate Harry Oppenheimer, both died in the month of September, albeit over three decades apart. It is an opportune time therefore to consider the legacies of the two, within the context of renewed agonizing over the 1981 Springbok Tour of New Zealand with a team here again, this time multiracial, for the Rugby World Cup.

New Zealand’s hosting of the Rugby World Cup provided an opportunity for what a little state does best: become loudly self-righteous. New Zealand’s civic religion is rugby – something shared with the Afrikaners. Among the teams coming to New Zealand were the Springbok. Since rugby is not really the Bantu sport of choice, the Springbok team appears to have one African and one or two “Coloureds” out of 23 players, with a Coloured head coach. As ironic as it seems to some, New Zealand has its own apartheid rugby team: the Maori All Blacks but, unsurprisingly, this does not offend the disciples of “racial equality” who work on the dictum “Everyone is equal, but some are more equal than others.”

## **New Zealand's Liberal Hand-Wringing**

As odd as it might seem to outsiders, New Zealand was brought as close to civil war as it is ever likely to be when the Springbok whites-only team toured New Zealand in July 1981. The National Government acted on the principle that the State should not interfere with sport, and most New Zealanders supported that. However, a cadre of Leftists and their liberal useful idiots were able to organize a large mob that for the first time included in the front ranks members of Maori and Polynesian gangs that had not hitherto been known for their political commitments. One suspects that it was the opportunity to battle with the police rather than any comradely feelings for Africans that motivated these gang members.

For years a protest movement called Halt All Racist Tours (HART) had focused on disrupting sporting events that included South African teams. Not surprisingly they were heartily hated by the majority of sports-obsessed New Zealanders.

Of course, virtually all New Zealanders who supported the Springbok tour claimed to do so solely because “sport and politics don’t mix,” and they would be petrified by any accusations of “supporting apartheid.” Hence most of those who supported sporting relations with South Africa did so from a defensive position.

So far as the “silent majority” could be said to have organized on this issue there were a few groups whose tactics were typically genteel; primarily the War Against Recreational Disruption (WARD) whose founder, Robert Fenton, became a National Party Member of Parliament, albeit confined to the backbenches.

The most active on the “Right,” which did not flinch from supporting apartheid, were the New Zealand Southern Africa Friendship Association, led by Lt. Col. Sam Elderton and Major Barry Wilcox, the latter having served in Kenya during the Mau Mau insurgency, while Elderton had served the Raj. There was also the Association Defending South African Tours (ADSAT), a small group of Christchurch activists led by Brian Thompson who had ca. 1969 co-founded a New Zealand branch of the newly formed British National Front. Ironically, the only politician to forthrightly defend apartheid *per se*, was a Maori Mormon, the Hon. Ben Couch, who was promptly told

to shut up by his Caucus.

When the Springboks arrived in New Zealand in 1981, such was the civil disobedience, the violence, and the vandalism, including the invasion of sporting venues, and the buzzing of a rugby field by a light plane, by the anti-apartheid movement, that it is widely regarded as having severely demoralized the Afrikaners and led in significant measure to them eventually voting themselves out of authority and into the present quagmire.

The anti-apartheid movement mobilized thousands of mostly liberal New Zealanders, who marched behind a vanguard donning motorbike helmets and wooden shields, confronting the thin blue line at every rugby match throughout New Zealand. The following is a description of this. Please note that it comes not from the nutter Left but from a website sponsored by the Ministry of Culture & Heritage, and is representative of the type of banality posing as history, that is particularly utilized by schools<sup>1</sup>:

*The 1981 tour was part of a long process that led to this significant change in South Africa, and in this respect, it represented New Zealand's contribution towards a major international event in the closing decades of the 20th century.*

*The anti-apartheid movement in South Africa was buoyed by events in New Zealand. Nelson Mandela recalled that when he was in his prison cell on Robben Island and heard that the game in Hamilton had been cancelled, it was as 'if the sun had come out'. Some back home in New Zealand maintained that how South Africans ran their country was none of our business and criticised the anti-tour movement for being run by 'perennial protesters' and 'rent-a-mob' demonstrators interested only in fighting the police. In this way sections of New Zealand society tried to mask, or at least minimise, the long-term impact of the tour and the questions it posed for New Zealand society.<sup>2</sup>*

This is the way most New Zealanders — even those who supported the Springbok tour and relations with South Africa during the apartheid era — now look back on those years, and agonize over how they could be so out of step with the modern world. While there were conservatives who defended apartheid as the most realistic system

for South Africa, conservatives will now base their opposition to Maori “affirmative action”-style policies as being akin to that horrid “apartheid.” What is now regarded as the “Right” in New Zealand has adopted the liberal position.

With the presence of a marginally multiracial Springbok team now in New Zealand for the World Cup, New Zealanders have lately been reminiscing about the 1981 riots. Listening to radio talkback, for example, what is evident is that even those now middle-aged and elderly people who had supported the tour, they today shudder that they could have been so morally wrong. Their instincts of yesteryear have been atrophied by several decades of propaganda that invariably portrays Nelson Mandela as a Jesus-like figure<sup>3</sup> and South Africa as a luminous example of what the world could be: a Rainbow Nation of peace and love.

### **Another African Sinkhole**

Yet in 2008 even one of the primary leaders of the anti-apartheid movement, John Minto, declined to accept a nomination for the Companion of O. R. Tambo Award given to those outside South Africa who contributed to the ending of apartheid.<sup>4</sup> Even Minto is disappointed with the failure of South Africa to become the paragon of Black justice, culture, and virtue that multitudes assumed was only being prevented by the Boer brutes.

But while he is also displeased with Zimbabwe’s ruler, Robert Mugabe, is this because Minto, or any others of his ilk, have looked at the travesty called Black Africa and reconsidered that perhaps the rule of the European was preferable? Heaven forbid. Like the communist who insists that Marxism has failed only because it has not been implemented properly, Minto et al. will not concede that African rule *per se* is the problem.

Rather, although the promise of a Black paradise in Southern Africa has turned to hell, he is now focusing on “minority rule” for New Zealand, and has become one of the luminaries of the recently formed Mana Party of former Maori Party Member of Parliament Hone Harawira.<sup>5</sup>

As for Hone, his own ideals are something less than liberal, but that is all the better for some whites possessed of a masochistic desire to be bootlickers for other races. Hone's replies from his Parliamentary office to e-mails from Pakeha<sup>6</sup> referred to "white motherf...ers"<sup>7</sup> White liberals would be fine with being called "white motherf...ers," but more disquieting for liberaldom is Harawira's distaste at the thought of his daughter coming home with a white boyfriend.<sup>8</sup> Such forthright sentiments spill the beans on New Zealand's posturing on the world stage as the epitome of racial brother- and sisterhood.

However, what none of these enthusiasts for the destruction of white rule in Africa have understood is that behind the slogans of "human rights" and "equality" stand the very interests that these Leftists and liberals thought they were opposing: International capitalism. One of the great myths of recent history is that apartheid existed in the interests of monopoly-capitalism. To the contrary, apartheid was inaugurated as a resistance to monopoly- capitalism, and to protect basic livelihoods from those who saw Black labor as the means of forcing living conditions to the lowest denominator.

### **"White Workers of the World Unite for a White South Africa"**

How many of those who were committed to the dispossession of the Afrikaner "exploiters" have heard of the epochal 1922 revolt on the Rand? This Afrikaner syndicalist revolt against the mining interests was the catalyst for the victory of a Nationalist-Labour alliance that inaugurated the first steps towards apartheid. The same mostly Jewish monopolists who had opposed the Afrikaner from start to finish intended to use Black labor to undermine the white miners.

In late 1922 the Chamber of Mines announced that 25 semi-skilled job levels reserved for Whites would be given to Blacks, and that there would be thousands of White redundancies. At the same time coal mine owners announced wage cuts. The Mineworkers Union called a General Strike. While the Communist Party was involved, the main influences were the Afrikaner Mynwerkersbond; mostly former Boer farmers and war veterans who had been left destitute by the British scorched

earth policy during the Anglo-Boer War, and allied Labour Party supporters.

When the mineworkers raised their banners proclaiming “Keep South Africa White” and “White Workers of the World Unite for a White South Africa,” the Communists were in no position to object. The coal miners, gold miners, engineers, and power workers on the Rand voted to strike and had the backing of both the Labour Party and the National Party. Prime Minister Jan Smuts urged the Chamber of Mines to negotiate, but they refused, and instead arrogantly announced a new labor ratio of 2 Whites to 21 Blacks, meaning many more redundancies.

The Labour Party-backed South African Industrial Federation created a “strike commando” to resist Black scab labor, although resisting calls for a General Strike. Smuts caved in to the demands of the monopolists and ordered the miners back to work. In response, the Miner Councils of Action deployed commandos throughout the Rand. Smuts responded with force and three Whites were killed by police at Boksburg. The National Party demanded a Parliamentary enquiry.

The SA Industrial Federation wanted to negotiate but the Chamber refused. Only then was a General Strike proclaimed. Armed commandos seized Johannesburg and proclaimed a “White Workers’ Republic.” Mine officials, bosses, and Black scabs were executed. Government forces attacked, and the air force levelled the miners’ quarters. On March 14 1922 the strike headquarters was overtaken, and the strike leaders were killed. The last resistance was put down on March 16.<sup>9</sup>

Such was the outrage against Smuts that in 1924 the Afrikaner Nationalists, in alliance with the Labour Party, assumed Office, and starting with labor laws, the foundations of apartheid began to be laid.<sup>10</sup>

### **Plutocratic Crusade Against Afrikaners**

As in 1922 the primary enemy of the Afrikaner was the Oppenheimer mining, industrial and media empire, which includes Anglo-American Corp., and DeBeers. The traditional enemies of the Afrikaner had always been “Anglicized” Jews, from the time of the First Anglo-Boer War when the likes of Alfred Beit and the Rothschild

interests around Cecil Rhodes tried to consolidate their authority under the authority of the British Flag.<sup>11</sup> However there was no more persistent enemy of the Afrikaner than the Oppenheimer dynasty, routinely referred to in the early Afrikaner Nationalist press as the “Hoggenheimers.”

The head of the dynasty during most of the apartheid era was Harry F. Oppenheimer. He became a Member of Parliament for the United Party when that party was the main opposition to the Nationalists. When anti-Nationalist veterans founded the militant Torch commando in 1950 Oppenheimer provided the funding.<sup>12</sup> When the Progressive Party was formed by a breakaway from United in 1959 Harry F. became the financial patron of the Party. When the Progressives first contested the Coloured seats in 1965 Harry F. funded all the campaigns then and subsequently, with 40,000 Rand annually. In 1966 he funded with Progressive General Election campaign with 50,000 Rand.<sup>13</sup>

Something of Harry F.’s motives can be discerned from his statement on the formation of the liberal think tank, the South Africa Foundation in 1960:

*In effect the advent of the South Africa Foundation reflects the return of big business to active politics. Picture the industrial revolution that will take place in Africa if the Black Man’s economic fetters are struck from him! Think of the millions of skilled men who will enter the labour market. Think of the vast new consuming public! I think I can claim the main credit for this exciting vision of the new Africa, yet all that I have done really is to allow myself to be guided by the best interests of Anglo-American.*<sup>14</sup>

Nearly two decades later Harry F. was explaining: “Nationalist politics have made it impossible to make use of Black labour.”<sup>15</sup> Perhaps “the good and the righteous” should contemplate that, the next time they pontificate about how they “marched against apartheid”?

Up until the assassination of Verwoerd on September 6, 1966 the Nationalists remained acutely aware of the identity of their real adversaries, Prime Minister Malan stating: “What we have against us is money power, principally under the leadership of Oppenheimer.”<sup>16</sup>



If the Left ever take some cognizance of their guru Professor Noam Chomsky on such issues they might reach some understanding, but can the willfully blind and the psychologically problematic be changed?:

*See, capitalism is not fundamentally racist – it can exploit racism for its purposes, but racism isn't built into it. Capitalism basically wants people to be interchangeable cogs, and differences among them, such as on the basis of race, usually are not functional. I mean, they may be functional for a period, like if you want a super-exploited workforce or something, but those situations are kind of anomalous. Over the long term you can expect capitalism to be anti-racist – just because it is anti-human. And race is in fact a human characteristic – there is no reason why it should be a negative characteristic, but it is a human characteristic. So therefore identifications based on race interfere with the basic ideal that people should be available just as consumers and producers, interchangeable cogs who will purchase all that junk that is produced – that's their ultimate function, and any other properties they might have are kind of irrelevant, and usually a nuisance.<sup>17</sup>*

Ironically, the Rightist position on capitalism has perhaps been no more cogently expressed than by this Leftist academic.

Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa, regarded as the “architect of apartheid,” and a statesman of immense stature who had the respect of Black Africa, provided the philosophical basis for separate development and the defense of the European in Africa.<sup>18</sup> After his assassination in 1966 his successors lacked the ideological coherence and a comprehension of the forces working against them, and adopted a defensive and inadequate — even apologetic — position. They tried to counter their opponents defensively, from the viewpoint of “the white man's burden” instead of from the standpoint of white survival that had been the basis of Nationalist doctrine until the death of Verwoerd. In 1962 Verwoerd stated of these anti-Afrikaner forces in a speech before Parliament:

*The directors, when they meet, hold private discussions. In the case of such a powerful body there is also a central body which lays down basic policy. The*

*influence of that central body, to say the least, must be great in our economic life. Nobody knows, however, what they discuss there. In the course of his speeches, Mr Oppenheimer, the leader, makes political statements; he discusses political policy, he tries to exercise political influence. He even supports a political party. . . . In other words he has political aims; he wants to steer things in a certain direction. He can secretly cause a great many things to happen. In other words, he can pull strings. With all that money power and with his powerful machine which is spread over the whole country, he can, if he so chooses, exercise enormous interference against the Government and against the state.<sup>19</sup>*

In 1953 even Saint Nelson stated of the Oppenheimer empire:

*Rather than attempt the costly, dubious and dangerous task of crushing the non-European mass movements by force, they would seek to divert it with fine words and promises and divide it by giving concessions and bribes to a privileged minority.<sup>20</sup>*

Yet when Harry F. died in 2000 Saint Nelson eulogized:

*His contribution to building a partnership between Big Business and the new democratic government in the first period of democratic rule can never be appreciated too much.<sup>21</sup>*

Predictably, Saint Nelson had whored himself to plutocracy, and has received the worshipful accolades of the world ever since. It was the pattern that was followed all over post-colonial Africa, where plutocratic neo-colonialism arose over the ruins of the European empires.

### **The Long Road to Capitalist Serfdom**

While journalists, politicians, clerics, academics, and other sundry mental retards worship Mandela as the Risen Christ, even getting tearful when they speak His name, South Africa has descended into a hell on earth, as becomes evident not only by reading news sources from South Africa such as the journal *Impact*, but when one

meets an Afrikaner refugee (of which there are many in New Zealand) who can be persuaded to open up on the reason they left their ancestral homeland.

What has been the result of post-apartheid South Africa? The answer is that the “anti-apartheid struggle” ushered a regime of privatization and globalization on the ruins of the state-directed economic structure that the Afrikaners created. So far from being exploitive capitalists, whipping old Darkie with the *sjambok*, as stereotyped by Marxist propaganda and the democratic press, the Afrikaners were an anomaly in the world economy: the last of a traditional European peasantry bonded to faith, blood, and land. The industrial structure included the *parastatals*, state-owned or partly owned corporations. With the advent of Saint Nelson’s ANC/Communist Party coalition, as one would expect, the “comrades” have set about delivering South Africa to international capitalism. In 1996 Saint Nelson, despite once having supported nationalization, stated: “Privatisation is the fundamental policy of the ANC and will remain so.”<sup>22</sup>

ANC economics adviser C. Mostert has detailed the history and ideology of privatization in South Africa, stating that the Nationalists introduced state supervision of the economy in 1948; a policy which began to be dismantled by the [corrupted] National Party in 1987, and which has been continued by the ANC Government.<sup>23</sup> Mostert states that the ANC has embarked on a policy recommended by the International Monetary Fund. He states that the word “privatisation” is not generally used, but rather it is the phrase “restructuring of state assets,” which is widely associated with privatization. The Government Communication and Information Service (GCIS) uses the two phrases interchangeably when it describes economic developments and policy.<sup>24</sup> He writes:

*These privatization initiatives have taken different forms and include:*

- *The complete sale of companies, like Sun Air and seven radio stations to consortiums;*
- *Build, Operate and Transfer arrangements for the building of roads;*
- *The opening of private-public partnerships at local government level for*

*the provision of services like water;*

- *Selling a partial stake (30%) in Telkom to combined American-Malaysian consortium; and*

- *The proposed sale of a 25%-30% stake of South African Airways*

The ANC has stated: “Eskom is one of a host of government owned *parastatals* created during the apartheid era which the democratically elected government has set out to privatise in a bid to raise money.”<sup>25</sup>

Why does a country that had hitherto been so prosperous now need to raise capital by selling off its assets? The answer lies in South Africa having been quickly reduced to a basket case, a bottomless economic sinkhole, like every other “decolonized” state on the Dark Continent. The plutocrats who pushed for the destruction of so prosperous a nation apparently had a long-term *dialectical* plan that seemed, in the short-term, to undermine their profitability. In the long term, however, the impoverishment of South Africa by the incompetence that *invariably* results from “majority rule” has obliged South Africa to become an open economy operating an ongoing garage sale. But so long as South Africa now has universal franchise and has put the redundant Boer in his place, it matters not to most of the useful idiots of the Left who were merely performing their historic role as lickspittles of Money.

## **Notes:**

1 - “The Classroom,” NZ History Online, [http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/the\\_history\\_classroom](http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/the_history_classroom)

2 - “Impact of the 1981 Springbok Tour,” NZ History Online, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/1981-springbok-tour/impact-of-the-tour>

3 - The notion that Mandela was once notorious as an exponent of terrorism and was involved in a murderous plot against civilians, would now seem unbelievable to virtually all New Zealanders. One of Mandela’s schemes was the “Church Street Massacre” where a bomb had been placed at rush hour to ensure maximum deaths of Afrikaner women, children, and babies. Mandela was among those tried for treason at the “Rivonia Trial,” named after a communist cell based at a farm in Rivonia, which planned widespread sabotage and deaths. See: “Mandela & the Church Street Bombing,” *Terrorist Watch*, <http://www.netcomuk.co.uk/~springbk/enemy.html>

4 - “John Minto Refuses South African Award,” January 28, 2008, <http://ridwanlaher.blogspot.com/2008/01/john-minto-refuses-south-african-award.html>

5 - Bryce Edwards, “The Mana Party leadership widens – roles for Bradford, Sykes, Minto and Jackson,” *Liberation*, August 8, 2011, <http://liberation.typepad.com/liberation/2011/08/the-mana-party-leadership-widens-roles-for-bradford-sykes-minto-and-jackson.html>

- 6 - Pakeha, the Maori name for Euro-New Zealanders is widely used, but is often suspected as being derogatory. However, the name is likely to come from Pakepakeha, a class of white skinned sea demi-gods in Maori mythology.
- 7 - "Hone's racist outburst within his rights – de Bres," TV3 News, November 8, 2009, <http://www.3news.co.nz/Hone-Harawiras-racist-outburst-within-his-rights—de-Bres/tabid/209/articleID/128701/Default.aspx>
- 8 - Tim Watkin, *Pundit*, "Hone Harawira and the partnership pickle," September 15, 2011, <http://pundit.co.nz/content/hone-harawira-and-the-partnership-pickle>
- 9 - J. Jewell, "White Revolt on the Rand 1922," *A Salute to Dr Hendrik Verwoerd & the Boer Folk*, ed. K. R. Bolton (Paraparaumu Beach, New Zealand: Renaissance Press), pp. 6-10.
- 10 - *Ibid.*, 9-10.
- 11 - Harvard historian Dr. Carroll Quigley wrote of this: "With financial support from Lord Rothschild and Alfred Beit [Rhodes] was able to monopolize the diamond mines of South Africa as De Beers Consolidated Mines and to build up a great gold mining enterprise as Consolidated Gold Fields." C. Quigley, *Tragedy & Hope* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), p. 130.
- Justice*, the newspaper of the Social Democratic Federation of H. M. Hyndman, stated in 1896 that, "Beit, Barnato and their fellow-Jews [aimed for] an Anglo-Hebraic Empire in Africa stretching from Egypt to Cape Colony." Any such sentiments today are, of course, damned by the Left as "nazism" and "racism."
- 12 - D. Pallister, S. Stewart, and I. Lepper, *South Africa Inc.: The Oppenheimer Empire* (London: Corgi Books, 1988), pp. 78-80.
- 13 - *Ibid.*, p. 91.
- 14 - H. F. Oppenheimer, *Africa South*, 1960, cited by Ivor Benson, *Behind Communism in Africa* (Pinetown, South Africa: Dolphin Press, 1975), p. 14. (Available from Renaissance Press, New Zealand).
- 15 - Harry F. interviewed by Brian Hackland, Johannesburg, October 30, 1978, cited in D. Pallister et al., p. 87.
- 16 - D. Pallister, et al., p. 80.
- 17 - N. Chomsky, *Understanding Power: The Indispensable Chomsky* (New York: The New York Press, 2002), pp. 88-89.
- 18 - For example, read: H. F. Verwoerd, "The Rights of the White Man in Africa," Parliamentary speech, March 9, 1960, reprinted in *A Salute to Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd & the Boer Folk*, pp. 18-24.
- 19 - D. Pallister, et al., p. 98.
- 20 - N. R. Mandela, "The Shifting Sands of Illusion," *Liberation*, June 1953, [http://www.africawithin.com/mandela/shifting\\_sands\\_0653.htm](http://www.africawithin.com/mandela/shifting_sands_0653.htm)
- 21 - N. R. Mandela, "Eulogy: Harry Oppenheimer," September 4, 2000, *Time*, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,997869,00.html>
- 22 - N. R. Mandela, *Financial Mail*, June 7, 1996. Cited by Clive Barnett, "The Limits of media democratisation in South Africa: politics, privatisation and regulation," *Media, Culture & Society* (London: Sage Publications), p. 655, [http://rcirib.ir/articles/pdfs/cd1%5CIngenta\\_Sage\\_Articles\\_on\\_194\\_225\\_11\\_89/Ingenta751.pdf](http://rcirib.ir/articles/pdfs/cd1%5CIngenta_Sage_Articles_on_194_225_11_89/Ingenta751.pdf)
- 23 - C. Mostert, "Economic Policy Co-Coordinator for the Economic Transformation Committee of the NEC of the African National Congress," *Reflections on South Africa's Restructuring of State-Owned Enterprises*, Occasional Papers No. 5, (Johannesburg: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, March 2002), <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/suedafrika/07164.pdf> *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 24 - *Ibid.*, p. 18.
- 25 - ANC Daily News Briefing, June 27, 2001.

#### 4.

## **BREAKING THE BONDAGE OF INTEREST: A RIGHT ANSWER TO USURY**

*“Money is merely the medium of trade. It is not wealth. It is only the transportation system, as it were, by which wealth is carried from one person to another.”* — Father Charles Coughlin (1935)

It is historically ironic that at the very time the world groans under the inexorable self-negation of the debt-finance system, nothing is offered by the Right as an alternative. Hilariously, the mighty USA is threatened with default on debt amounting to trillions of dollars. States across the world, from Greece to New Zealand are broke. Their debt is so mountainous it is no longer sustainable. The only answers – offered by those who have maintained the debt system – is to “tighten your belts” with “austerity measures,” sell off assets to transnational corporations, themselves a part of the international debt finance system – and establish a new world banking system that will empower the usurers more than ever.

The reaction of masses of people is reaching violent proportions. Individuals and families cannot “tighten their belts” until they are impoverished, while nothing is

done to deal with those responsible for their plight. There is rioting in Greece and elsewhere. The rioting seems to be invariably led by the Left; especially with black masked anarchists in the forefront. Yet the Left has offered nothing at all other than the usually banality about “soaking the rich,” which at best would result in equality of impoverishment rather than assisting the masses of people an iota.

### **Where is the Right?**

But where is the Right with leadership and alternatives? The Right seems to be invisible in issues affecting the inevitable results of the debt-finance system. Where financial matters are examined the policies put forward are as absurd as those of the Left: lower taxes, return to the gold standard, audit the Federal Reserve. None of this amounts to anything. The once impressive Social Credit movement, formulated by Maj. C. H. Douglas during the 1920s and 1930s, squabbles dogmatically over technicalities. Hence, Social Credit in New Zealand, for example, which several decades ago took 25% of the vote, is now about as popular as a neo-Nazi skinhead running for public office in South Auckland.

While focusing on immigration, Jews, holocaust revisionism, etc. the Right in general, and worldwide, now seems for the large part, oblivious to the very crucial issue of finance and banking. The banking system is the mechanism by which world control is exercised by the financial elites. Whether Jewish or Gentile, the system is the same and it is largely a moot point to argue about who invented it if one isn't even aware of what to do about it.

### **How the System Functions**

One of the most cogent descriptions I have read on the mechanism of the debt finance system was provided not by an economic theorist but by a liberal historian of impeccable Establishment credentials, Professor Carroll Quigley of Harvard University. Quigley's book *Tragedy & Hope*<sup>1</sup> is often cited by Right-wing conspiracy theorists, and widely read books largely based on his revelations have been best sellers

in the USA, including in particular W. Cleon Skousen's *The Naked Capitalist*<sup>2</sup> and Gary Allen's *None Dare Call it Conspiracy*.<sup>3</sup> Yet neither or these, nor seemingly any other material drawing on Quigley's work, addresses any manner by which the problem of the financial system, which empowers these "international conspirators," could be dealt with. Here is what Quigley stated:

*The founding of the Bank of England by William Patterson and his friends in 1694 is one of the great dates in history. . . . It early became clear that gold need be held on hand only to a fraction of the certificates likely to be presented for payment. . . . In effect the creation of paper claims greater than the reserves available means that bankers were creating money out of nothing. The same thing could be done in another way. Deposit bankers discovered that orders and cheques drawn against deposits by depositors and given to a third person were often not cashed by the latter but were deposited in their own accounts. Accordingly it was necessary for the bankers to keep on hand in actual money no more than a fraction of deposits likely to be drawn upon and cashed, the rest could be used for loans, and if these loans were made by creating a deposit (account) for the borrower, who in turn would draw cheques upon it rather than withdraw money, such "created deposits" or loans could also be covered adequately by retaining reserves to only a fraction of their value. Such created deposits were also a creation of money out of nothing. . . . William Patterson however, on obtaining the Charter of the Bank of England in 1694, said: "the bank hath benefit of interest on all moneys which it creates out of nothing."<sup>4</sup>*

That, in a nutshell, is how the international banking system still works. It is fraud legalized by the states of the world that succumbed to financial wizardry. It is theft and parasitism *par excellence* insofar as it leeches off productive work that must pay usury on interest, as an individual, as a family, as a farm, business, state, and world. Describing how this operates in New Zealand, I have written that:

*Banks and bankers are looked upon virtually as wizards and shamans who alone can conjure up "money" or more accurately credit, since most commerce is undertaken through credit rather than currency. For example, New Zealand has a mere \$3 billion in Reserve Bank notes and coins in circulation. Of this the*



*banks only hold half a billion NZ Dollars on deposit. However the total of all New Zealand bank deposits is \$200 billion. The difference between the \$200 billion in bank deposits and the half billion in bank cash is the amount of credit the banks have created out of nothing. Banks thereby reap huge profits in interest by creating credit that did not hitherto exist. This situation is the foundation of banking throughout the world.<sup>5</sup>*

Since few banks are New Zealand owned, capital gained from interest is shipped out of New Zealand, and there is thereby a perpetual shortage of money or credit to consume the full value of production. It also explains the seemingly odd predicament where creditor nations are themselves bankrupt, because what “they” have is being lent to other states not as government credit, but as credit created by banks that happen to be headquartered in the so-called creditor states. A supposedly “American” bank such as Goldman Sachs can just as well pack up shop and relocate its headquarters to “The City of London” or to Beijing. As is well known among conservative and libertarian and sundry other circles, the US Federal Reserve Bank is owned by private bondholders; therefore such central banks do not issue “state credit” or currency but credit based on private lending.

The patriotic Congressman, Louis T. McFadden, himself a banker, Chairman of the House Banking & Currency Committee, and an example of those on the Right who – decades ago – understood the nature of banking very well, stated in Congress of the Federal Reserve:

*Mr Chairman, we have in this Country one of the most corrupt institutions the world has ever known. I refer to the Federal Reserve Board and the Federal Reserve Banks, hereinafter called the Fed. The Fed has cheated the Government of these United States and the people of the United States out of enough money to pay the Nation’s debt. The depredations and iniquities of the Fed has cost enough money to pay the National Debt several times over.*

*This evil institution has impoverished and ruined the people of these United States, has bankrupted itself, and has practically bankrupted our Government. It has done this through the defects of the law under which it operates, through*

*the maladministration of that law by the Fed and through the corrupt practices of the moneyed vultures who control it.*

*Some people think that the Federal Reserve Banks are United States Government institutions. But they are private monopolies which prey upon the people of these United States for the benefit of themselves and their foreign customers; foreign and domestic speculators and swindlers; and rich and predatory moneylenders. In that dark crew of financial pirates there are those who would cut a man's throat to get a dollar out of his pocket; there are those who send money into states to buy votes to control our legislatures; there are those who maintain International propaganda for the purpose of deceiving us into granting of new concessions which will permit them to cover up their past misdeeds and set again in motion their gigantic train of crime.<sup>6</sup>*

Someone in the present Congress could have with equal validity quoted McFadden's speech of eighty years ago as being relevant for the 2011 brouhaha over the US debt crisis.

The same is true of nationalized banks such as the New Zealand Reserve Bank or any other. The NZ Reserve Bank was established at the instigation of the Bank of London, as a private corporation. In 1935 the First Labour Government nationalized it. However, the only time the Bank issued state credit was for funding the iconic state housing project, and then mainly due to the pressure of the popular Labour Member of Parliament John A. Lee. This will be examined later.

### **Movements for Banking Reform**

As one would expect, the methods of credit and banking were major issues of the Depression Era. Our grandparents were acutely aware of such matters. They were discussed in factories, offices, pubs, and homes. Now few among even the well informed are aware of the issues. Yet banking reform was more an issue of the Right than the Left, the latter hedging their bets on the "nationalization of the means of production," or on graduated income tax, as they still do. As even hard-line communist states have shown, nationalization of industry, and even an internal credit system

operating through state banks, does not necessarily extricate one from the international banking system, as witnessed by the mountain of debt that was incurred by the USSR. Even Vietnam is part of the World Bank, and has embarked on a policy of privatization, which it euphemistically (or dialectically?) calls a “socialist-oriented market economy.”<sup>7</sup>

When economic crisis hit the world during the 1920s, unlike today there was no shortage of programs and movements advocating realistic solutions. Significant impetus came in the English-speaking world from the Scottish engineer Maj. C. H. Douglas who formulated Social Credit. This principle calls for the issuing of credit according to sound accounting principles, based on the productivity of a nation. Douglas wrote his seminal Social Credit book *Economic Democracy* in 1919, followed by *Credit-Power and Democracy* (1920), *The Control and Distribution of Production* (1922), *Social Credit* (1924), and *The Monopoly of Credit* (1931), among others. Interestingly, he had discerned the nature of the problem prior to the Great Depression. In 1933, he established as an educational institute, the Social Credit Secretariat, which still exists.<sup>8</sup> The fundamental premise remains: “Money is not Wealth but only its token, and tokens cost next to nothing to produce. So what is physically possible and socially desirable can certainly be made financially possible.”<sup>9</sup>

Another significant impetus came from traditional Catholic Social Doctrine, with the Church’s historic enmity towards usury.

### **Green Shirts of England**

In Depression Era Britain Social Credit assumed a refreshingly militant form with the Green Shirts for Social Credit, led by John Hargrave. Readers might recall the enigmatic dedication in Ezra Pound’s booklet *Social Credit: An Impact*, to “the Green Shirts of England.”<sup>10</sup> Hargrave had led a woodcraft youth movement emerging from the Boy Scouts movement, called Kibbo Kift, from archaic Kentish, meaning “a proof of great strength.” Like the *Wandervogel* in Germany, it had folkish interests which harked back to Medievalism and the Saxon heritage. Folk moots and Althings were organized, and the movement’s units were called Clans and Tribes. The movement had

support from the Fabian socialists, but at the 1924 Althing a socialist faction attempted to take over and was expelled by Hargrave.

Hargrave met Douglas in 1923 and recognized Social Credit as the means of purging civilization of corruption just as his woodcraft movement helped the individual with that aim. Hargrave stated: “Half our problem is psychological and the other half economic. The psychological complex of industrial mankind can only be released by solving the economic impasse.” By 1927 Hargrave had converted most of the leadership of Kibbo Kift to Social Credit and was able to add a Social Credit plank to the movement’s principles. In 1930 a Legion of the Unemployed was established in Coventry. In 1930 the Legion adopted a paramilitary style green shirt and beret. Soon the Legion was affiliated with Kibbo Kift and in 1932 the woodsmen adopted the green shirt and changed their name to the Green Shirt Movement for Social Credit.

The movement adopted the attitude of the spiritual soldier and a militancy that is now difficult to imagine from most Social Credit organizations. In 1932 Hargrave had stated at the Althing that breaking the power of the “money mongers” could not be done through parliament but only through a movement that was based on “that absolute, that religious, that military devotion to duty without which no great cause was ever brought to a successful issue.” Hargrave advocated a militant campaign that would break the media blackout, something from which the present day adherents could learn. The Green Shirts took to the streets on marches, behind drums and banners, held street corner meetings, and sold newspapers in the street delivering the Social Credit message in a cogent manner. Facing the violent opposition of the Left, they were noted for their discipline in the face of provocation. They led hunger marches, demonstrations of the unemployed, and thousands of open air meetings. They were also noted for throwing green painted bricks through the windows of banks and using the consequent court cases to publicize their views.

In 1936 Hargrave was appointed economic adviser to the new Social Credit Government in Alberta, Canada, and drew up the “Hargrave Plan.” Not surprisingly, Alberta was prevented from properly implementing the Social credit policy due to the interference of the central government.

A post-war campaign for Social Credit continued under the National Social Credit Evangel, along with the Social Credit Party. The movement eventually fizzled, although in 1976 there was even a stage musical about the Green Shirts and Hargrave was popularly welcomed when he attended the performance.<sup>11</sup>

### **The New Zealand Legion**

In New Zealand a conservative reaction to the Left formed around the New Zealand National Movement under Maj. Gen. J. V. R. Sherston. The popular physician Campbell Begg soon assumed leadership, and was renamed the New Zealand Legion. The movement reached 20,000 members and also adopted a Green Shirt uniform. In 1934 C. H. Douglas undertook a lecture tour of New Zealand, which had significant results. Begg met Douglas twice,<sup>12</sup> and the NZ Legion adopted state credit as a means of securing social justice without recourse to socialism. For a conservative reaction to socialism, comprised mainly of adherents from the middle class and veterans, albeit with support from the National Union of Unemployed Workers, the NZ Legion was the most genuinely radical movement in terms of its “Begg Plan.” It was therefore opposed by orthodox elements of the Left which called the NZ Legion “fascist” and a reactionary ploy of the bosses, and by the “Right” which was aghast at the Legion’s radical platform. One of the 12 points of the Legion program was the “control of currency by the state.”<sup>13</sup> Eventually the Legion was undermined from within, with a possibly predominant faction rejecting Begg’s aim for the Legion to put up candidates for Parliament, while many were uneasy at the seemingly “socialistic” policies. Begg withdrew from leadership and settled in South Africa. Those candidates for the Legion who stood in local body elections as Independents did well.

There had been from the start a dichotomy between reactionaries who saw the Legion as nothing more than a reaction against the Labour Party and what was seen as its proximity to Bolshevism, and those around Begg who advocated a social policy that would overcome economic dislocation without the need for socialism, but whose program went so far as to advocate the state control of land development. However, as will be considered below, the 1935 Labour Government – under the impress of the

mass demand for monetary reform – did enact a state credit policy that, although half-hearted, was sufficient to eliminate most unemployment during the Great Depression, while Roosevelt’s New Deal was only able to achieve that result by recourse to war.

### **The Impetus from Catholic Social Doctrine**

A significant impetus for financial and economic reconstruction was Catholic social doctrine. In many states such as Dollfuss’ Austria,<sup>14</sup> Salazar’s Portugal,<sup>15</sup> Franquist Spain, Vichy France, and as far away as Vargas’ Brazil, Papal Encyclicals provided the doctrinal foundations. The main feature of these “new states” was corporatist social and economic organization, replacing party parliaments with chambers representing all professions. Many other movements were inspired by Church doctrine to advocate the corporatist state, including O’Duffy’s Irish Blueshirts, Szálasi’s Hungarist Movement, Degrelle’s Rexist Movement, and Arcand’s National Unity Party in Canada. Generic fascism across the world also featured corporatist policies, based however more on its synthesis of Left-wing syndicalism with nationalism, a process that started in late 19th Century France<sup>16</sup> while Spain’s National Syndicalism of José Antonio Primo de Rivera drew from both Catholicism and syndicalism.<sup>17</sup> Even the New Zealand Legion had an embryonic corporatist style policy of forming an “Economic Council” to advise Government, drawn from all professions.<sup>18</sup>

In Britain the “Distributist” movement arose, whose most well known proponents were the authors Hillaire Belloc and G. K. Chesterton,<sup>19</sup> and the ex-Communist convert to Catholicism, Douglas Hyde.<sup>20</sup> Distributism is based on the premise that economic concentration, leading to tyranny, results from both monopolistic capitalism and communism. To answer economic problems and safeguard freedom, one must not eliminate private property but assure its widest possible distribution. Both the Distributists in the English-speaking world and the “clerical fascists” on the Continent and further afield drew their programs in particular from Pope Leo XIII’s 1891 encyclical letter *Rerum Novarum*.<sup>21</sup> Point 32 of the encyclical specifically alludes to the prohibition of usury. The corporate basis of

society is expounded in point 72 where “private societies” existing within the State must be assured their sovereignty, while nonetheless being “many parts” of the State.

### **Sir Oswald Mosley’s Fascism**

Generic fascism incorporated opposition to the banking system whether from syndicalist or Catholic sources or a synthesis of these. Any genuine national sovereignty must be predicated on the nation’s financial sovereignty, otherwise anything less is a fraud.

In 1938, Social Credit was advocated within Sir Oswald Mosley’s British Union of Fascists on the premise that the British Union sought to end usury, and the Douglas method was the way to do it. W. K. A. J. Chambers-Hunter was able to appeal to the British Union policy that had already been formulated by Mosley in *Tomorrow We Live*. Mosley’s policy began primarily as an economic one aiming to reject the international financial system, make the British Empire a self-sufficient trading bloc, and change the mechanism of finance to ensure that the whole of production could be consumed. Mosley stated that a “complete revolution in our financial system is required.” “A Financial Corporation would be constituted to control all organs of finance and credit, on the premise that British credit shall be used for British purposes.”<sup>22</sup> Mosley wrote:

*Within such a system the supply of credit must be adequate to a system of greater production and greater consumption. The British credit system will rest on certain clear and basic principles:*

*That British credit created by the British people shall be used for British purposes alone;*

*That British credit shall be no monopoly in the hands of a few people, and often alien hands at that, but shall be held in high trusteeship for the British people as a whole;*

*That British credit shall be consciously used to promote within Britain the maximum production and consumption by the British of British goods;*

*That the credit system shall maintain a stable price level against which the purchasing power of the people is progressively raised in the development of higher wages.*<sup>23</sup>

A. Raven Thomson, Policy Director of the British Union, in describing the money masters of Britain, pointed out that British fascists were well aware that merely nationalizing the Bank of England would not resolve the problem of the financial dictatorship exercised by the international bankers. He wrote that “Nationalisation of the mere mechanism of the Bank [of England], such as advocated by the Labour Party, will be of as little avail as the recent nationalisation of the Bank of France by M. Blum and the French Socialists, unless the ‘distant control’ over the Bank by finance houses and gold bullion brokers is also removed.”<sup>24</sup>

Thomson stated that the policy of the British Union would be to expand the home market by ensuring that the whole of production could be consumed by means of “commodity currency” based not on gold or private credit creation at usury, but on the supply of money “upon the production of useful goods and services offered for sale.” This would “make money, not the master, but the servant of industry.”<sup>25</sup>

Fascists and Social Crediters both aimed to take control of the credit mechanism away from usurers and return it to the people. There are major differences, as the Social Crediters in particular will point out, in their eagerness to distance themselves from Fascism. However, the aforementioned W. K. A. J. Chambers-Hunter was an adherent of both Social Credit and Mosleyite Fascism, as was the poet Ezra Pound.

Chambers-Hunter, British Union organizer and prospective parliamentary candidate for Aberdeen, pitched his advocacy for Social Credit within British Fascism by showing its relevance to the policy of “British Credit” that had been explained by Mosley in *Tomorrow We Live*. Chambers-Hunter stated that when British Union assumed power the “best brains” would be brought in to implement the details of Mosley’s financial and economic program. One such expert would be Douglas, “that honoured pioneer of new thought in this sphere.” Chambers-Hunter wrote that, “It is as a member of the British Union, and also as a believer in the essential truth of Major Douglas’s theory, that I write this pamphlet.”<sup>26</sup>



There were some essential differences, however, including the perennial bugbears among Social Crediters as to whether the policy should be implemented by the state or by an independent credit authority, and the widespread suspicion of political parties of any type, even including Social Credit parties. However, Chambers-Hunter stated that “it is not only possible to believe in Social Credit and to belong to the British Union; I go further and say that if we believe in Social Credit we must realise that only through British Union have we any hope of an executive instrument, through which a nation ‘free of Usury’ can be built.” Chambers-Hunter was writing to explicate “proposals for the execution of British Union policy by Social Credit Method.”<sup>27</sup>

Chambers-Hunter begins with a fundamental Douglas premise: the amount of money in circulation is never equal to the ability to consume the whole of production. This different was explained by Douglas’ A + B Theorem. “A” equals the payments a producer makes to his employees; “B” represents the payments he makes outside his business. Only “A” is available as purchasing power, while “B” payments are not spent on consumption in any given week. Therefore prices cannot be less than the costs to the producer of A + B, but the purchasing power to consume those goods is only reflected in “A.” “Therefore there is a shortage of purchasing power by the amount of the B payments.” For the consumption of production to be adequate “there must be purchasing power equivalent to the “B” payments distributed from some other source.”<sup>28</sup> Social Credit advocates a “National Dividend” to make up for any shortfall of purchasing power, given to every citizen as a shareholder by birthright.

Chambers-Hunter explained the short-fall of the system in providing adequate finance for both production and consumption:

*At present the power of creating, and destroying credit, which performs over 95% of the function of money is actually excised by the financial system on its own and is quite independent of industry, agriculture, or any of the people’s needs. Consumption, and consequently production are cut down to suit the purposes of this hidden power instead of the purposes of the people.*<sup>29</sup>

Chambers-Hunter explains that to make up for this shortfall in consumer power, credit

“will be created by the State alone and will be issued as required as a right and not as a debt.” The state credit issued by banks at local level to farmers, fishermen, industrialists, etc., would carry a minimal fee, perhaps of half a percent, but would nonetheless be sufficient to cover the costs of issuing credit.<sup>30</sup>

What might be said in summary of all such theories is that credit would be issued as a public service to facilitate the exchange of goods and services, and not as a profit-making commodity.

### **Ezra Pound on Economics**

As mentioned, another exponent of both Fascism and Social Credit was Ezra Pound. Pound wrote a series of booklets on banking and history that are especially lucid. These include *Social Credit: An Impact* (1935), *The Revolution Betrayed* (British Union Quarterly, 1938), *What is Money For?* (1939), *A Visiting Card* (Rome, 1942), *Gold & Work* (Rapallo, 1944), *An Introduction to the Economic Nature of the United States*, and *America, Roosevelt and the Causes of the Present War* (Venice, 1944).<sup>31</sup> Also notable is his “With Usura,” one of the *Pisan Cantos*.

Pound met Douglas at an early stage (1917), with the guild-socialist A. R. Orage, who was a major influence in promoting both social reform and new literary talent through his journals *The English Review* and *The New Age*.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, Orange is said to have coined the term “Social Credit.”

Pound considered Fascist Italy to be partially achieving Social Credit aims in breaking the power of the usurers over politics and culture, writing:

*This will not content the Douglasites nor do I believe that Douglas' credit proposals can permanently be refused or refuted, but given the possibilities of intelligence against prejudice in the year XI of the Fascist Era, what other government has got any further, or shows any corresponding interest in or care for the workers?*<sup>33</sup>

In *Social Credit: An Impact*, Pound wrote of Fascism in relation to economic reform:

*Fascism has saved Italy, and saving Italy bids fair to save part of Europe, but*

*outside Italy no one has seen any fascism, only the parodies and gross counterfeits. Douglas for seventeen years has been working to build a new England and enlighten England's ex- and still annexed colonies.*<sup>34</sup>

Pound saw both Italy and Japan trying to throw off the system of usury, writing:

*Japan and Italy, the two really alert, active nations are both engaged in proving fragments of the Douglas analysis, and in putting bits of his scheme into practice . . .*<sup>35</sup>

*The foregoing does not mean that Italy has gone "Social Credit." And it does not mean that I want all Englishmen to eat macaroni and sing Neapolitan love songs. It does mean or ought to mean that Englishmen are just plain stupid to lag behind Italy, the western states of America and the British Dominions . . .*<sup>36</sup>

Pound's *Canto XLV* ("With Usura") is a particularly cogent exposition on how the usury system infects social and cultural bodies, and is analogous to the New Zealand poet and Social Credit advocate Rex Fairburn's *Dominion*.<sup>37</sup> Pound provides a note at the end defining usury as, "a charge for the use of purchasing power, levied without regard to production: often even without regard to the possibilities of production."

*With usura...  
no picture is made to endure nor to live with  
but it is made to sell and to sell quickly  
with usura, sin against nature,  
is thy bread ever more of stale rags  
is thy bread dry as paper . . .  
And no man can find site for his dwelling.  
Stone cutter is kept from his stone  
Weaver is kept from his loom  
WITH USURA  
Wool comes not to market  
Sheep bring not gain with usura . . .  
Usura rusteth the chisel  
It rusteth the craft and the craftsman*

*It gnaweth the thread in the loom...  
Usuru slayeth the child in the womb  
It stayeth the young man's courting  
It hath brought palsey to bed, lyeth  
Between the young bride and her bridegroom  
CONTRA NATURAM  
They have brought whores to Eleusis  
Corpses are set to banquet  
At behest of usura.<sup>38</sup>*

“With Usura” precisely reflects Pound’s position that the financial system denies the cultural heritage and creativity of the people, creates poverty amidst plenty, and fails to act as a mechanism for the exchange of the productive and cultural heritage. Creativity either fails to reach its destination or is stillborn. We might with this poem in particular understand why Pound felt the problem of banking and credit to be of crucial concern for artists.

Note that Pound expounds upon the unnatural manner by which usury prevents creativity, whether in economics or in the arts, from reaching its social potential. Economically this was the phenomenon of “poverty amidst plenty,” dramatized during the Great Depression when for example, farmers in England and the USA were paid by the state to destroy produce while city dwellers starved, not for want of production but for want of purchasing power. It was a phenomenon remarked upon by the biographer of Fairburn:

*Fairburn felt that New Zealand illustrated Douglas' theories perfectly. Was there not here as elsewhere in the capitalist world, that maddening paradox: a surplus of goods combined with massive unemployment and hunger in the midst of plenty? Farmers hung on to their wool, hoping for a price that would justify their labour, while families without blankets shivered in the cities; thousands of urban poor went without meat because the Government was too hidebound by book-keeping to distribute it. Stock had to be slaughtered because farmers could not afford to carry it on their land. Livestock owners surrounding Auckland offered beasts free to the townspeople if the Government would meet*

*the cost of transport. Scrimgeour<sup>39</sup> attempted to negotiate transport with the Minister of Railways. He was given a blanket refusal and told that the Government had to “think of our bondholders.”<sup>40</sup>*

It is just such a situation that resulted during the Great Depression in masses of people across the world discussing economics and demanding banking reform. Despite the world debt crisis of today, their descendants are cretins who have no understanding of the issues. We have been dumbed down, while the remnants of financial reform have been maintained generally only in a very lackluster manner.

### **Father Coughlin & Social Justice**

During the Depression, one of the greatest movements against usury in the USA was led by Father Charles Coughlin who, in alliance with Senator Huey Long, had the potential to create a new America. That movement was aborted with the assassination of Long<sup>41</sup> and an order from the Church hierarchy that silenced Fr. Coughlin.

Coughlin had been an adviser to Roosevelt and thought the “New Deal” would implement Catholic Social Doctrine. He had broadcast a childrens’ radio broadcast for four years every Sunday from his Church of the Little Flower in Royal Oak, Michigan.

But one broadcast on October 30, 1930 was addressed to the parents on the subject of the “money changers.” Such was the immediate support that he organized his listeners into the Radio League of the Little Flower. Soon after his first broadcast denouncing usury Coughlin was receiving 50,000 letters a week.

The broadcasts were extended via the CBS network, and had an estimated 10,000,000 listeners. He organized to assist the poor in Detroit, and in 1932 campaigned for Roosevelt under threw slogan “Roosevelt or Ruin.” By the time of the presidential race in 1932 he was reaching up to 45,000,000 listeners.<sup>42</sup> He was strongly supported by Bishop Michael Gallagher of Detroit. There is thought to have been a letter to Coughlin from Pope Pius XI thanking him for promoting the ideas of *Rerum Novarum*.

However, Coughlin was also attracting powerful; opposition and in 1933 CBS

refused to renew his contract unless they were able to approve his sermons in advance. Coughlin refused and created his own radio network.<sup>43</sup> In 1934 the Church of the Little Flower was extended into a considerable administration center with a large staff. That year marked Coughlin's rejection of the "New Deal" and his creation of the National Union for Social Justice.<sup>44</sup> But Coughlin now started receiving opposition from the Church hierarchy, at first from Cardinal O'Connell of Boston, whom Coughlin rebuffed as lacking jurisdiction.

The 16 Point Social Justice program was a cogent expression of Catholic Social Doctrine that upheld private property within the framework of economic and financial reform based on opposition to usury:

*6. Abolition of private banking, and the institution of a central government bank.*

*7. The return to Congress of the right to coin and regulate money.*

*8. Control of the cost of living and the value of money by the central government bank.*<sup>45</sup>

In 1936 Coughlin founded the newspaper, *Social Justice*, which was sold on the streets by Irish lads contending with Jewish communists. In 1938, for self-defense the *Social Justice* salesmen were organized into platoons of 25 under the banner of the Christian Front. However, with the death of Bishop Gallagher the way was open to close down Coughlin through maneuvers by the New Dealers and the Church hierarchy.

By this time, "there was hardly a section of even the Catholic press . . . which defended him."<sup>46</sup> In October 1939, after the outbreak of war in Europe, the National Association of Broadcasters changed regulations, and by April 1940 Coughlin's broadcasts were finished. As events heated up in Europe, the street fighting in the USA intensified. In 1942, after Pearl Harbor, *Social Justice* was banned from the mails.

Gerald Smith relates that he was told by Coughlin that in seeking diplomatic relations with Washington, the Pope had agreed to get Coughlin silenced on political matters. Smith remarks: "From that time on Fr. Coughlin descended into a state of semi-retirement and frustration and I always had the feeling that he suffered from a

broken heart.”<sup>47</sup>

However, one of the most zealous and longest-running organizations that continue to battle usury is a Catholic organization run from Canada, Coughlin’s land of birth.

Louis Even, who had seen Social Credit as the means of implementing Catholic Social Doctrine, started the movement in Quebec in 1935. A French language journal was established in 1939. The English language newspaper *Michael* was founded in 1953, with subsequent editions in other languages, and the organization took the name Pilgrims of St. Michael in 1961. Louis Even wrote of the crucial issue of finance:

*It is because every economic problem, and almost every political problem, is above all a money problem. We never say that the money question is the only one to be solved, or the only one that must be dealt with. We do not even say that it is the highest one, but it is certainly the most urgent one to solve, because all the other issues come up against this money problem.*<sup>48</sup>

There is a wealth of material on the banking system on the movement’s website. There is even a reprint of Fr. Coughlin’s *Money Questions & Answers*,<sup>49</sup> that Louis Even included as an appendix in his book, *This Age of Plenty*. The Pilgrims of St. Michael continue with a crusading zeal seldom seen among Social Crediters since the 1930s.

### **States that Broke the Bondage of Interest**

Any efforts to advocate alternatives to banking that might extricate nations from the grip of the money-changers are dismissed as “funny money” by defenders of a system that has for centuries resulted in nothing but “poverty amidst plenty,” cycles of economic bust and war, and servitude at every level. Yet there are many examples of states that have broken free and implemented alternative forms of banking that have brought well-being while others have languished in stagnation at best, while paying their hidden masters for the privilege via usury.

Of course it is not in the interest of the financial and economic *status quo* that any light be shed upon these historical examples, and they are sent down the Memory

Hole, or the nature of their financial systems are obscured by focusing entirely on other factors. Hence, while many financial reformers are aware of the way Lincoln funded his war partly through the issue of Greenbacks, few even among banking reformers realize that the Confederacy was also funded with state credit called Graybacks, and that system is obscured by focusing on questions of slavery. Likewise, few understand much about the manner by which Germany extricated itself from socio-economic misery through a new financial system, and the matter is buried by focusing on the Holocaust or the war, and Germany's reconstruction it is reduced merely to rearmament.

It took a poet, Ezra Pound to explain the history of money more cogently than economists and historians. Pound stated that:

*The history of usury begins with the loans of seed-corn in Babylon in the third millennium BC. The first mention I know of a state monetary policy refers to the year 1766 BC when an Emperor of China, in order to alleviate distress caused by famine and aggravated by grain monopolizers, opened a copper mine and coined discs of metal perforated with a square hole. We read that he gave this money to the starving, and that they could then buy grain where the grain was.*<sup>50</sup>

Nearly four thousand years later, politicians either do not have the wisdom or the courage to adopt a similar policy for getting food on the table during the Great Depression, or for dealing with the present global debt crisis without getting into further debt and implementing "austerity measures."

Pound wrote of the Medici bank the Monte di Paschi that had been founded in 1600 and remained standing in his own time: "Siena was flat on her back, without money after the Florentine conquest." Cosimo, first duke of Tuscany, guaranteed the capital of the bank, using grazing lands as collateral. He underwrote 200,000 ducats, paying 5% to shareholders and lending at 5½%, with minimum overheads and salaries, and profits going back into hospitals and public works.<sup>51</sup>

Of the American Colonies Pound wrote that, "The Colony of Pennsylvania lent its colonial paper money to the farmers, to be repaid in annual instalments of ten percent, and the prosperity that resulted was renowned throughout the western



world.”<sup>52</sup> He writes that in 1750 there were sanctions imposed (by the Bank of England) forbidding Pennsylvania from issuing its own scrip, which played its role in fomenting the American revolt.<sup>53</sup>

## **Guernsey**

One of the most successful and enduring examples of usury-free state credit has been that of Guernsey, British Channel Islands, whose banking experiment was initiated in 1820. Guernsey’s banking system was prompted by dire need, the island being in serious financial trouble from the beginning of the 19th Century. Guernsey’s town was undeveloped, the roads were cart-tracks, and there was no prospect for employment. The most serious problem, however, was the encroaching sea that was washing away large tracts of land because of the disrepair of the dykes. Neither tax increases nor further loans were practicable.

However, it was the need to upgrade the Public Market that prompted a committee to report back with a solution in 1816 to issue £6000 worth of States Notes.<sup>54</sup> The committee also recommended that the States Notes be used not only for the new market, but also for Torteval Church, road construction, and other State expenses. The notes’ issue was started in 1820, and was followed by other issues, until by 1837 £55,000 of the Notes were in circulation, debt-free and having created prosperity and development, which in turn stimulated visitors to the island.<sup>55</sup>

Of course there were complaints to the Privy Council that such debt-free issues were being made, but the States Financial Committee gave such good account of the island that the objections were unsuccessful. However, two banks on the island flooded Guernsey with their own notes to undermine the State Notes, and for reasons unknown it was the Island that agreed to limit the issue of its Notes.<sup>56</sup> Just such a tactic used by the North to undermine the Graybacks of the South during the American Civil War caused inflationary problems, but these maneuvers do not discredit the efficacy of state credit. With the outbreak of war in 1914, Guernsey restarted the State Notes issue according to requirements. While State Notes continue to circulate alongside British Pounds Sterling, there has never been inflation, and the prosperity of the island

continues as it has since 1820,<sup>57</sup> operating on minimal taxation.<sup>58</sup>

As mentioned, Lincoln had recourse to the issuing of the Greenbacks during the Civil War. Not so well known is the issue of Graybacks by the Confederate States, backed by cotton. Despite the claim that the Confederacy was under the thrall of the Rothschilds via the Confederate Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin, nothing could be further from the truth, and the South was at no time beholden to international finance, nor was Benjamin anything less than a patriotic Southerner. As the subject of Confederate finance has been dealt with at length elsewhere I shall not repeat it here.<sup>59</sup>

### **New Zealand**

The election of a Labour Government largely centered on its platform of nationalizing the Reserve Bank and issuing state credit. The 1934 tour by Douglas had a major impact, with organizations such as the Auckland Farmers' Union and the NZ Legion adopting Social Credit, but in particular the flamboyant, one armed war veteran John A. Lee kept up a continuous agitation for the Party to fulfill its election promises despite the resistance of Prime Minister Joseph Savage and his Finance Minister Walter Nash. Lee had written several pamphlets on banking reform which should serve today as seminal references for banking reformers, but are forgotten, or transgress orthodox Douglasite principles.

The first of Lee's pamphlets, *Money Power for the People*, outlined what he hoped the Labour Government would adopt as legislative policy, based upon what the party had presented to voters at the 1935 General Election as official party policy.<sup>60</sup> This was the demand for the "immediate control by the State of the entire banking system," including the "state issue of credit for production and distribution of commodities"<sup>61</sup> The party's manifesto for the 1935 election stated:

*A planned economy will be of little use if the Government has not the power to carry its plans into effect. Such power will require the control of credit which, if it remains in private hands, can be used to thwart the will of the Government.*<sup>62</sup>

As I have remarked upon previously, the Great Depression was a period in which,

unlike today with our supposedly more educated populations, people were all talking about the question of finance and banking reform. Lee recalled that the largest political meetings in New Zealand history had been held throughout New Zealand, and the question to the fore was that of money. He vividly related, “Wherever people were gathered,” whether on street corner, in the factory, stock yard or on a tram, “there was discussion about banking and money.”<sup>63</sup>

In *Money Power for the People* which might be seen as a reminder to the party Caucus of its election pledges, Lee states that the first meeting of the Labour Cabinet in Office in 1936 reaffirmed its commitment to “winning complete financial power as the first move toward a new social order.” Parliament met in March and the following month the Government introduced the Reserve Bank of New Zealand Amendment Bill.<sup>64</sup> The Bill was supposed reform the Reserve Bank that had been established in 1933 on the prompting of the Bank of England as a corporation that included private stockholders, with the directors being a mix of those nominated by the state and those elected by the stockholders. The bank was independent from the State, despite theoretically being a State Bank, at least in the popular imagination, like the Federal Reserve Bank in the USA or the Bank of England. This 1936 Bank amendment bought the private stockholders out “at a handsome profit,” the bank came under State control, and the Board of Directors became “the direct servant of the Government of the day,” who were obliged to fulfill the policies of Government and were subject to removal. The Bank’s function set out in Section 1 of the Act was to “regulate and control credit and currency in New Zealand” for the “economic and social welfare of New Zealand.”<sup>65</sup>

The second part of Lee’s 1937 pamphlet deals with what the Labour Government had achieved over the past year. Lee stated that the Government’s powers had been used cautiously, but that state credit was being provided to the dairy industry account, which worked with the state’s control of the marketing of produce (through marketing boards), and hence there was a guaranteed price for farmers.<sup>66</sup> The Reserve Bank issued the dairy industry state credit, at minor profit, where hitherto the private banks had gained through interest, with the additional factor that the profits that were made by the State on these advances were placed back into a Consolidated Fund. The

aim was to eventually reduce the amount of interest to a charge for costs.<sup>67</sup>

Nonetheless, despite these great reforms, the Government was still borrowing from overseas moneylenders, a matter that was never resolved. Lee warned that unless the State assumed sole responsibility for creating and issuing credit, “the debt will be compounded forever” and that “at some future date the Capitalist bailiff will liquidate New Zealand’s social experiment.” That is precisely what happened, ironically, when a “free market revolution” proceeded decades later under a Labour Government, in a typical example of socialists playing lackey to international finance. New Zealand is still in the process of divesting itself of what few state assets remain to pay off debt.

However, there was a great achievement in the funding of the iconic state housing project with Reserve Bank state credit, this one measure being sufficient to resolve 75% of unemployment in the midst of the Great Depression. Lee commented in his 1937 assessment that so far the State Housing project was the only program on which the State had availed itself the prerogative to issue its own credit. An initial £5,000,000<sup>68</sup> of state credit through the Reserve Bank was issued for housing via the Housing Account of the State Advances Corporation.<sup>69</sup> Lee cites Finance Minister Nash as stating to Parliament that the credit would be state issued in entirety as “new money” on which the interest earned in its entirety would return to the State as profit, while the houses would remain in State ownership. In a Government document over a decade later the project was explained as follows:

*Reserve Bank Credit: To finance its comprehensive proposals, the Government adopted the somewhat unusual course of using Reserve Bank credit, thus recognizing that the most important factor in housing costs is the price of money – interest is the heaviest portion in the composition of ordinary rent. The newly created Department was able therefore to obtain the use of funds at the lowest possible rate of interest, the rate being 1% for the first £10 million advanced, and one and a half percent on further advances. The sums advanced by the Reserve Bank were not subscribed or underwritten by other financial institutions. This action shaped the Government’s intention to demonstrate that it is possible for the State to use the country’s credit in creating new assets for the country.<sup>70</sup>*

## **Canada**

Canada was another British Dominion that had recourse to state credit, and for a much longer period than most others. Canada maintained this state credit system into the 1970s. The state owned Bank of Canada issued up to half of all new money at low interest, which in turn forced the commercial banks to keep interest rates low. This resulted in decades of prosperity. Now the Bank of Canada creates just 2% of the credit. From 1935–1939 the Bank of Canada was issuing *most* of the nation's credit, and 62% of the credit during the last years of the War. Until the mid 1970s the Canadian Government continued to create enough new state money to monetarize 20% to 30% of the state deficit.

That ratio is now only 7.5%. While the money supply increases by \$22 billion annually, the Bank of Canada now issues less than 2% of that money. It has been estimated that if the Canadian Government had continued to operate such a financial system as she had for around three decades, that nation would today be operating with a surplus of \$13 billion.<sup>71</sup>

## **National Socialist Germany**

Propaganda rather than scholarship has dominated studies on National Socialist Germany. Hence, the manner by which certain socio-economic achievements were attained is buried amidst histories that focus on war, the Holocaust, and racial theories. Where the economic recovery of Germany during the Depression era is noted at all, it is simplistically accounted for by spending on rearming, which by itself explains nothing.

If the British Commonwealth states had their C. H. Douglas, the pre-eminent advocate of Germany's liberation from usury was Gottfried Feder. The National Socialist party just happened to be the movement that was the vehicle for advocating Feder's views. His theories might have been enacted by the Weimer regime, which showed interest, if they had had the determination. Feder was a lecturer for the military, and it is in that capacity that he was heard by Hitler.<sup>72</sup>

As early as 1917 – that is, about the same time that Douglas had first formulated Social Credit – Feder started advocating banking reform and formed the Fighting League Against Interest Slavery.<sup>73</sup> Feder’s *Manifesto for the Breaking of the Bondage of Interest* was published the following year. In this he stated that the source of the power of the international banking system “is the effortless and infinite multiplication of wealth which is created by interest.” He recommended that the “drones” “living off productive peoples and their labor” be eliminated by “breaking the bondage of interest”:

*Money is not and must not be anything but an exchange for labor; that to be sure any highly developed country does need money as a medium of exchange, but that this exhausts the function of money, and can in no case give to money, through interest, a supernatural power to reproduce itself at the costs of productive labor.*<sup>74</sup>

Feder had been a founder-member of the German Workers’ Party prior to Hitler’s recruitment. The earliest policy document of the German Workers’ Party<sup>75</sup> shows opposition to usury to have been a premise of the group from the start. The party rejected socialization of production in favor of “profit-sharing” and co-operatives. To the question “who is the DAP fighting against?” the reply was:

*The DAP is fighting with all its strength against usury and the forcing up of prices. Against all those who create no values, who make high profits without any mental or physical work.*<sup>76</sup>

The German Workers’ Party, in common with other Rightists and conservative revolutionaries such as Oswald Spengler, recognized from the start the nexus between international finance and the Left, including the communists. Another early treatise, “To All Working People!” Was written by the eminent playwright Dietrich Eckart, who became the mentor of Alfred Rosenberg and Hitler. At the time of the creation of the Munich Soviet, Eckart distributed his essay as a leaflet on the streets in an effort to win the masses away from the Soviet Republic. The leaflet was republished in 1924, and by Feder in 1933, when he identified himself as co-author.<sup>77</sup> The leaflet of Eckart and Feder is therefore obviously an important and cogently brief document. Eckart and

Feder point out that despite the revolutionary tumult created by the Marxists:

*Only one thing isn't mentioned, you never hear a word about it, never a syllable, and there is nothing in the world which is such a curse on humanity. I mean*

### **LOAN CAPITAL!**

*This was the primary issue, and it was ignored by the Marxists in the clamor for nationalization of private enterprise. But "loan capital" and "nothing but this!" is the cause of a nation's and an individual's burden. They continued:*

*Loan capital brings in money without work, brings it in through interest. I repeat: without lifting a finger the capitalist increases his wealth by lending his money. It grows by itself. No matter how lazy one is, if one has money enough and lends it out at interest, one can live high and one's children don't need to work either, or one's grandchildren, or one's great-great grandchildren, and so on to eternity! How unjust this is, how shameless – doesn't everyone feel it?*

*To infinity it grows, this loan capital . . .*

*But who provides them [the House of Rothschild] and their like with such an enormous amount of money? Interest has to come from somewhere after all, somewhere these billions and more billions have to be produced by hard labor! Who does this? You do it, nobody but you! That's right, it is your money, hard earned through care and sorrow, which is as if magnetically drawn into the coffers of these insatiable people . . .<sup>78</sup>*

The twenty-five point "Program of the NSDAP," formulated the following year, again reflected the doctrines of Feder. Among these points are:

*10. It must be the duty of every citizen to work either mentally or physically. The activities of the individual may not conflict with the interests of the general public but must be carried on within the framework of the whole and for the good of all.*

### **WE THEREFORE DEMAND**

11. Abolition of income unearned by labor or effort;

*BREAKING THE BONDAGE OF INTEREST.*<sup>79</sup>

It was after hearing an address by Feder to the political agents of the army that Hitler stated: “Right after listening to Feder’s first lecture, the thought ran through my head that I had now found the way to one of the most essential premises for the foundation of a new party.”<sup>80</sup>

It is a pity that groups and individuals on the Right do not recall or know this, and cannot get beyond “white power” or “anti-Semitism.” By inane obsessions the Right is missing the historical boat at the very juncture that the global system of “loan capital” should be fought most vigorously.

How then did Germany “break the bondage of interest”? Few now know. Rearmament is not a sufficient explanation. Prof. A. J. P. Taylor, the eminent British historian, and hardly a Nazi sympathizer, writes:

*Fascism, it was claimed, represented the last aggressive stage of capitalism in decline, and its momentum could be sustained only by war. There was an element of truth in this, but not much. The full employment which Nazi Germany was the first European country to possess, depended in large part on the production of armaments; but it could have been provided equally well (and was to some extent) by other forms of public works from roads to great buildings. The Nazi secret was not armament production; it was freedom from the then orthodox principles of economics . . . the argument for war did not work even if the Nazi system had relied on armaments production alone. Nazi Germany was not choking in a flood of arms. On the contrary, the German Generals insists unanimously in 1939 that they were not equipped for war and that many years must pass before “rearmament in depth” had been completed.*<sup>81</sup>

Yet even Taylor, whose book is interesting in its repudiation of the “sole war guilt” doctrine, fails to understand exactly how Germany achieved recovery. Despite what Taylor states about Hitler lacking a consistent policy, the views on loan capital and the stock exchange were features of his speeches before and after assuming Government. Hitler’s speech of January 30, 1939 to the Reichstag is perhaps the most informative



he made on the principles upon which Germany was being reconstructed. Answering predictions of ruin by orthodox economists throughout the world, Hitler explained that Germany had not withdrawn from world trade but had bypassed the international financial system by means of barter, stating:

*If certain countries combat the German system this is done in the first instance because through the German method of trading their tricks of international currency and Bourse speculations have been abolished in favor of honest business transactions. . . . We are buyers of good foodstuff and raw materials and suppliers of equally good commodities!*<sup>82</sup>

Taylor comments on German trade barter:

*Germany was not short of markets. On the contrary, Schacht used bilateral agreements to give Germany practically a monopoly of trade with south-eastern Europe; and similar plans were being prepared for the economic conquest of South America when the outbreak of war interrupted them.*<sup>83</sup>

Hitler next explained precisely the foundations of the new economic and financial system:

*If ever need makes humans see clearly it has made the German people do so. Under the compulsion of this need we have learned in the first place to take full account of the most essential capital of a nation, namely, its capacity to work. All thoughts of a gold reserves and foreign exchange fade before the industry and efficiency of well-planned national productive resources. We can smile today at an age when economists were seriously of the opinion that the value of currency was determined by the reserves of gold and foreign exchange lying in the vaults of the national banks and, above all, was guaranteed by them. Instead of that we have learned to realize that the value of a currency lies in a nation's power of production, that an increasing volume of production sustains a currency, and could possibly raise its value, whereas a decreasing production must, sooner or later, lead to a compulsory devaluation.*<sup>84</sup>

One of the few places where National Socialist Germany's economic policies were plainly explained was in New Zealand, and it might be observed that, as

uncomfortable as this is for most, the banking policies of the two states were similar. Henry Kelliher, later knighted as “Sir Henry,” was a wealthy businessman and arts patron who served on the board of the Bank of New Zealand. He is known to New Zealanders primarily as the head of Dominion Breweries and as the initiator of the iconic milk-in-schools program that lasted for decades. Kelliher was also an avid campaigner for banking reform.<sup>85</sup> He was publisher of a home journal, *The Mirror*, a magazine that was head and shoulders intellectually above the plethora of current magazines for the “liberated woman.” Kelliher’s campaign for economic reform assisted the Labour Party in assuming Government.<sup>86</sup> Therefore, when consulting Kelliher’s *Mirror* for a description of Germany’s economic policies, we are looking at something other than a “Nazi” propaganda sheet.

In 1938 *The Mirror* ran an article by its European correspondent, Bertram de Colonna: “Germany could not produce gold, but real wealth from land and forest, fields and factories. Labour was also available in plenty. In fact the unemployed totalled around seven million at the time.”<sup>87</sup> Capital was not available either domestically or internationally, and gold reserves were only sufficient to cover 10% of the currency in circulation. De Colonna writes that, “The result was a decision by the government to issue and assume control of currency and credit.” One million marks of state credit were issued to finance public works including state housing. “The bankers prophesied speedy bankruptcy. Those prophecies proved utterly wrong . . .” Newly created state banks issued state credit. “The new money backed by the credit of the nation was gradually absorbed by the open money market.” This in turn brought a big increase in state revenue without the need for increasing taxation. Private banks were placed under state supervision and “the rate of interest was limited by law.”

De Colonna pointed out that the state money was in no way inflationary (a frequent objection against such schemes by orthodox economists). The issue of credit and new money “is based upon the actual production of real wealth;” through greater industrial output. De Colonna stated that after five years of pursuing this policy it had proven its worth in keeping money in constant circulation; “after all that is the only use of money – to circulate and exchange the wealth produced by the nation.”<sup>88</sup>

More recently a professional economist, Henry C K Liu<sup>89</sup>, who can hardly be

suspected of Hitlerism, analyzed the methods by which Germany emerged from the Depression:

*The Nazis came to power in Germany in 1933, at a time when its economy was in total collapse, with ruinous war-reparation obligations and zero prospects for foreign investment or credit. Yet through an independent monetary policy of sovereign credit and a full-employment public-works program, the Third Reich was able to turn a bankrupt Germany, stripped of overseas colonies it could exploit, into the strongest economy in Europe within four years, even before armament spending began. In fact, German economic recovery preceded and later enabled German rearmament, in contrast to the US economy, where constitutional roadblocks placed by the US Supreme Court on the New Deal delayed economic recovery until US entry to World War II put the US market economy on a war footing. While this observation is not an endorsement for Nazi philosophy, the effectiveness of German economic policy in this period, some of which had been started during the last phase of the Weimar Republic, is undeniable.<sup>90</sup>*

Henry Liu adds an interesting comment regarding communist China by way of comparison. It is instructive for us today in that Marxism has failed historically as an alternative to capitalism — as both Spengler and Eckart pointed out — especially with its inability to address the world financial system upon which monopoly capitalism is predicated. Liu writes:

*After two and a half decades of economic reform toward neo-liberal market economy, China is still unable to accomplish in economic reconstruction what Nazi Germany managed in four years after coming to power, i.e., full employment with a vibrant economy financed with sovereign credit without the need to export, which would challenge that of Britain, the then superpower. This is because China made the mistake of relying on foreign investment instead of using its own sovereign credit.<sup>91</sup>*

It is more than possible that Germany's currency and trade systems explain more about the causes of World War II than the invasion of Poland. This was the opinion of the

well-informed Hasting W. S. Russell, Marquis of Tavistock, and later the 12th Duke of Bedford, who was a pacifist and a monetary reformer. He wrote at the start of the war that it is

*A war of financiers and fools, though most people, on the allied side at any rate, do not yet see very clearly how financiers come into it. . . . Financiers also desired war as a means of overthrowing their rivals and consolidating still further the immense power. . . . Hitler not only engaged in barter trade which meant no discount profits for bankers arranging bills of Exchange, but he even went so far as to declare that a country's real wealth consisted in its ability to produce goods; nor, when men and material were available, would he ever allow lack of money to be an obstacle in the way of any project which he considered to be in his country's interests. This was rank heresy in the eyes of the financiers of Britain and America, a heresy which, if allowed to spread, would blow the gaff on the whole financial racket.<sup>92</sup>*

## **Japan**

What is even less known is that in 1929 Maj. Douglas toured Japan. As in New Zealand, Douglas was enthusiastically received, and his books were published in Japan more than in any other country. The Bank of Japan, formed in 1882, had from its start the Imperial House as the major shareholder. However in 1932 it was reorganized specifically as a state bank. Stephen M. Goodson, a financial consultant, founder of the Abolition of Income Tax and Usury Party, and a director on the board of South Africa's Reserve Bank<sup>93</sup> has stated of the Japanese banking system:

*The reform of the central bank was completed in February 1942 when the Bank of Japan Law as remodeled on the Reichsbank Act of Germany of 1939. Credit would be issued by the bank as the interests and productivity of Japan required.*

*During the 1931–41 period manufacturing output and industrial production increased by 140% and 136% respectively, while national income and Gross National Product (GNP) were up by 241% and 259% respectively. These remarkable increases exceeded by a wide margin the economic growth of the*

*rest of the industrialized world.*

*In the labor market unemployment declined from 5.3% in 1930 to 3.0% in 1938. Industrial disputes decreased with the number of stoppages down from 998 in 1931 to 159 in 1941.<sup>94</sup>*

## **Conclusions**

Usury is the “Hidden Hand” in history. It is behind wars and revolutions, booms and busts, and the travesty termed “poverty amidst plenty.” It causes civil wars and class wars. Many problems of the world could be resolved with clarity once the dust the money-lenders throw in one’s eyes is removed. The financial system is the means by which power politics functions at all levels.

As one historical example of the “hidden hand” at work: How many Anglophobic Irishmen understand the real reasons for the “potato famine”? Henry Kelliher wrote that anecdotes were told to him of the harrowing starvation of the Irish. It was subsequently that he found the Irish famine was the result not of overpopulation, as claimed at that time among some quarters – nor even due to food shortages, since it was only the potato crop that failed. In 1845 (while the famine was to claim the lives of 1,029,000) 779,000 quarters of wheat and flour, 93,000 quarters of barley, and 2,353,000 quarters of oats – enough to feed for a year every person who died of starvation, nearly four times over – were exported from Ireland.<sup>95</sup> Kelliher commented:

*When the true story of Ireland is written it will be found that all that stood between starvation and the available plenty, was the crushing interest burden that had to be paid to outside money-lenders, that the country was not suffering from famine, but from what we choose today to call “depression.” A famine is the absence of food caused by a lack of food; a depression is the absence of food caused by a lack of food, caused by a deficiency in the medium of exchange – money.<sup>96</sup>*

How many are aware that a major cause of the French Revolution, the epochal event

that was one of the first victories of Money Power over Tradition, was caused not by the masses yearning to overthrow the tyranny of Monarchy, but by the economic dislocations caused by debt, when 50% of state expenditure went to pay interest to money-lenders? And so we might continue, up to the present: how much of the aggravation between Islam and the West is caused (apart from the betrayal of the Arabs dating back to the Balfour Declaration and the Sykes-Picot Agreement) by the aim of international finance to control the Islamic world, where usury is regarded as “sin,” as it once was by Western Christendom? Remove the “Hidden Hand” of usury and once the perspective becomes clear, issues might be resolved with justice between many that are presently at each others’ throats while the real culprits remain invisible.

### Notes:

- 1 - C. Quigley, *Tragedy & Hope* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966).
- 2 - W. Cleon Skousen, *The Naked Capitalist: A Review & Commentary on Dr. Carroll Quigley’s Book Tragedy & Hope* (Salt Lake City, 1971).
- 3 - G. Allen, *None Dare Call it Conspiracy* (Seal Beach, California: Concord Press, 1972).
- 4 - Quigley, *Tragedy & Hope*, pp. 48–49.
- 5 - K. R. Bolton, “The Global Debt Finance System: The ‘Inexorability of its Own Negation,’” *Veritas*, Australia, Vol. 2, no. 1, December 2010.
- 6 - L. T. McFadden, *United States Congressional Record*, June 10, 1932.
- 7 - K. R. Bolton, “Has Vietnam Lost the Struggle for Freedom?” *Foreign Policy Journal*, June 10, 2010, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2010/06/10/has-vietnam-lost-the-struggle-for-freedom/all/1>
- 8 - Social Credit Secretariat, <http://douglassocialcredit.com/>
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- 10 - E. Pound, *Social Credit: An Impact*, 1935; reprinted by Peter Russell, London, 1951. All the Pound pamphlets cited herein are available from this writer.
- 11 - K. R. Bolton, *John Hargrave & the Green Shirt Movement* (Paraparaumu Beach, New Zealand: Renaissance Press, 2003). K. R. Bolton, “State Credit and Reconstruction: The First New Zealand Labour Government,” *International Journal of Social Economics* (London: Emerald Publishing Group) Vol. 3, No. 1, 2011.
- 12 - M. C. Pugh, “The New Zealand Legion & Conservative Protest During the Great Depression,” MA Thesis, (Auckland University, 1969), pp. 128–29.
- 13 - C. Begg, “The Legion’s 12 Points,” *National Opinion*, Wellington, New Zealand, Vol. 2, No. 14, 1934, p. 1.
- 14 - Fr J Messner, *Dollfuss: Austrian Patriot* (Norfolk, Virginia: Gates of Vienna Press, 2004), pp. 107-115.
- 15 - FC C Egerton, *Salazar: Rebuilder of Portugal* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1943), pp. 202-203.
- 16 - Z Sternhell, *Neither Left Nor Right: Fascist Ideology in France* (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1986), passim.
- 17 - For a survey, albeit antagonistic, of “clerical fascism” across Europe during World War II see: Avro Manhattan, *The Catholic Church Against the Twentieth Century* (London: Watts & co., 1947).

- 18 - C Begg, op. cit.
- 19 - The Chesterbelloc Mandate, <http://distributist.blogspot.com/2007/01/distributivism-of-hilaire-belloc.html>
- 20 - D Hyde, *I Believed: How Communism Works in this Country* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1951).
- 21 - Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum: On the Condition of the Working Classes*, May 15, 1891.
- 22 - O Mosley, *Tomorrow We Live* (London: Greater Britain, 1938, 1939), p. 50. Available from this writer.
- 23 - O Mosley, *ibid.*, p. 52.
- 24 - A Raven Thomson, *Our Financial Masters* (London: British Union of Fascists, 1937), p. 15. Available from this writer.
- 25 - A Raven Thomson, *ibid.*, p. 16.
- 26 - W K A J Chambers-Hunter, *British Union & Social Credit* (London: British Union of Fascists, 1938), p. 4. Available from this writer.
- 27 - W K A J Chambers-Hunter, *ibid.*, p. 4.
- 28 - W K A J Chambers-Hunter, *ibid.*, pp. 5-6.
- 29 - W K A J Chambers-Hunter, *ibid.*, p. 11.
- 30 - W K A J Chambers-Hunter, *ibid.*
- 31 - All the Pound pamphlets are available from this writer.
- 32 - K R Bolton, *Artists of the Right* (Counter-Currents Publishing, upcoming), Chapter 8: "Ezra Pound."
- 33 - Ezra Pound, *Jefferson and/or Mussolini*, 1935 (New York: Liveright, 1970), p. 126.
- 34 - E Pound, *Social Credit: An Impact*, 1935; reprinted by Peter Russell, London, 1951, p. 7.
- 35 - E Pound, *Social Credit: An Impact*, *ibid.*, p. 19.
- 36 - A reference to the use of state credit in New Zealand, Australia and Canada.
- It will probably surprise most that Japan was heavily influenced by Douglas' thinking. This will be considered below.
- 37 - K R Bolton, *Artists of the Right*, op. cit., Chapter 12, "Rex Fairburn."
- 38 - *Ezra Pound: Selected Poems 1908-1959* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), "Canto XLV: With Usura," pp. 147-148.
- 39 - "Uncle Scrim," popular Depression Era New Zealand radio minister.
- 40 - D Trussell, *Fairburn* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1984), p. 133.
- 41 - Sen. Long's deputy, Gerald L K Smith, who became a leading American Nationalist for many years after Long's death, relates that the foundation was being laid for the Senator to contend against Roosevelt for the Presidency. Long was killed in September 1935. The month previously he had inserted into the Congressional Record a report on a murder plot that had been hatched against him. G L K Smith, *Besieged Patriot: Gerald L K Smith* (Eureka Springs, Christian Nationalist Crusade, 1978). pp. 120-126.
- 42 - I Leighton (ed.) *The Aspirin Age 1919-1941* (London: The Bodley Head, 1950), W Stegner, "The Radio Priest & his Little Flock," pp. 234-236. Stegner's chapter, as one would expect, is a mean-spirited polemic, but nonetheless informative, if read critically. For example Stegner incorrectly alludes to Coughlin's reference to an "American Secret Service" report on the link between Jewish Communists and Jewish banks as being untrue and an invention of Nazi Germany's "World Press Service." Stegner also states that a reference to Jewish involvement in the Bolshevik revolution allegedly published in a British White Paper is false. In reality, the American Secret Service report exists and is entitled "Judaism and Bolshevism", November 13, 1918, State Department Decimal File (861.00/5339). The report is cited by Dr Antony Sutton, *Wall Street & the Bolshevik Revolution* (New York: Arlington House, 1974), pp. 186-187. Likewise the supposedly fraudulent passage on Jews and the Bolshevik revolution in the British White Paper, although censored from a subsequent edition, appears in the original. The statement was from Oudendyk, Minister of The Netherlands in Petrograd, who was acting for British interests after the murder of Capt. Cromie by the Bolsheviks. A photostatic reproduction of the cover of the original White Paper is given by R Gostick, *The Architects Behind*

the *World Communist Conspiracy* (Ontario: Canadian Intelligence Publications, 1968), ii. The White Paper is entitled *A Collection of Reports on Bolshevism in Russia* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1919) Russia No. 1 (1919). The passage in question is reprinted on p. 5 of Gostick's book.

43 - W Stegner, op. cit., p. 237.

44 - W Stegner, *ibid.*, p. 239.

45 - W Stegner, *ibid.*, pp. 240-241.

46 - W Stegner, *ibid.*, p. 251.

47 - G L K Smith, op. cit., p. 71-72.

48 - "What is Michael?", <http://michaeljournal.org/aboutus.htm>

49 - <http://michaeljournal.org/appenC.htm>

50 - E. Pound, *America, Roosevelt & the Causes of the Present War*, op. cit., p. 6.

51 - E. Pound, *Social Credit: An Impact*, op. cit., p. 8.

52 - E. Pound, *A Visiting Card*, op. cit., p. 16.

53 - E. Pound, *ibid.*, p. 10.

54 - Olive and Jan Grubiak, *The Guernsey Experiment* (ca. 1960), 7.

55 - *Ibid.* 8-9.

56 - *Ibid.*, 10.

57 - According to World Travel Guide, *Guernsey Exchange Rate*, "Guernsey has its own currency... Channel Islands notes and coins are not accepted in the UK, although they can be converted in parity at UK banks." <http://www.worldtravelguide.net/country/108/money/Europe/Guernsey.html>

58 - *Ibid.* 11.

59 - K. R. Bolton, "Was the Confederacy a Tool of International Finance?", <http://www.counter-currents.com/2010/10/was-the-confederacy-a-tool-of-international-finance-1/>

60 - J. A. Lee, *Money Power for the People* (Auckland: Lee, 1937).

61 - J. A. Lee, *A Letter which Every New Zealander Should Read* (Auckland: A B Parker, 1939), p. 7.

62 - J. A. Lee, *ibid.*, p. 8.

63 - J. A. Lee, *Money Power for the People*, op. cit. p. 1.

64 - J. A. Lee, *ibid.*, p. 5.

65 - J. A. Lee, *ibid.*, p. 6.

66 - J. A. Lee, *ibid.*, p. 8.

67 - J. A. Lee, *ibid.*

68 - E. Olssen, *John A Lee* (Dunedin, New Zealand: Otago University Press, 1977), p. 93.

69 - J. A. Lee, *Money Power for the People*, op. cit. p. 10. Lee's pamphlets are available from this writer.

70 - C. Firth and G. Wilson, *State Housing in New Zealand* (Wellington: Government Printing Office, 1949).

71 - Harold Chorney, Assoc. Professor of Political Economy and Public Policy, Concordia University, Montreal; John Hotson, Professor of Economics, University of Waterloo; Mario Seccareccia, Assoc. Professor of Economics, University of Ottawa; The Deficit Made Me Do It!, "Introduction," CCPA Popular Economics Series, Editor: Ed Finn, Canadian Centre For Policy Alternatives, 2010.

<http://lists.topica.com/lists/VOW/read/message.html?mid=813781210&sort=d&start=6327>

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- 85 - H. J. Kelliher, *New Zealand at the Cross-Roads* (Auckland, 1936).
- 86 - Prime Minister Joseph Savage acknowledged the support of Kelliher in a "Message to the People": "I offer my congratulations and thanks to the 'Mirror' for the monumental part that it played in laying the foundation of great economic changes for the benefit of the people, and trust that it will meet with deserving support in its progressive and fearless policy." H. J. Kelliher *ibid.*, between pp. 56 and 57.
- 87 - Bertram de Colonna, "The Truth About Germany," *The Mirror*, Auckland, 1938.
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- 92 - H. W. S. Russell, The Duke of Bedford, *Propaganda for Proper Geese* (England, ca. 1939), pp. 3–4. Available from this writer.
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- 93 - Through a revolt of shareholders.
- 94 - Stephen M. Goodson, "Why the USA forced the Empire of Japan into World War II," Abolition of Usury and Taxation Party. <http://www.aitup.org.za/>
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## 5.

# **MARX CONTRA MARX: A TRADITIONALIST CONSERVATIVE CRITIQUE OF THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO**

There is much about *The Communist Manifesto* that is valid from a conservative/traditionalist viewpoint. Marx was a product of the “spirit” of his Age, or *zeitgeist*. This 19<sup>th</sup> century *zeitgeist* remains the same today. Hence, Marx provides an insight into materialism, or what might also be called economic determinism, which has continued as the dominant ethos of the 20<sup>th</sup> and present centuries. As Oswald Spengler pointed out, Marxism does not seek to transcend the spirit of Capital but to expropriate it. The fundamental worldview of a Marxist and of a corporate globalist CEO is the same. This article examines the Marxist analysis of what is today called “globalization,” but does so from a conservative perspective.

\* \* \*

Marx's method of historical analysis was that of dialectics: thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. His attitude towards capitalism as a necessary part of the historical dialectic needs to be understood on that basis. One does not have to be a Marxist to appreciate dialectics as a valid method of historical interpretation, and Marx indeed repudiated Hegel, the best known of the dialectical theorists, because of Hegel's metaphysical approach. In contradistinction Marx's method is called "dialectical materialism."

Dialectally, the antithesis, or "negation" as Hegel would have called it, of Marxism is "Reactionism," to use Marx's own term, and if one applies a dialectical analysis to the core arguments of *The Communist Manifesto* a practical methodology for the sociology of history from a "Reactionist" perspective emerges.

### **Conservatism and Socialism**

In English-speaking states at least, there is a muddled dichotomy in regard to the Left and the Right, particularly among media pundits and academics. What is often termed "New Right" or "Right" in the English-speaking world is more accurately identifiable as Whig-Liberalism. The English Conservative philosopher Anthony Ludovici succinctly defined the historical dichotomy, rather than the commonality, between Toryism and Whig-Liberalism, when discussing the health and vigor of the rural population in contrast to the urban:

*...and it is not astonishing therefore that when the time of the Great Rebellion the first great national division occurred, on a great political issue, the Tory-Rural-Agricultural party should have found itself arrayed in the protection and defence of the Crown, against the Whig-Urban-Commercial Trading party. True, Tory and Whig, as the designation of the two leading parties in the state, were not yet known; but in the two sides that fought about the person of the King, the temperament and aims of these parties were already plainly discernible.*

*Charles I, as I have pointed out, was probably the first Tory, and the greatest Conservative. He believed in securing the personal freedom and happiness of the people. He protected the people not only against the rapacity of their*

*employers in trade and manufacture, but also against oppression of the mighty and the great...*<sup>1</sup>

It was the traditional order, with the Crown at the apex of the hierarchy, which resisted the money-values of bourgeoisie revolution, manifested first in England, then in France and over much of the rest of mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century Europe. The world remains under the influence of these revolutions, as it does additionally under the Reformation that provided the bourgeoisie with a religious sanction.<sup>2</sup> These Revolutions were part of the historical dialectic that Marx saw as necessary in the march towards communism.

As Ludovici pointed out, in England at least, and therefore as a wider heritage of the English-speaking nations, the Right and Free Trade Liberals emerged as not merely ideological adversaries, but as soldiers in bloody conflict during the 17<sup>th</sup> Century. The same bloody conflict manifested in the USA in the war between the North and South, the Union representing in the English political sense, Puritanism and concomitant plutocratic interests; the South, a revival of the Cavalier Tradition, ruralism and aristocratic ethos. This at least was how the South perceived its conflict, and was acutely aware of this tradition. Hence, when in 1863 Confederate Secretary of State Judah P Benjamin was asked for ideas on a national Seal for the CSA, he suggested “a cavalier” based on the equestrian statue of Washington in Capitol Square at Richmond and stated:

*It would do just honor to our people. The cavalier or knight is typical of chivalry, bravery, generosity, humanity, and other knightly virtues. Cavalier is synonymous with gentleman in nearly all of the modern languages... the word is eminently suggestive of the origin of Southern society as used in contradistinction to Puritan. The Southerners remain what their ancestors were, gentlemen.*<sup>3</sup>

This is the historical background by which, much to Marx’s outrage, the remnants of the traditional ruling classes sought anti-capitalist solidarity with the increasingly proletarianised and urbanised peasants and artisans. To Marx, such “Reactionism” was an interference with the dialectical historical process or the “wheel of history.”

The conservative philosopher-historian Oswald Spengler was intrinsically anti-capitalist. He and other Conservatives saw in capitalism and the rise of the bourgeoisie the agency of destruction of the foundations of traditional order, as did Marx. Not much of this is understood by Conservatives today, especially in the Anglophone world, where Conservatism is generally regarded as a defense of capitalism, which is also equated with “private property,” despite the centralizing tendencies which Marx predicted – with satisfaction.

Marxism, growing from the same *zeitgeist* as English capitalism in the midst of the industrial revolution, proceeds from the same ethos. Marx chose the English school of economics, and eschewed the German, conservative-protectionist school. Spengler noted that:

*Marx was thus an exclusively English thinker. His two-class system derives from the situation of a mercantile people that sacrificed its agriculture to big business, and that never had possessed a national corps of civil servants with a pronounced, i.e., Prussian, estate-consciousness. In England there were only “bourgeoisie and “proletarian,” active and passive agents in business affairs, robbers and robbed – the whole system very Viking-like. Transferred to the realm of Prussian political ideals, these concepts make no sense.*<sup>4</sup>

Spengler in *The Decline of The West* states that in the late cycle of a Civilization there is a reaction against the rule of money, which overturns plutocracy and restores tradition. It is a final conflict in Late Civilisation of what he called “blood versus money”:

*...[I]f we call these money-powers “Capitalism,” then we may designate as Socialism the will to call into life a mighty politico-economic order that transcends all class interests, a system of lofty thoughtfulness and duty-sense that keeps the whole in fine condition for the decisive battle of its history, and this battle is also the battle of money and law. The private powers of the economy want free paths for their acquisition of great resources...*<sup>5</sup>

In a footnote to the above Spengler reminded readers regarding “Capitalism” that, “in this sense the interest-politics of the workers’ movements also belong to it, in that their

object is not to overcome money-values, but to possess them.”<sup>6</sup>

The “Prussian” concept of “socialism” can be summed up in one of service to the common interest, above sectional interests: “organization, discipline, cooperation. All things that are independent of any single class.” Spengler states that Marx took these external features of what is essentially an ethical idea, and made them instruments of class struggle, as a doctrine for plunder.<sup>7</sup>

While Spengler was motivated by the “Prussian spirit” of discipline and duty, as distinct from English individualism, which he saw in the Marxist program, there were those in England who also sought an alternative to the money-ethos of both capitalism and Marxism, and doctrines such as Social Credit, Distributism and Guild Socialism, often in alliance and centered around the milieu of A R Orage and his journal *The New Age*, emerged and caught the attention of Ezra Pound, T S Eliot<sup>8</sup>, Hillaire Belloc<sup>9</sup>, G K Chesterton , and the New Zealand poet Rex Fairburn.<sup>10</sup>

### **Caste & Class**

The “Revolutionary conservatism” of Spengler et al is predicated on recognizing the eternal character of core values and institutions that reflect the cycle – or morphology – of cultures in what Spengler called their “Spring” epoch.<sup>11</sup> An example of the difference in ethos between *traditional* (“Spring”) and *modern* (“Winter”) cycles of a civilization is seen in such manifestations as *caste* as a spiritually-based reflection of social relations, as distinct from *class* as an economic entity; or profession as a social duty of divine provenance represented by the craft guild, as distinct from being an economic drudgery represented by the trades union (including employer associations) as instruments of class division. Traditional order represents spiritual and cultural ethos; the “modern” epoch, money, something reiterated by Spengler in our own time. The holy books of many cultures say much the same, and one might most readily point to *The Revelation*.<sup>12</sup>

## **The Myth of “Progress”**

While Western Civilization prides itself on being the epitome of “progress” through its economic activity it is based on the illusion of a darwinian lineal evolution from “primitive” to “modern.” Perhaps few words more succinctly express the antithesis between the modernist and the traditional conservative perceptions of life than the following ebullient optimism of 19<sup>th</sup> Century Darwinist Dr A R Wallace in his *The Wonderful Century* (1898):

*Not only is our century superior to any that have gone before it but... it may be best compared with the whole preceding historical period. It must therefore be held to constitute the beginning of a new era of human progress. ... We men of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century have not been slow to praise it. The wise and the foolish, the learned and the unlearned, the poet and the pressman, the rich and the poor, alike swell the chorus of admiration for the marvellous inventions and discoveries of our own age, and especially for those innumerable applications of science which now form part of our daily life, and which remind us every hour of our immense superiority over our comparatively ignorant forefathers.<sup>13</sup>*

Like Marx’s belief that communism is the last mode of human life, capitalism has the same belief. In both worldviews there is nothing other than further “progress” of a technical nature. Both doctrines represent the “end of history.” The traditionalist, however, views history not as a straight line from “primitive to modern” but as one of continual ebb and flow, of cosmic historical tides, or cycles. While Marx’s “wheel of history” moves forward trampling over all tradition and heritage until stopping forever at a grey, flat wall of concrete and steel, the traditionalist “wheel of history” revolves in a cycle on a stable axis, until such time as the axis rots – unless it is sufficiently oiled or replaced at the right time – and the spokes fall off;<sup>14</sup> to be replaced by another “wheel of history.”

Within the Western context, the revolutions of 1642, 1789 and 1848, albeit in the name of “the people,”<sup>15</sup> sought to empower the merchant on the ruins of the Throne and the Church. Spengler writes of the latter era that in England, “...the Free Trade doctrine of the Manchester School was applied by the trades unions to the form of

goods called ‘labour,’ and eventually received theoretical formulation in the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels. And so was completed the dethronement of politics by economics, of the State by the counting-house...”<sup>16</sup>

Spengler calls Marxian types of socialism “capitalistic” because they do not aim to replace money-based values, “but to possess them”. He states of Marxism that it is “nothing but a trusty henchman of Big Capital, which knows perfectly well how to make use of it.”<sup>17</sup> Further:

*The concepts of Liberalism and Socialism are set in effective motion only by money. It was the Equites, the big-money party, which made Tiberius Gracchu’s popular movement possible at all; and as soon as that part of the reforms that were advantageous to themselves had been successfully legalized, they withdrew and the movement collapsed.*

*There is no proletarian, not even a communist, movement that has not operated in the interests of money, in the directions indicated by money, and for the time permitted by money — and that without the idealist amongst its leaders having the slightest suspicion of the fact.*<sup>18</sup>

It is this identity of spirit between capitalism and Marxism that has often manifested in the subsidy of “revolutionary” movements by plutocracy. Some plutocrats are able to discern that Marxism and similar movements “of the people,” are indeed useful tools for the destruction of traditional societies and hindrances to global profit maximization.<sup>19</sup> The Duc d’Orleans sought to use “the people” for the same purposes in France during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>20</sup>

### **Capitalism in Marxist Dialectics**

While what is often supposed to be “Conservatism” is upheld by its adherents as the custodian of “free trade,” which is in turn made synonymous with “freedom,” Marx understood the subversive character of Free Trade, which is anything but a conserving tendency. Spengler cites Marx on Free Trade as stating in 1847:

*Generally speaking, the protectionist system today is conservative, whereas the*



*Free Trade system has a destructive effect. It destroys the former nationalities and renders the contrast between proletariat and bourgeois more acute. In a word, the Free Trade system is precipitating the social revolution. And only in this revolutionary sense do I vote for Free Trade.*<sup>21</sup>

For Marx capitalism was part of an inexorable dialectical process that, like the progressive-linear view of history, sees humanity ascending from primitive communism, through feudalism, capitalism, socialism and ultimately – as the end of history – to a millennial world of communism. Throughout this dialectical progressive unfolding the impelling force of history is class struggle for the primacy of sectional economic interests. In Marxian economic reductionism history is relegated to the struggle:

*[a struggle between] freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed... in constant opposition to one another, carried on uninterrupted, now hidden, now open, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.*<sup>22</sup>

Marx accurately describes the destruction of traditional society as intrinsic to capitalism, and goes on to describe what we today call “globalization.” Those who advocate Free Trade while calling themselves Conservatives might like to consider why Marx supported Free Trade and described it as both “destructive” and as “revolutionary.” Marx saw it as the necessary ingredient of the dialectic process that is imposing universal standardisation; which is also the aim of communism.

Marx in describing the dialectical role of capitalism, states that wherever the “bourgeoisie” “has got the upper hand [he] has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations.” The bourgeoisie or what we might call the merchant class – which is accorded a subordinate position in traditional societies, but assumes dominance under “modernism” – “has pitilessly torn asunder” feudal bonds, and “has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest,” and “callous cash payment.” It has, among other things, “drowned” religiosity and chivalry “in the icy water of egotistical calculation.” “It has resolved personal worth into exchange value,

and in place of the numberless infeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom – Free Trade.”<sup>23</sup> Where the discerning Conservative stands in opposition to the Marxian analysis of capitalism is in Marx’s regarding the process as both inexorable and desirable.

Marx condemned opposition to this dialectical process as “reactionary.” Marx was here defending Communists against claims by “Reactionaries” that his system would result in the destruction of the traditional family, and relegate the professions to mere “wage-labor,” by stating that this was already being done by capitalism anyway and is therefore not a process that is to be resisted – which is “Reactionism” – but welcomed as a necessary phase towards Communism.

### **Universalizing Tendencies**

Marx saw the constant need for the revolutionizing of the instruments of production as inevitable under capitalism, and this in turn brought society into a continual state of flux, of “everlasting uncertainty and agitation,” which distinguishes the “bourgeoisie epoch from all other ones.” The “need for a constantly expanding market” means that capitalism spreads globally, and thereby gives a “cosmopolitan character” to “modes of production and consumption in every country.” This in Marxist dialectics is a necessary part of destroying national boundaries and distinctive cultures as a prelude to world socialism. It is capitalism that establishes the basis for internationalism. Therefore, when the Marxist declaims against “globalization” he does so as rhetoric in the pursuit of a political agenda; not from ethical opposition to globalization per se.

To this capitalist internationalizing process Marx identifies the opponents not as revolutionaries but as “Reactionists.” The reactionaries are appalled that the old local and national industries are being destroyed, self-sufficiency is being undermined, and “we have... universal inter-dependence of nations.” Likewise in the cultural sphere, where “national and local literatures” are displaced by “a world literature.” The result is a global economic culture, and even a global human, detached from all bonds of geographic and cultural loci, as lauded by apologists for globalization such as G

Pascal Zachary. A type of nomad is emerging who serves the interests of an international economy wherever s/he is required.<sup>26</sup>

With this revolutionizing and standardization of the means of production comes a loss of meaning of being part of a craft or a profession, or “calling.” Obsession with work becomes an end in itself, which fails to provide higher meaning because of its being reduced to that of a solely economic function. With respect to the ruin of the traditional order by the triumph of the “bourgeoisie”, Marx said the following:

*Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labour, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and the most easily acquired knack, that is required of him...*<sup>27</sup>

Whereas the Classical corporations and the Medieval guilds fulfilled a role that was metaphysical and cultural in terms of one’s profession, these have been replaced by the trades union and employers associations as nothing more than instruments of economic competition. The entirety of Western civilization, and uniquely, much of the rest of the world, because of the process of globalization, has become an expression of money-values. However, preoccupation of the Gross Domestic Product – generally the sole preoccupation of ballot box politicking – cannot be a substitute for more profound human values. Hence it is widely perceived that those among the wealthy are not necessarily those who are fulfilled, and the affluent often exist in a void, with an undefined yearning that might be filled with drugs, alcohol, divorce, and suicide. Material gain does not equate with what Jung called “individuation.” Indeed, the preoccupation of material accumulation, whether under capitalism or Marxism, enchains man to the lowest level of animalistic existence.

### **The Megalopolis**

Of particular interest is that Marx writes of the manner by which the rural basis of the traditional order succumbs to urbanization and industrialization, which is what formed the “proletariat,” the rootless mass that is upheld by socialism as the ideal

rather than as a corrupt aberration of the peasant, the yeoman and the craftsman. Traditional societies are literally rooted in the soil, with a sense of continuity through generations.<sup>28</sup> Under capitalism village life and localized life are, as Marx said, made passé by the city and by mass production. Marx referred to the country being subjected to the “rule of the towns.”<sup>29</sup> It was a phenomenon – the rise of the City concomitant with the rise of the merchant – that Spengler states is a symptom of the decay of a Civilization in its sterile phase, where money values rule.<sup>30</sup>

Marx writes that what has been created is “enormous cities;” what Spengler calls “Megalopolitanism.” Again, what distinguishes Marx in his analysis of capitalism from Conservative traditionalists, is that he welcomes this destructive feature of capitalism. When Marx writes of urbanization and the alienation of the former peasantry and artisans by their proletarianization in the cities, becoming cogs in the mass production process, he refers to this not as a process to be resisted, but as inexorable and as having “rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life.”<sup>31</sup>

### **“Reactionism”**

Marx points out in *The Communist Manifesto* that “Reactionists” view with “great chagrin”<sup>32</sup> the dialectical processes of capitalism. The reactionary or Conservative in the traditional sense, is the anti-capitalist *par excellence*, because he is above and beyond the *zeitgeist* from which both capitalism and Marxism emerged, and he rejects *in total* the economic reductionism on which both are founded. Thus the word “reactionary,” usually used in a derogatory sense, can be accepted by the Conservative as an accurate term for what is required for a cultural, ethical and spiritual renaissance.

Marx condemned resistance to the dialectical process as “Reactionist,” and identified conservatism as the real force that is in revolt against the mercantile spirit:

*The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant. All these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary,*

*but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat, they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.*<sup>33</sup>

This so-called “lower middle class” is therefore inexorably condemned to the purgatory of proletarian dispossession until such time as it recognizes its historical revolutionary class role, and “expropriates the expropriators.” This “lower middle class” can either emerge from purgatory by joining the ranks of the proletarian chosen people, become part of the socialist revolution and enter a new millennium, or it can descend from its class purgatory, if it insists on trying to maintain the traditional order, and be consigned to oblivion, which might be hastened by the firing squads of Bolshevism.

Marx devotes section three of his *Communist Manifesto* to a repudiation of “reactionary socialism.” He condemns “feudal socialism” that arose among the old remnants of the aristocracy, which sought to join forces with the “working class” against the bourgeoisie. Marx states that the aristocracy, in trying to reassert their pre-bourgeoisie position, had actually lost sight of their own class interests in having to side with the proletariat.<sup>34</sup> This is nonsense. An alliance of the dispossessed professions into what had become the so-called proletariat, with the increasingly dispossessed aristocracy, is an organic alliance, which finds its enemies as much in Marxism as in mercantilism. Marx raged against the budding alliance between the aristocracy and those dispossessed professions that resisted being proletarianized. Hence, Marx condemns “feudal socialism” as “half echo of the past, half menace of the future.”<sup>35</sup> It was a movement that enjoyed significant support among craftsmen, clergymen, nobles and literati in Germany in 1848, who repudiated the free market that had divorced the individual from Church, State and community, “and placed egoism and self-interest before subordination, commonality, and social solidarity”<sup>36</sup> (that is to say, the elements of what Spengler would define as “Prussian socialism”). Regarding these “Reactionists,” Max Beer, a historian of German socialism, stated the following:

*The modern era seemed to them to be built on quicksands, to be chaos, anarchy, or an utterly unmoral and godless outburst of intellectual and economic forces, which must inevitably lead to acute social antagonism, to extremes of wealth and poverty, and to a universal upheaval. In this frame of mind, the Middle Ages, with its firm order in Church, economic and social life, its faith in God, its feudal tenures, its cloisters, its autonomous associations and its guilds appeared to these thinkers like a well-compacted building...*<sup>37</sup>

It is just such an alliance of all classes – once vehemently condemned by Marx as “Reactionist” – that is required to resist the common subversive phenomena of Free Trade and revolution. Something of the type was seen again, as mentioned previously, in the post-World War I doctrines of Distributism, Social Credit and Guild Socialism, the first two at least, having been given impetus by Papal encyclicals,<sup>38</sup> that saw the danger of Marxism as a product of the excesses of capitalism, and both as forms of materialism leading to a world devoid of faith. It is this faithless, secular world, where Mammon rules, and what Spengler saw as the epoch of decline, but perhaps also as one of prelude to revolt against “money”<sup>39</sup> renewal and a “Second Religiousness.”<sup>40</sup>

## Notes:

1 - A Ludovici, *A Defence of Conservatism* (1927), pp. 79-80.

2 - M Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, Asceticism and the Sprit of Capitalism* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1930), passim.

3 - R D Meade and W C Davis, *Judah P Benjamin: Confederate Statesman* (Louisiana State University Press, 2001), p. 270.

4 - O Spengler, *Prussians and Socialism* (1919), IV: “Marx.”

5 - O Spengler *The Decline of The West*, (London : George Allen & Unwin , 1971), Vol. 2, p. 506.

6 - Ibid., footnote 2.

7 - O Spengler, *Prussian and Socialism*, op. cit.

8 - E Pound, *Social Credit: An Impact*, 1935 (London: Peter Russell, 1951).

9 - M R Stevens, “T S Eliot’s Neo-Medieval Economics,” Center for Economic Personalism, *Journal of Markets & Morality*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Fall 1999, p. 236.

10 - D Trussell, *Fairburn* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1984), p. 114.

11 - O Spengler, op. cit., The tables of “Contemporary” cultural, spiritual and political epochs in *The Decline* can be found online at: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/13596939/Spenglers-Civilization-Model>

12 - Chapter 18.

13 - A Briggs (ed.), *The Nineteenth Century: The Contradictions of Progress*, (New York: Bonanza Books,

1985), p. 29.

14 - "Turning and turning in the widening gyre

The falcon cannot hear the falconer:

Things fall apart, the centre cannot hold;

Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world..." W B Yeats, *The Second Coming*, 1921.

15 - For the means by which "revolutions" in the name of the "the people" have long been formulated or manipulated by the interests they are supposedly opposing, see: K R Bolton, *Revolution from Above* (London: Arktos Media Ltd., 2011).

16 - O Spengler, *The Hour of Decision* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1934), pp. 42-43.

17 - O Spengler, *The Decline of The West*, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 464.

18 - Ibid. p. 402.

19 - K R Bolton, op. cit., passim.

20 - J Robison (1798) *Proofs of a Conspiracy* (Boston: Western Islands, 1967), p. 210.

21 - O Spengler, *The Hour of Decision*, op. cit., p. 141; citing Marx, Appendix to *Elend der Philosophie*, 1847.

22 - K Marx, *The Communist Manifesto* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), p. 41.

23 - Ibid., p. 44.

24 - Ibid., p. 47.

25 - Ibid., pp. 46-47.

26 - G Pascal Zachary, *The Global Me: Why Nations will succeed or Fail in the Next Generation* (New South Wales: Allen & Unwin, 2000).

27 - K Marx, *The Communist Manifesto*, op. cit., p. 51.

28 - A particularly vivid account of traditional rural life is given by Knut Hamsun in *The Growth of the Soil* (1920).

29 - K Marx, op. cit., p. 47.

30 - O Spengler, *The Decline of The West*, op. cit., Vol. 2, Chapter 4, (a) "The Soul of the City," pp. 87-110.

31 - K Marx, *The Communist Manifesto*, op. cit., p. 47.

32 - Ibid, p. 46.

33 - Ibid., 57.

34 - Ibid., III "Socialist and Communist Literature, 1. Reactionary Socialism, a. Feudal Socialism," p. 77.

35 - Ibid., p. 78.

36 - M Beer, *A General History of Socialism and Social Struggle*, (New York: Russell and Russell, 1957) Vol. 2, p. 109.

37 - Ibid., pp. 88-89.

38 - Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum : Rights and Duties of Capital and Labour*, 1891; Pope Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno*, 1930.

39 - O Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 506-507.

40 - Ibid., pp. 310-314.

## 6.

# **ROOTS OF PRESENT WORLD CONFLICT: ZIONIST MACHINATIONS AND WESTERN DUPLICITY DURING WORLD WAR I**

This paper contends that the present so-called “conflict of civilizations,” or “war on terrorism,” and the Arab-Israeli conflict have their origins in the covert machinations of the Great War that betrayed the Arabs, prolonged the war, and established a pestilential organism at the center of the Islamic world that will seemingly forever be a cause of conflict.

After the prior century of conflict between the European imperial powers and an agitated Arabia, World War I was an opportunity to forge a perhaps permanently cordial relationship between the West and the Arabs. Western imperial powers gave Arab leaders promises of independence for joining their war against the Ottomans.

In October 1916 T. E. Lawrence, a British intelligence operative and one of the few who had a wide knowledge of the region, travelled with the British diplomat Sir Ronald Storrs on a mission to Arabia where in June 1916 Husayn ibn ‘Alī, *amīr* of Mecca, had proclaimed a revolt against the Turks. Storrs and Lawrence talked with



two of the *amīr*'s sons, Abdullah and Feisal, the latter then leading a revolt southwest of Medina. In Cairo, Lawrence urged the funding and equipping of those sheiks willing to revolt against the Turks, with the promise of independence. He was dispatched to Feisal's army as adviser and liaison officer.

However, the Zionists and the British War Cabinet had reached a backroom deal. The war was going badly for the Allies, and the only hope was to persuade the USA to enter. On the other hand, the Zionists, who had placed their hopes in the kaiser and the Ottoman sultan for securing Palestine, had been rebuffed. Sultan Abdul Hamid had responded to Zionist leader Theodor Herzl that a Jewish state in Palestine was not agreeable, as his people had "fought for this land and fertilized it with their blood... let the Jews keep their millions."<sup>1</sup> Zionist leaders approached the kaiser, who was then trying to align with Turkey, the Zionists claiming that a Jewish state in Palestine would become an outpost of German culture.<sup>2</sup> The kaiser did not acquiesce, and neither did the czar.<sup>3</sup> The initial response from Britain to Herzl, by Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain, was to support a Jewish state in Kenya.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the opposition of Jamal Pasha, Turkish Commander of Palestine, the Zionists continued to remind the Germans and the Turks of the benefits of a Zionist state in Palestine that could serve as a "counter-weight" to Arab demands for autonomy.<sup>5</sup> Other Zionists believed that Britain was the better option for securing Palestine, and Vladimir Jabotinsky, founder of the Revisionist Zionist movement, formed three Jewish battalions that served with the Royal Fusiliers in Palestine in 1918.<sup>6</sup> This, however, does not diminish the Arab support for the Allied war effort, nor the promises that were made by the Allies to the Arabs. As will be seen, the Zionist belittling of Arab sacrifices in the war, under the leadership of T. E. Lawrence, was one of the original smears against the Arab people.

Lord Kitchener, British agent in Egypt and later secretary of state for war, realized the potential for Arab support against the Turks. On October 31, 1914, Kitchener sent a message to Hussein, *sharif* of Mecca and custodian of the Holy Places, pledging British support for Arab independence in return for support of the Allied war effort. The *sharif* was cautious, as he did not wish to replace Turkish rule, which allowed a measure of self-government, with that of Western colonialism. At this

time the Ottoman sultan had declared a *jihad* against the Allies to mobilize Arab support for the war, and while the *sharif* feigned support, he sought out the views of Arab nationalist leaders. On 23 May 1915, Arab leaders formulated the Damascus Protocol, calling for independence for all Arab lands other than Aden, and the elimination of foreign privileges, but with a pro-British orientation in terms of trade and defense. Correspondence between *Sharif* Hussein and Sir Henry McMahon, British commissioner in Cairo, during 1915 and early 1916, culminated in McMahon's guarantee of British support for independence within the requested boundaries, so long as French interests were not undermined.<sup>7</sup>

With both sides satisfied as to the guarantees, which included a sovereign Palestine, the Arab revolt broke out in the Hejaz on June 5, 1916. With Arab aid, the British were able to repulse the German attempt to take Aden and blockade the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. This was decisive.<sup>8</sup> The Arabs also diverted significant Turkish forces that had been intended for an attack on General Murray in his advance on Palestine. General Allenby referred to the Arab aid as "invaluable." Arabs suffered much from Turkish vengeance. Tens of thousands of Arabs died of starvation in Palestine and Lebanon because the Turks withheld food. Jamal Pasha, leader of the Turkish forces, recorded that he had to use Turkish forces against Ibn Saud in the Arabian Peninsula when those troops should have been "defeating the British on the [Suez] Canal and capturing Cairo."<sup>9</sup>

Lawrence in *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* related the importance of the Arab contribution to the Allied war effort, stating that "without Arab help England could not pay the price of winning its Turkish sector. When Damascus fell, the eastern war - probably the whole war - drew to an end."<sup>10</sup> Lawrence stated of the Arab revolt that "it was an Arab war waged and led by Arabs for an Arab aim in Arabia."<sup>11</sup> The Arab struggle owed little to British, or any other outside assistance. Lawrence relates in *Seven Pillars* with bitterness and shame the betrayal of the Arabs by his country's leaders after the war:

*For my work on the Arab front I had determined to accept nothing. The Cabinet raised the Arabs to fight for us by definite promises of self-government afterwards. Arabs believe in persons, not in institutions. They saw in me a free*

*agent of the British Government, and demanded from me an endorsement of its written promises. So I had to join the conspiracy, and, for what my word was worth, assured the men of their reward. In our two years' partnership under fire they grew accustomed to believing me and to think my Government, like myself, sincere. In this hope they performed some fine things, but, of course, instead of being proud of what we did together, I was bitterly ashamed.*

*It was evident from the beginning that if we won the war these promises would be dead paper, and had I been an honest adviser of the Arabs I would have advised them to go home and not risk their lives fighting for such stuff: but I salved myself with the hope that, by leading these Arabs madly in the final victory I would establish them, with arms in their hands, in a position so assured (if not dominant) that expediency would counsel to the Great Powers a fair settlement of their claims. In other words, I presumed (seeing no other leader with the will and power) that I would survive the campaigns, and be able to defeat not merely the Turks on the battlefield, but my own country and its allies in the council-chamber...<sup>12</sup>*

The dismissal of Sir Henry McMahon, British commissioner in Cairo, whose communications relaying British guarantees had set the stage for the Arab Revolt, confirmed Lawrence's belief in Britain's "essential insincerity" of their promises to the Arabs. This perfidy scarred Lawrence deeply for the rest of his life.

### **The Sykes-Picot Agreement & Betrayal of the Arabs**

In the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 between Britain and France, "parts" of Palestine would be under international administration upon agreement among the Allies and with the Arabs represented by the *sharif* of Mecca.<sup>13</sup> This Anglo-French agreement already had the seeds of duplicity as it gave the two powers control over Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Transjordan, reneging on the commitment that had already been given by the British to *Sharif* Hussein, and without his knowledge. Lord Curzon remarked that the boundary lines drawn up by the Sykes-Picot agreement indicated "gross ignorance" and he assumed that it was never believed the agreement would be

implemented. Prime Minister Lloyd George considered the Sykes-Picot Agreement foolish and dishonourable, but it was nonetheless implemented after the Allied victory.<sup>14</sup>

The Bolsheviks in the newly formed Soviet Union, eager to present themselves as the leaders of a world revolt against European colonialism, released the details of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and the Turks took the matter to the Arabs in February 1918, stating that they were now willing to recognize Arab independence. Hussein sought clarification from Britain, and Lord Balfour replied that: “His Majesty’s Government confirms previous pledges respecting the recognition of the independence of the Arab countries.”<sup>15</sup> In 1918 Arab leaders in Cairo sought clarification from Britain and the British “Declaration to the Seven” on 16 June confirmed the previous pledge that had been made to Hussein.<sup>16</sup>

### **The Balfour Declaration**

Sir Mark Sykes, the individual responsible for the Sykes-Picot Agreement, approached the British War Cabinet with the suggestion that if Palestine was offered as a Jewish homeland, then Jewish sympathy could be mobilized for the Allied cause, and the USA might be induced to join the conflict. U.S. Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis used his influence to induce President Woodrow Wilson to adopt an interventionist policy.<sup>17</sup> In return for Zionist support the British reneged on their promises to the Arabs and secretly promised to support a Jewish homeland in Palestine; a guarantee that became known as the Balfour Declaration. This scheme prolonged the war, which might have been settled in a more equitable manner towards Germany and Austro-Hungary and hence would surely have changed the whole course of history.

Samuel Landman, a leading Zionist in Britain, related that several attempts had been made to bring the USA into the World War by appealing to “influential Jewish opinion,” but these had failed. James A. Malcolm, adviser to the British government on eastern affairs, who knew that President Wilson was under the influence of Chief Justice Brandeis, convinced Sykes, and then Picot and Goût of the French embassy in

London, that the only way to get the USA into the war was to secure the support of American Jewry with the promise of Allied support for a Jewish state in Palestine.<sup>18</sup> Landman states that after reaching a “gentleman’s agreement” with the Zionist leaders, cable facilities were given to these Zionist leaders through the War Office, Foreign Office, and British embassies and legations, to communicate the agreement to Zionists throughout the world. Landman comments that “the change of official and public opinion as reflected in the American press in favor of joining the Allies in the War, was as gratifying as it was surprisingly rapid.”<sup>19</sup> Hence, the real power of the Zionists, even at that stage, over the press and politics was evident, as noted by Landman. Of the subsequent Balfour Declaration, Landman states:

The main consideration given by the Jewish people represented at the time by the leaders of the Zionist Organisation was their help in bringing President Wilson to the aid of the Allies... The prior Sykes-Picot Treaty of 1916, according to which Northern Palestine was to be politically detached and included in Syria (French sphere) so that the Jewish National Home should comprise the whole of Palestine in accordance with the promise previously made to them for their services by the British, Allied and American Governments and to give full effect to the Balfour Declaration, the terms of which had been settled and known to all Allied and associated belligerents, including the Arabs, before they were made public.<sup>20</sup>

The contention of Landman and other Zionists that these dealings between the Zionists and the Allies to hand Palestine over to the Zionists were known to the Arabs is nonsense, but has remained a basis of pro-Israeli propaganda. Even the Balfour Declaration refers only to British support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine, *so long as it does not intrude upon the rights of the Palestinians*. As shown above, the Arab leaders would not countenance a Jewish homeland in Palestine, even to the limited extent deceptively stated by Balfour. Landman refers to promises of “the whole of Palestine” being made to the Zionists. The Declaration unequivocally states no more and no less that:

His Majesty’s Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish People, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done

which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country.<sup>21</sup>

The British commander in Palestine, D. G. Hogarth, was instructed to assure Hussein that any settlement of Jews in Palestine would not be allowed to act in detriment to the Palestinians. Hussein for his part was willing to allow Jews to settle in Palestine and allow them ready access to the holy places, but would not accept a Jewish state. Hogarth was to relate that the promises being made to both Arabs and Jews simultaneously were not reconcilable.<sup>22</sup>

These machinations were confirmed by Lloyd George to the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937, the report of which states that George told the commission that if the Allies supported a Jewish homeland in Palestine the Zionist leaders had promised to “rally Jewish sentiment and support throughout the world to the allied cause. They kept their word.”<sup>23</sup>

Even after the Bolsheviks revealed these secret agreements, the Arabs continued to fight, due to Allied assurances that neither Sykes-Picot nor the Balfour Declaration “would undermine the promises that had been made to them.” Among the numerous reiterations of Allied support for the Arab cause, the Anglo-French Declaration of 9 November 1918 plainly stated that France and Britain would support setting up “indigenous governments and administrations in Syria (which included Palestine) and Mesopotamia (Iraq).”<sup>24</sup> With such assurances the Arab fight against the Turks was of crucial importance to the Allies.

### **James A. Malcolm**

The memoir of James A. Malcolm, adviser to the British government on eastern affairs, on the Balfour Declaration, confirms all of Landman’s claims.<sup>25</sup> Malcolm states that his father was of Armenian stock, the family having settled centuries previously in Persia, where they were closely associated with the Sassoons, the opium-trading dynasty that became a power in British politics. The Malcolm family also served as liaison between the local Jewish community and another Jewish luminary,

Sir Moses Montefiore in England. When Malcolm arrived in London in 1881 for his education he was placed under the guardianship of Sir Albert Sassoon, and came into contact with Zionists at an early stage. Malcolm acted officially for Armenian interests in the Holy Land in liaising with the British and French Governments, and was in ‘frequent’ contact with the British Cabinet Office, the Foreign Office and the War Office, the French and other Allied embassies in London, and met with French authorities in Paris.<sup>26</sup> These responsibilities brought Malcolm ‘into close relation with Sir Mark Sykes, under secretary of the War Cabinet for the Near East, and with M. Gout, his opposite number at the Quai d’Orsay, and M. Georges Picot, counsellor at the French embassy in London’.<sup>27</sup>

It is here that Malcolm introduces one of the early Zionist slurs against the Arabs in justifying his proposition to Sir Mark Sykes that the USA could be brought into the war if the British promised Palestine to the Jews as a national homeland. Efforts to secure Jewish support in the USA had so far failed because of the “very pro-German tendency among the wealthy American Jewish bankers and bond issuing houses, nearly all of German origin, and among Jewish journalists who took their cue from them.”<sup>28</sup> It was then that the whole Middle East imbroglio to the present was hatched by Malcolm with Sykes et al. Malcolm writes:

I informed him [Sykes] that there was a way to make American Jewry thoroughly pro-Ally, and make them conscious that only an Allied victory could be of permanent benefit to Jewry all over the world. I said to him, “You are going the wrong way about it. The well-to-do English Jews you meet and the Jewish clergy are not the real leaders of the Jewish people. You have overlooked what the call of nationality means. Do you know of the Zionist Movement?” Sir Mark admitted ignorance of this movement and I told him something about it and concluded by saying, “You can win the sympathy of the Jews everywhere, in one way only, and that way is by offering to try and secure Palestine for them.”<sup>29</sup>

In a lengthy note Malcolm disparages the Arab Revolt and its contribution to the Allies, which contradicts the accounts by Lawrence in *Seven Pillars*, and the assessments of the British military leaders in that theater of war. Malcolm writes:

Early in the War the Arabs and their British friends represented that they were in a position to render very great assistance in the Middle East. It was on the strength of these representations and pretensions that the promise contained in the MacMahon letter to King Hussein was made. It was subsequently found that the Arabs were unable to “deliver the goods” and the so-called “Revolt in the Desert” was but a mirage. Their effort, at its maximum, never exceeded seven hundred tribesmen, but frequently less than 300, who careered about the desert some hundreds of miles behind the fighting line reporting for duty on “pay day.” For this they received a remuneration of £200,000 per month in actual gold, which was delivered to them at Akabah. This sum represented a remuneration for every one of the tribesmen of more than the pay of a British Field Marshal. Lawrence himself made no secret of his profound disappointment with the Arab failure to carry out their engagements. That Hussein and Feyzal were not in a position to give any effective help was afterwards made abundantly clear by the fact that Ibn Saud was easily able to drive Hussein out of his kingdom.<sup>30</sup>

It should be noted that Malcolm claims that Lawrence was “profoundly disappointed” with the Arabs. As *Seven Pillars*, and Lawrence’s lifelong bitterness at the betrayal of the Arabs, shows, Malcolm is writing disinformation on the Arabs that has since become staple fare dished up by the Zionists and their Gentile apologists.

The acclaimed British military historian Captain Basil Liddell Hart,<sup>31</sup> chief military commentator with the Allied forces during World War I, reiterates the effectiveness of the Arab Revolt and its contribution to the Allied war effort:

In the crucial weeks while Allenby’s stroke was being prepared and during its delivery, nearly half the Turkish forces south of Damascus were distracted by the Arab forces ... What the absence of these forces meant to the success of Allenby’s stroke, it is easy to see. Nor did the Arab operation end when it had opened the way. For in the issue, it was the Arabs who almost entirely wiped out the Fourth Army, the still intact forces that might have barred the way to final victory. The wear and tear, the bodily and mental strain on men and material applied by the Arabs... prepared the way that produced their (the Turks) defeat.<sup>32</sup>



Clubb and Evans in their paper on Lawrence at the Paris Peace Conference sum up the importance of the Arab Revolt: “Thanks to Lawrence and the Arabs, the British not only successfully invaded Palestine in the autumn of 1917 but continued north into Jerusalem, reaching the city on 11 December. From there they advanced into Damascus in September 1918, right into the very heart of Syria.”<sup>33</sup>

Feisal’s small army adopted guerrilla methods that tied down the Turkish army, hitting bridges and trains. On July 6, 1917, after a two-month march, Arab forces captured Aqaba, on the northern tip of the Red Sea. Thereafter, Lawrence sought to coordinate the Arab actions with General Allenby’s advance towards Jerusalem. In November Lawrence was captured at Dar’ā by the Turks while reconnoitering the area dressed as a Bedouin. Recognized, he was brutalised by his captors before escaping. In August Lawrence participated in the victory parade through Jerusalem, then returned to Feisal’s forces who were pressing north. By now Lawrence had become lieutenant colonel and had been awarded the Distinguished Service Order.

The Arab army reached Damascus in October 1918. Lawrence had successfully established a government in Damascus, which was to serve as the center of a unified Arab state under King Feisal. Having established order in Syria he handed rulership to Feisal. However, the Sykes-Picot Agreement between France and Britain had mandated Syria as part of the French domain. French forces deposed the government that Lawrence had established for Feisal as the center of a unified Arab state with much bloodshed. They gave Feisal Iraq. A united Arab nation, thanks to Anglo-French perfidy and Zionist machinations, was not to be. History, as we know today, was shaped in the back rooms by lobbyists, politicians and diplomats in cynical disregard for the Arabs.

Lawrence returned to Britain shortly prior to the Armistice. At a royal audience on October 30 1918, he politely declined the Order of the Bath and the Distinguished Service Order that was to be awarded to him by the King, leaving George V, as the King was to state, “holding the box in my hand.” Lawrence was demobilized as a lieutenant colonel in July 1919.

That year Lawrence, dressed in Bedouin garb, attended the Paris Peace

Conference as a delegate in the entourage of Prince Feisal, with the approval of the British government. He vainly lobbied for Arab independence, and against the French mandate that was imposed over Syria and Lebanon. Clubb and Evans:

In the early days of the conference Lawrence and Feisal sought to present their case for Arab independence anywhere anytime, to anyone who would listen, delegates and pressmen alike, in private rooms and tea salons. They found willing audiences as people were curious about the mysterious yet regal Arab and his English paladin. When not courting their audiences, Feisal and Lawrence busied themselves preparing the statement that would be delivered at the conference.<sup>34</sup>

However, the French attempted to waylay and thwart Feisal at every turn, and the British insisted that Palestine was not part of any arrangement that had been made with the Arabs during the war.<sup>35</sup> While the French were insistent on the primacy of the Sykes-Picot Agreement in their dealings with the Arabs, the British had made conflicting promises to different interests, including conflicting statements on the status of Palestine. The Anglo-India Office (which had never been in favor of British support for an Arab Revolt) regarded the presence of Lawrence at Paris as “malign,” and that his views were not in accord with British policy. Lawrence was kept out of the British delegation that met again in Paris in 1919 to discuss the issue of Syria and France with Feisal. When Feisal returned to Damascus he declared Syria to be independent on 7 March 1920 and he was declared King of Syria, which included Palestine and Lebanon. The French forces attacked and Feisal was deposed on 24 July 1920, forced into exile in Italy,<sup>36</sup> but was installed as King of Mesopotamia in 1921 with the support of Britain.<sup>37</sup>

Arab support for the Allied cause during World War I, and the promises that the British made to the Arabs, have been all but forgotten, at least in the West. As recent history indicates, the Arabs have bargained in good faith with the West, and have been met with duplicity and betrayal. Now the West is reaping what its perfidious politicians had sown a century ago. There was nothing “inevitable” about this “clash of civilizations.” Good will existed during World War I and was trashed for the sake of Zionism. Sycophancy towards Israel has assured ever since that accord between the Arabs and the West remains forever unattainable.

## Notes:

- 1 - Alfred M. Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection What Price Peace?* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1978), p. 11.
- 2 - One is reminded of the present Zionist claim that Israel is the outpost of “democracy” and of “Western values” in the region.
- 3 - Lilienthal, op. cit., p. 11.
- 4 - Ibid.
- 5 - Ibid., p. 13.
- 6 - Ibid.
- 7 - Sami Hadawi, *Bitter Harvest: Palestine 1914-79* (New York: Caravan Books, 1979), p. 11.
- 8 - Lilienthal, op. cit., p. 17.
- 9 - Quoted by Lilienthal, *ibid.*, p. 17.
- 10 - T. E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (London: Black House Publishing, 2013), p. 666.
- 11 - Ibid., p. 29.
- 12 - Ibid., pp. 31-32.
- 13 - Hadawi, op. cit., p. 12.
- 14 - Ibid., pp. 12-13.
- 15 - Lilienthal, op. cit., p. 18.
- 16 - Ibid.
- 17 - Hadawi, op. cit., p. 13.
- 18 - Samuel Landman, *Great Britain, the Jews and Palestine* (London: New Zionist Press, 1936), pp. 2-3. Landman was honorary secretary of the Joint Zionist Council of the United Kingdom, 1912; joint editor of *The Zionist* 1913-1914; solicitor and secretary for the Zionist Organisation 1917-1922; and adviser to the New Zionist Organisation, ca. 1930s.
- 19 - Landman, *ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
- 20 - Ibid., p. 4.
- 21 - Lord Balfour to Lord Rothschild, 2 November 1917.
- 22 - Lilienthal, op. cit., pp. 18-19.
- 23 - Palestine Royal Commission Report cited by Hadawi, op. cit., p. 14.
- 24 - Hadawi, *ibid.*, p. 15.
- 25 - James A. Malcolm, “Origins of the Balfour Declaration: Dr. Weizmann’s Contribution” (London, 1944). The entire document can be read online at: <http://www.mailstar.net/malcolm.html>
- 26 - Ibid., p. 2.
- 27 - Ibid.
- 28 - Ibid.
- 29 - Ibid.
- 30 - Ibid., note on p. 2.
- 31 - Liddell Hart, *Lawrence of Arabia* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1989 [1935]).
- 32 - Quoted by Hadawi, op. cit., p. 16.
- 33 - Andrew Clubb and C. T. Evans, “T. E. Lawrence and the Arab Cause at the Paris Peace Conference.” Online: <http://www.ctevans.net/Versailles/Diplomats/Lawrence/Background.html>
- 34 - Ibid.

35 - Ibid., "Politics gets in the way of a Settlement'."

36 - Ibid., "A Death in the Family and a Parting of Ways," Online: <http://www.ctevans.net/Versailles/Diplomats/Lawrence/Paper.html>

37 - Ibid., "Postscript," Online: <http://www.ctevans.net/Versailles/Diplomats/Lawrence/Postscript.html>

7.

## **WALL STREET & THE MARCH 1917 RUSSIAN REVOLUTION**

*“There is no proletarian, not even a communist, movement that has not operated in the interests of money, in the directions indicated by money, and for the time permitted by money — and that without the idealists amongst its leaders having the slightest suspicion of the fact.”—Oswald Spengler.<sup>1</sup>*

The “Russian Revolution” (sic) is heralded in both the popular imagination and by academe as a triumph of the people against Czarist tyranny, even if most concede that the utopian vision turned sour, at least with the eventual dictatorship of Stalin. However a look behind the multiple facades of history shows that the “Russian Revolution” was one of many upheavals that have served those who provide the funding. Few—whether laymen or supposed “experts”—ever seem to question as to where the money comes to finance these revolutions, and we are expected to believe that they are “spontaneous uprisings of the people against oppression,” just as today we are still expected to believe that the so-called “colour revolutions” in the Ukraine, Georgia, Serbia, etc., are “spontaneous demonstrations.” This essay examines the

funding of the March 1917 Russian Revolution, the so-called First Revolution that served as an opening scene for the Bolsheviks, and concludes that there are forces at work behind the scenes, whose goals are far removed from the welfare of the masses.

March 2010 marks the ninety-third anniversary of the (First) Russian Revolution, which served as the prelude for the Bolshevik *coup* the following November, known as the “Bolshevik Revolution.” A look beyond orthodoxy shows with ample documentation that socialism, from social democracy and *fabianism*<sup>2</sup> to communism, has generally “operated in the interests of money” as Spengler observed.

The Fabian historian and novelist H. G. Wells, when in Russia in 1920 observing the still precarious Bolshevik regime, commenting on how arch-capitalists were even then already going into the embryonic Soviet republic to negotiate commercial concessions<sup>3</sup>, wrote:

*. . . Big business is by no means antipathetic to Communism. The larger big business grows the more it approximates to Collectivism. It is the upper road of the few instead of the lower road of the masses to Collectivism.*<sup>4</sup>

Big Business saw in socialism a means for both destroying the traditional foundations of nations and societies and as a control mechanism. In the case of Old Russia where a State based on monarchical and rural traditions was not amenable to being opened up for global business exploitation of its resources the scene was set for the upheavals of 1917 back in 1905 at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, which played a significant role in the formation of a Russian revolutionary cadre.<sup>5</sup> The funding for the formation of that cadre came from Jacob Schiff, senior partner of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., New York, who backed Japan in the war against Russia.<sup>6</sup>

The individual most responsible for turning American opinion, including government and diplomatic opinion, against Czarist Russia was the journalist George Kennan<sup>7</sup>, who was sponsored by Schiff. In a collection of essays on American-Russian diplomacy, Cowley states that during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 Kennan was in Japan organising Russian POWs into ‘revolutionary cells’ and claimed to have converted “52,000 Russian soldiers into ‘revolutionists’”. Cowley also adds, significantly, “*Certainly such activity, well-financed by groups in the United States,*

*contributed little to Russian-American solidarity.”<sup>8</sup>*

The source of the revolutionary funding “by groups in the United States” was explained by Kennan at a celebration of the March 1917 Russian Revolution, as reported as by the *New York Times*:

*Mr. Kennan told of the work of the Friends of Russian Freedom in the revolution.*

*He said that during the Russian-Japanese war he was in Tokio, and that he was permitted to make visits among the 12,000 Russian prisoners in Japanese hands at the end of the first year of the war. He had conceived the idea of putting revolutionary propaganda into the hands of the Russian army.*

*The Japanese authorities favoured it and gave him permission. After which he sent to America for all the Russian revolutionary literature to be had . . .*

*“The movement was financed by a New York banker you all know and love,” he said, referring to Mr Schiff, “and soon we received a ton and a half of Russian revolutionary propaganda. At the end of the war 50,000 Russian officers and men went back to their country ardent revolutionists. The Friends of Russian Freedom had sowed 50,000 seeds of liberty in 100 Russian regiments. I do not know how many of these officers and men were in the Petrograd fortress last week, but we do know what part the army took in the revolution.”*

*Then was read a telegram from Jacob H. Schiff, part of which is as follows: “Will you say for me to those present at tonight’s meeting how deeply I regret my inability to celebrate with the Friends of Russian Freedom the actual reward of what we had hoped and striven for these long years.”<sup>9</sup>*

The reaction to the Russian revolution by Schiff and indeed by bankers generally, in the USA and London, was one of jubilation. Schiff wrote enthusiastically to the *New York Times*:

*May I through your columns give expression to my joy that the Russian nation, a great and good people, have at last effected their deliverance from centuries of autocratic oppression and through an almost bloodless revolution have now*

*come into their own. Praised be God on high! Jacob H. Schiff.*<sup>10</sup>

Writing to *The Evening Post* in response to a question about revolutionary Russia's new status with world financial markets, Schiff replied as head of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.:

*Replying to your request for my opinion of the effects of the revolution upon Russia's finances, I am quite convinced that with the certainty of the development of the country's enormous resources, which, with the shackles removed from a great people, will follow present events, Russia will before long take rank financially amongst the most favoured nations in the money markets of the world.*<sup>11</sup>

Schiff's reply reflected the general attitude of London and New York financial circles at the time of the revolution. John B. Young of the National City Bank, who had been in Russia in 1916 in regard to a US loan stated in 1917 of the revolution that it has been discussed widely when he had been in Russia the previous year. He regarded those involved as "*solid, responsible and conservative.*"<sup>12</sup> In the same issue, the *New York Times* reported that there had been a rise in Russian exchange transactions in London 24 hours preceding the revolution, and that London had known of the revolution prior to New York. The article reported that most prominent financial and business leaders in London and New York had a positive view of the revolution.<sup>13</sup> Another report states that while there had been some disquiet about the revolution, "*this news was by no means unwelcome in more important banking circles.*"<sup>14</sup>

These bankers and industrialists are cited in these articles as regarding the revolution as being able to eliminate pro-German influents in the Russian government and as likely to pursue a more vigorous course against Germany. Yet such seemingly "patriotic sentiments" cannot be considered the motivation behind the plutocratic support for the revolution. While Max Warburg of the Warburg banking house in Germany, advised the Kaiser and while the German Government arranged for funding and safe passage of Lenin and his entourage from Switzerland across Germany to Russia; his brother Paul,<sup>15</sup> as associate of Schiff's,<sup>16</sup> looked after the family interests in New York. The factor that was behind this banking support for the revolution whether from London, New York, Stockholm,<sup>17</sup> or Berlin, was that of the tremendous largely



untapped resources that would become available to the world financial markets, which had hitherto been denied control under the Czar. It must be kept in mind that these banking dynasties were—and are—not merely national or local banks but are *international* and do not owe loyalty to any particular nation, unless that nation happens to be acting in their interests at a particular time. <sup>18</sup>

The Bolshevik Revolution of eight months later, despite the violent anti-capitalist rhetoric, was to open Russia's vast resources up to world capitalism, although with the advent of Stalin, not to the extent that the plutocrats had thought when the Lenin-Trotsky regime had held sway for several years.

## Notes

- 1 - Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of The West*, 1918, 1926 (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1971), vol. 2, p. 402.
- 2 - The Fabian Society features on its coat-of-arms a wolf in sheep's clothing. Prominent among the founding members were literati such as H. G. Wells and G. B. Shaw. The Fabians founded the London School of Economics and Political Science as a training academy for the future governing elite in a collectivist state. According to co-founder Beatrice Webb, funding for this came from Sir Ernest Cassel of Vickers armaments and Kuhn, Loeb & Co., New York; and the Rothschilds, et al. (K. R. Bolton, op.cit., "Revolution By Stealth").
- 3 - Washington A. Vanderlip was in Russia at the same time as Wells, negotiating commercial concessions with the Soviet regime—successfully.
- 4 - H. G. Wells, *Russia in the Shadows*, Chapter VII, "The Envoy." Wells went to Russia in September 1920 at the invitation of Kamenev, of the Russian Trade Delegation in London, one of the leaders of the Bolshevik regime. *Russia in the Shadows* appeared as a series of articles in *The Sunday Express*. The whole book can be read online at: [gutenberg.net.au/ebooks06/0602371h.html](http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks06/0602371h.html)
- 5 - The Russian monarchy and the Russian peasant were both considered historically passé by the Western financial establishment, in the same manner that in our own time the Afrikaner farming folk were considered passé and their system of apartheid hindered the globalisation of South Africa's economy. Like the March and November 1917 Russian Revolutions, the ostensibly "Black" revolution in South Africa eliminated the Afrikaner anachronism and under "socialism" has privatised the *parastatals* (state-owned utility companies) and privatised the economy.
- 6 - "Jacob Schiff," *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XVI, p. 431. Schiff gave a loan of \$200,000,000 to the Japanese aggressors, for which he was decorated by the Japanese Emperor.
- 7 - Robert Cowley, "A Year in Hell," *America and Russia: A Century and a Half of Dramatic Encounters*, ed. Oliver Jensen (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962), pp. 92-121. The introductory note to the chapter indicates the nature of Kennan's influence: "An American journalist, George Kennan, became the first to reveal the full horrors of Siberian exile and the brutal, studied inhumanity of Czarist 'justice'." Cowley quotes historian Thomas A. Bailey as stating of Kennan: "No one person did more to cause the people of the United States to turn against their presumed benefactor of yesteryear." (A reference to Czarist Russia's support for the Union during the American Civil War). Cowley, *ibid.*, p. 118.
- 8 - *Ibid.*, p. 120.
- 9 - *New York Times*, 24 March, 1917, pp. 1-2.
- 10 - Jacob H. Schiff, "Jacob H. Schiff Rejoices, By Telegraph to the Editor of the New York Times," *New*

*York Times*, 18 March, 1917. This can be viewed in The New York Times online archives: <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9802E4DD163AE532A2575BC1A9659C946696D6CF> (accessed 12 January 2010).

11 - "Loans easier for Russia," *The New York Times*, 20 March 1917. <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9B04EFDD143AE433A25753C2A9659C946696D6CF> (accessed 12 January 2010).

12 - "Is A People's Revolution." *The New York Times*, 16 March 1917.

13 - "Bankers here pleased with news of revolution," *ibid*.

14 - "Stocks strong – Wall Street interpretation of Russian News," *ibid*.

15 - Paul Warburg, prior to emigrating to the USA, had been decorated by the Kaiser in 1912.

16 - Paul Warburg was also Schiff's brother-in-law.

17 - Olof Achberg of the Nye Banken, Stockholm was to serve as the conduit for funds between international banks and the Bolsheviks.

18 - For example, what national or prior imperial loyalties could a banking dynasty such as the Rothschilds owe, when they had family branches of the bank in London, Paris, Frankfurt, and Berlin? The same question applies to all such banks, and in our own time to the trans-national corporations.

8.

## **WALL STREET & THE NOVEMBER 1917 BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION**

My last article documented the funding of the March 1917 Revolution in Russia.<sup>1</sup> The primary financier of the Russian revolutionary movement 1905–1917 was Jacob Schiff, of Kuhn Loeb and Co., New York. In particular Schiff had provided the money for the distribution of revolutionary propaganda among Russians prisoners-of-war in Japan in 1905 by the American journalist George Kennan who, more than any other individual, was responsible for turning American public and official opinion against Czarist Russia. Kennan subsequently related that it was thanks to Schiff that 50,000 Russian soldiers were revolutionized and formed the cadres that laid the basis for the March 1917 Revolution and, we might add—either directly or indirectly—the consequent Bolshevik *coup* of November. The reaction of bankers from Wall Street and The City towards the overthrow of the Czar was enthusiastic.

This article deals with the funding of the subsequent Bolshevik *coup* eight months later which, as paradoxical as it might seem to those who know nothing of history other than the orthodox version, was also greeted cordially by banking circles in Wall Street and elsewhere.

Apologists for the bankers and other highly-placed individuals who supported the Bolsheviks from the earliest stages of the communist takeover, either diplomatically or financially, justify the support for this mass application of psychopathology as being motivated by patriotic sentiment, in trying to thwart German influence over the Bolsheviks and to keep Russia in the war against Germany. Because Lenin and his entourage had been able to enter Russia courtesy of the German High Command on the basis that a Bolshevik regime would withdraw Russia from the war, Wall Street capitalists explained that their patronage of the Bolsheviks was motivated by the highest ideals of pro-Allied sentiment. Hence, William Boyce Thompson in particular stated that by funding Bolshevik propaganda for distribution in Germany and Austria this would undermine the war effort of those countries, while his assistance to the Bolsheviks in Russia was designed to swing them in favor of the Allies.

These protestations of patriotic motivations ring hollow. *International banking* is precisely what it is called—*international*, or globalist as such forms of capitalism are now called. Not only have these banking forms and other forms of big business had overlapping directorships and investments for generations, but they are often related through intermarriage. While Max Warburg of the Warburg banking house in Germany advised the Kaiser and while the German Government arranged for funding and safe passage of Lenin and his entourage from Switzerland across Germany to Russia;<sup>2</sup> his brother Paul,<sup>3</sup> a partner of Jacob Schiff's at Wall Street, looked after the family interests in New York. The primary factor that was behind the bankers' support for the Bolsheviks whether from London,<sup>4</sup> New York, Stockholm,<sup>5</sup> or Berlin, was to open up the underdeveloped resources of Russia to the world market, just as in our own day George Soros, the money speculator, funds the so-called "color revolutions" to bring about "regime change" that facilitates the opening up of resources to global exploitation. Hence there can no longer be any doubt that international capital plays a major role in fomenting revolutions, because Soros plays the well-known modern-day equivalent of Jacob Schiff.

## **Recognition of Bolsheviks Pushed by Bankers**

This aim of international finance, whether centered in Germany, England or the USA, to open up Russia to capitalist exploitation by supporting the Bolsheviks, was widely commented on at the time by a diversity of well-informed sources, including Allied intelligence agencies, and of particular interest by two very different individuals, Henry Wickham Steed, editor of *The London Times*, and Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor.

On May 1, 1922 *The New York Times* reported that Gompers, reacting to negotiations at the international economic conference at Genoa, declared that a group of “predatory international financiers” were working for the recognition of the Bolshevik regime for the opening up of resources for exploitation. Despite the rhetoric by New York and London bankers during the war that a Russian revolution would serve the Allied cause, Gompers opined that this was an “Anglo-American-German banking group,” and that they were “international bankers” who did not adhere to any national allegiance. He also noted that prominent Americans who had a history of anti-labor attitudes were advocating recognition of the Bolshevik regime.<sup>6</sup>

What Gompers claimed, was similarly expressed by Henry Wickham Steed of *The London Times*, based on his observations. In a first-hand account of the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, Steed stated that proceedings were interrupted by the return from Moscow of William C. Bullitt and Lincoln Steffens, “who had been sent to Russia towards the middle of February by Colonel House and Mr. Lansing, for the purpose of studying conditions, political and economic, therein for the benefit of the American Commissioners plenipotentiary to negotiate peace.”<sup>7</sup> Steed also refers to British Prime Minister Lloyd George as being likely to have known of the Mission and its purpose. Steed stated that international finance was behind the move for recognition of the Bolshevik regime and other moves in favor of the Bolsheviks, and specifically identified Jacob Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., New York, as one of the principal bankers “eager to secure recognition”:

*Potent international financial interests were at work in favor of the immediate recognition of the Bolsheviks. Those influences had been largely responsible*

*for the Anglo-American proposal in January to call Bolshevik representatives to Paris at the beginning of the Peace Conference—a proposal which had failed after having been transformed into a suggestion for a Conference with the Bolsheviks at Prinkipo. . . . The well-known American Jewish banker, Mr. Jacob Schiff, was known to be anxious to secure recognition for the Bolsheviks . . .*<sup>8</sup>

In return for diplomatic recognition, Tchitcherin, the Bolshevik Commissary for Foreign Affairs, was offering “extensive commercial and economic concessions.”

Wickham Steed with the support of *The Times*’ proprietor, Lord Northcliffe, exposed the machinations of international finance to obtain the recognition of the Bolshevik regime, which still had a very uncertain future.

Steed related that he was called upon by US President Wilson’s primary adviser, Edward Mandel House, who was concerned at Steed’s exposé of the relationship between Bolsheviks and international financiers:

*That day Colonel House asked me to call upon him. I found him worried both by my criticism of any recognition of the Bolsheviks and by the certainty, which he had not previously realized, that if the President were to recognize the Bolsheviks in return for commercial concessions his whole “idealism” would be hopelessly compromised as commercialism in disguise. I pointed out to him that not only would Wilson be utterly discredited but that the League of Nations would go by the board, because all the small peoples and many of the big peoples of Europe would be unable to resist the Bolshevism which Wilson would have accredited.*<sup>9</sup>

Steed stated to House that it was Jacob Schiff, Warburg and other bankers who were behind the diplomatic moves in favor of the Bolsheviks:

*I insisted that, unknown to him, the prime movers were Jacob Schiff, Warburg, and other international financiers, who wished above all to bolster up the Jewish Bolsheviks in order to secure a field for German and Jewish exploitation of Russia.*<sup>10</sup>

Steed here indicates an uncharacteristic naïveté in thinking that House would *not* have

known of the plans of Schiff, Warburg, *et al.* House was throughout his career close to these bankers and was involved with them in setting up a war-time think tank called The Inquiry, and following the war the creation of the Council on Foreign Relations, in order to shape an internationalist post-war foreign policy. It was Schiff and Paul Warburg and other Wall Street bankers who called on House in 1913 to get House's support for the creation of the Federal Reserve Bank.<sup>11</sup>

House in Machiavellian manner asked Steed to compromise; to support humanitarian aid supposedly for the benefit of all Russians. Steed agreed to consider this, but soon after talking with House found out that British Prime Minister Lloyd George and Wilson were to proceed with recognition the following day. Steed therefore wrote the leading article for the Paris *Daily Mail* of March 28th, exposing the maneuvers and asking how a pro-Bolshevik attitude was consistent with Pres. Wilson's declared moral principles for the post-war world?

*. . . Who are the tempters that would dare whisper into the ears of the Allied and Associated Governments? They are not far removed from the men who preached peace with profitable dishonour to the British people in July, 1914. They are akin to, if not identical with, the men who sent Trotsky and some scores of associate desperadoes to ruin the Russian Revolution as a democratic, anti-German force in the spring of 1917.*<sup>12</sup>

Here Steed does not seem to have been aware that some of the same bankers who were supporting the Bolsheviks had also supported the March Revolution.

Charles Crane,<sup>13</sup> who had recently talked with President Wilson, told Steed that Wilson was about to recognize the Bolsheviks, which would result in a negative public opinion in the USA and destroy Wilson's post-War internationalist aims. Significantly Crane also identified the pro-Bolshevik faction as being that of Big Business, stating to Steed: "Our people at home will certainly not stand for the recognition of the Bolsheviks at the bidding of Wall Street." Steed was again seen by House, who stated that Steed's article in the Paris *Daily Mail*, "had got under the President's hide." House asked that Steed postpone further exposés in the press, and again raised the prospect of recognition based on humanitarian aid. Lloyd George was also greatly perturbed by

Steed's articles in the *Daily Mail* and complained that he could not undertake a "sensible" policy towards the Bolsheviks while the press had an anti-Bolshevik attitude.<sup>14</sup>

### **Thompson and the American Red Cross Mission**

As mentioned, House attempted to persuade Steed on the idea of relations with Bolshevik Russia ostensibly for the purpose of humanitarian aid for the Russian people. This had already been undertaken just after the Bolshevik Revolution, when the regime was far from certain, under the guise of the American Red Cross Mission. Col. William Boyce Thompson, a director of the NY Federal Reserve Bank, organized and largely funded the Mission, with other funding coming from International Harvester, which gave \$200,000. The so-called Red Cross Mission was largely comprised of business personnel, and was according to Thompson's assistant, Cornelius Kelleher, "nothing but a mask" for business interests.<sup>15</sup> Of the 24 members, five were doctors and two were medical researchers. The rest were lawyers and businessmen associated with Wall Street. Dr. Billings nominally headed the Mission.<sup>16</sup> Prof. Antony Sutton of the Hoover Institute stated that the Mission provided assistance for revolutionaries:

*We know from the files of the U.S. embassy in Petrograd that the U.S. Red Cross gave 4,000 rubles to Prince Lvoff, president of the Council of Ministers, for "relief of revolutionists" and 10,000 rubles in two payments to Kerensky for "relief of political refugees."*<sup>17</sup>

The original intention of the Mission, hastily organized by Thompson in light of revolutionary events, was "nothing less than to shore up the Provisional regime," according to the historian William Harlane Hale, formerly of the United States Foreign Service.<sup>18</sup> The support for the social revolutionaries indicates that the same bankers who backed the Kerensky regime and the March Revolution also supported the Bolsheviks, and it seems reasonable to opine that these financiers considered Kerensky a mere prelude for the Bolshevik coup, as the following indicates.

Thompson set himself up in royal manner in Petrograd reporting directly to Pres.



Wilson and bypassing US Ambassador Francis. Thompson provided funds from his own money, first to the Social Revolutionaries, to whom he gave one million rubles,<sup>19</sup> and shortly after \$1,000,000 to the Bolsheviks to spread their propaganda to Germany and Austria.<sup>20</sup> Thompson met Thomas Lamont of J. P. Morgan Co. in London to persuade the British War Cabinet to drop its anti-Bolshevik policy. On his return to the USA Thompson undertook a tour advocating US recognition of the Bolsheviks.<sup>21</sup> Thompson's deputy Raymond Robbins had been pressing for recognition of the Bolsheviks, and Thompson agreed that the Kerensky regime was doomed and consequently "sped to Washington to try and swing the Administration onto a new policy track," meeting resistance from Wilson, who was being pressure by Ambassador Francis.<sup>22</sup>

### **The "Bolshevik of Wall Street"**

Such was Thompson's enthusiasm for Bolshevism that he was nicknamed "the Bolshevik of Wall Street" by his fellow plutocrats. Thompson gave a lengthy interview with *The New York Times* just after his four month tour with the American Red Cross Mission, lauding the Bolsheviks and assuring the American public that the Bolsheviks were not about to make a separate peace with Germany.<sup>23</sup> The article is an interesting indication of how Wall Street viewed their supposedly "deadly enemies," the Bolsheviks, at a time when their position was very precarious. Thompson stated that while the "reactionaries," if they assumed power, might seek peace with Germany, the Bolsheviks would not. "His opinion is that Russia needs America, that America must stand by Russia," stated the *Times*. Thompson is quoted: "The Bolshevik peace aims are the same as those of the United States." Thompson alluded to Wilson's speech to the United States Congress on Russia as "a wonderful meeting of the situation," but that the American public "know very little about the Bolsheviks." *The Times* stated:

*Colonel Thompson is a banker and a capitalist, and he has large manufacturing interests. He is not a sentimentalist nor a "radical." But he has come back from his official visit to Russia in absolute sympathy with the Russian democracy as represented by the Bolsheviks at present.*

Hence at this time Thompson was trying to sell the Bolsheviks as “democrats,” implying that they were part of the same movement as the Kerensky regime that they had overthrown. While Thompson did not consider Bolshevism the final form of government, he did see it as the most promising step towards a “representative government” and that it was the “duty” of the USA to “sympathize” with and “aid” Russia “through her days of crisis.” He stated that in reply to surprise at his pro-Bolshevik sentiments he did not mind being called “red” if that meant sympathy for 170,000,000 people “struggling for liberty and fair living.” Thompson also saw that while the Bolsheviks had entered a “truce” with Germany, they were also spreading Bolshevik doctrines among the German people, which Thompson called “their ideals of freedom” and their “propaganda of democracy.” Thompson lauded the Bolshevik Government as being the equivalent to America’s democracy, stating:

*The present government in Russia is a government of workingmen. It is a Government by the majority, and, because our Government is a government of the majority, I don't see how it can fail to support the Government of Russia.*

Thompson saw the prospects of the Bolshevik Government being transformed as it incorporated a more Centrist position and included employers. If Bolshevism did not proceed thus, then “God help the world,” warned Thompson. Given that this was a time when Lenin and Trotsky held sway over the regime, subsequently to become the most enthusiastic advocates of opening Russia up to foreign capital (New Economic Policy) prospects seemed good for a joint Capitalist-Bolshevik venture with no indication that an upstart named Stalin would throw a spanner in the works.

The *Times* article ends: “At home in New York, the Colonel has received the good-natured title of ‘the Bolshevik of Wall Street.’”<sup>24</sup> It was against this background that it can now be understood why labor leader Samuel Gompers denounced Bolshevism as a tool of “predatory international finance,” while arch-capitalist Thompson lauded it as “a government of working men.”

### **The Council on Foreign Relations Report**

The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) had been established in 1921 by

President Wilson's chief adviser Edward Mandel House out of a previous think tank called The Inquiry, formed in 1917–1918 to advise President Wilson on the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. It was this conference about which Steed had detailed his observations when he stated that there were financial interests trying to secure the recognition of the Bolsheviks.<sup>25</sup>

Peter Grose in his semi-official history of the CFR writes of it as a think tank combining academe and big business that had emerged from The Inquiry group.<sup>26</sup> Therefore the CFR report on Soviet Russia at this early period is instructive as to the relationship that influential sections of the US Establishment wished to pursue in regard to the Bolshevik regime. Grosse writes of this period:

*Awkward in the records of The Inquiry had been the absence of a single study or background paper on the subject of Bolshevism. Perhaps this was simply beyond the academic imagination of the times. Not until early 1923 could the Council summon the expertise to mobilize a systematic examination of the Bolshevik regime, finally entrenched after civil war in Russia. The impetus for this first study was Lenin's New Economic Policy, which appeared to open the struggling Bolshevik economy to foreign investment. Half the Council's study group were members drawn from firms that had done business in pre-revolutionary Russia, and the discussions about the Soviet future were intense. The concluding report dismissed "hysterical" fears that the revolution would spill outside Russia's borders into central Europe or, worse, that the heady new revolutionaries would ally with nationalistic Muslims in the Middle East to evict European imperialism. The Bolsheviks were on their way to "sanity and sound business practices," the Council study group concluded, but the welcome to foreign concessionaires would likely be short-lived. Thus, the Council experts recommended in March 1923 that American businessmen get into Russia while Lenin's invitation held good, make money on their investments, and then get out as quickly as possible. A few heeded the advice; not for seven decades would a similar opportunity arise.<sup>27</sup>*

However, financial interests had already moved into Soviet Russia from the beginning of the Bolshevik regime.

## **The Vanderlip Concession**

H. G. Wells, historian, novelist, and Fabian-socialist, observed first-hand the relationship between Communism and big business when he had visited Bolshevik Russia. Travelling to Russia in 1920 where he interviewed Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders, Wells hoped that the Western Powers and in particular the USA would come to the Soviets' aid. Wells also met there "Mr. Vanderlip" who was negotiating business contracts with the Soviets. Wells commented of the situation he would like to see developing, and as a self-described "collectivist" made a telling observation on the relationship between Communism and "Big Business":

*The only Power capable of playing this role of eleventh-hour helper to Russia single-handed is the United States of America. That is why I find the adventure of the enterprising and imaginative Mr. Vanderlip very significant. I doubt the conclusiveness of his negotiations; they are probably only the opening phase of a discussion of the Russian problem upon a new basis that may lead it at last to a comprehensive world treatment of this situation. Other Powers than the United States will, in the present phase of world-exhaustion, need to combine before they can be of any effective use to Russia. Big business is by no means antipathetic to Communism. The larger big business grows the more it approximates to Collectivism. It is the upper road of the few instead of the lower road of the masses to Collectivism.<sup>28</sup>*

In addressing concerns that were being expressed among Bolshevik Party "activists" at a meeting of the Moscow Organization of the party, Lenin sought to reassure them that the Government was not selling out to foreign capitalism, but that, in view of what Lenin believed to be an inevitable war between the USA and Japan, a US interest in Kamchatka would be favorable to Soviet Russia as a defensive position against Japan. Such strategic considerations on the part of the US, it might be added, were also more relevant to US and other forms of so-called "intervention" during the Russian Civil War between the Red and the White Armies, than any desire to help the Whites overturn the Bolsheviks, let alone restore Czarism. Lenin said of Vanderlip to the

Bolshevik cadres:

*We must take advantage of the situation that has arisen. That is the whole purpose of the Kamchatka concessions. We have had a visit from Vanderlip, a distant relative of the well-known multimillionaire, if he is to be believed; but since our intelligence service, although splendidly organized, unfortunately does not yet extend to the United States of America, we have not yet established the exact kinship of these Vanderlips. Some even say there is no kinship at all. I do not presume to judge: my knowledge is confined to having read a book by Vanderlip, not the one that was in our country and is said to be such a very important person that he has been received with all the honors by kings and ministers—from which one must infer that his pocket is very well lined indeed. He spoke to them in the way people discuss matters at meetings such as ours, for instance, and told them in the calmest tones how Europe should be restored. If ministers spoke to him with so much respect, it must mean that Vanderlip is in touch with the multimillionaires.<sup>29</sup>*

Of the meeting with Vanderlip, Lenin indicated that it was based on a secret diplomacy that was being denied by the US Administration, while Vanderlip returned to the USA, like other capitalists such as Thompson, praising the Bolsheviks. Lenin continued:

*. . . I expressed the hope that friendly relations between the two states would be a basis not only for the granting of a concession, but also for the normal development of reciprocal economic assistance. It all went off in that kind of vein. Then telegrams came telling what Vanderlip had said on arriving home from abroad. Vanderlip had compared Lenin with Washington and Lincoln. Vanderlip had asked for my autographed portrait. I had declined, because when you present a portrait you write, “To Comrade So-and-so,” and I could not write, “To Comrade Vanderlip.” Neither was it possible to write: “To the Vanderlip we are signing a concession with” because that concession agreement would be concluded by the Administration when it took office. I did not know what to write. It would have been illogical to give my photograph to an out-and-out imperialist. Yet these were the kind of telegrams that arrived; this affair has clearly played a certain part in imperialist politics. When the*

*news of the Vanderlip concessions came out, Harding—the man who has been elected President, but who will take office only next March—issued an official denial, declaring that he knew nothing about it, had no dealings with the Bolsheviks, and had heard nothing about any concessions. That was during the elections, and, for all we know, to confess, during elections, that you have dealings with the Bolsheviks may cost you votes. That was why he issued an official denial. He had this report sent to all the newspapers that are hostile to the Bolsheviks and are on the pay roll of the imperialist parties . . .*<sup>30</sup>

This mysterious Vanderlip was in fact Washington Vanderlip who had, according to Armand Hammer, come to Russia in 1919, although even Hammer does not seem to have known much of the matter.<sup>31</sup> Lenin's rationalizations in trying to justify concessions to foreign capitalists to the "Moscow activists" in 1920 seem disingenuous and less than forthcoming. Washington Vanderlip was an engineer whose negotiations with Russia drew considerable attention in the USA. The *New York Times* wrote that Vanderlip, speaking from Russia, denied reports of Lenin's speech to "Moscow activists" that the concessions would serve Bolshevik geopolitical interests, with Vanderlip declaring that he had established a common frontier between the USA and Russia and that trade relations must be immediately restored.<sup>32</sup> The *New York Times* reporting in 1922: "The exploration of Kamchatka for oil as soon as trade relations between this country and Russia are established was assured today when the Standard Oil Company of California purchased one-quarter of the stock in the Vanderlip syndicate." This gave Standard Oil exclusive leases on any syndicate lands on which oil was found. The Vanderlip syndicate comprised sixty-four units. The Standard Oil Company has just purchased sixteen units. However, the Vanderlip concessions could not come into effect until Soviet Russia was recognized by the USA.<sup>33</sup>

The Vanderlip syndicate holds concessions for the exploitation of coal, oil, and timber lands, fisheries, etc., east of the 160th parallel in Kamchatka. The Russian Government granted the syndicate alternate sections of land there and will draw royalties amounting to approximately 5 percent on all products developed and marketed by the syndicate.<sup>34</sup>

It is little wonder then that US capitalists were eager to see the recognition of the Soviet regime.

### **Bolshevik Bankers**

In 1922 Soviet Russia's first international bank was created, Ruskombank, headed by Olof Aschberg of the Nye Banken, Stockholm, Sweden. The predominant capital represented in the bank was British. The foreign director of Ruskombank was Max May, vice president of the Guaranty Trust Company.<sup>35</sup> Similarly to "the Bolshevik of Wall Street," William Boyce Thompson, Aschberg was known as the "Bolshevik banker" for his close involvement with banking interests that had channeled funds to the Bolsheviks.

Guaranty Trust Company became intimately involved with Soviet economic transactions. A *Scotland Yard Intelligence Report* stated as early as 1919 the connection between Guaranty Trust and Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, head of the Soviet Bureau in New York when the bureau was established that year.<sup>36</sup> When representatives of the Lusk Committee investigating Bolshevik activities in the USA raided the Soviet Bureau offices on May 7, 1919, files of communications with almost a thousand firms were found. Basil H. Thompson of Scotland Yard in a special report stated that despite denials, there was evidence in the seized files that the Soviet Bureau was being funded by Guaranty Trust Company.<sup>37</sup> The significance of the Guaranty Trust Company was that it was part of the J. P. Morgan economic empire, which Dr. Sutton shows in his study to have been a major player in economic relations with Soviet Russia from its early days. It was also J. P. Morgan interests that predominated in the formation of a consortium, the American International Corporation (AIC), which was another source eager to secure the recognition of the still embryonic Soviet state. Interests represented in the directorship of the American International Corporation (AIC) included: National City Bank; General Electric; Du Pont; Kuhn, Loeb and Co.; Rockefeller; Federal Reserve Bank of New York; Ingersoll-Rand; Hanover National Bank, etc.<sup>38</sup>

The AIC's representative in Russia at the time of the revolutionary tumult was

its executive secretary William Franklin Sands, who was asked by US Secretary of State Robert Lansing for a report on the situation and what the US response should be. Sands' attitude toward the Bolsheviks was, like that of Thompson, enthusiastic. Sands wrote a memorandum to Lansing in January 1918, at a time when the Bolshevik hold was still far from sure, that there had already been too much of a delay by the USA in recognizing the Bolshevik regime such as it existed. The USA had to make up for "lost time," and like Thompson, Sands considered the Bolshevik Revolution to be analogous to the American Revolution.<sup>39</sup> In July 1918 Sands wrote to US Treasury Secretary McAdoo that a commission should be established by private interests with government backing, to provide "economic assistance to Russia."<sup>40</sup>

### **Armand Hammer**

One of those closely associated with Ludwig Martens and the Soviet Bureau was Dr. Julius Hammer, an emigrant from Russia who was a founder of the Communist Party USA. There is evidence that Julius Hammer was the host to Leon Trotsky when the latter with his family arrived in New York in 1917, and that it was Dr. Hammer's chauffeured car that provided transport to Natalia and the Trotsky children. The Trotskys were met on disembarkation at the New York dock by Arthur Concors, a director of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, whose advisory board included Jacob Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb and Co.<sup>41</sup> Dr. Hammer was the "primary owner of Allied Drug and Chemical Co.," and "one of those not so rare creatures, a radical Marxist turned wealthy entrepreneur," who lived an opulent lifestyle, according to Professor Spence.<sup>42</sup> Another financier linked to Trotsky was his own uncle, banker Abram Zhivotovskii, who was associated with numerous financial interests including those of Olof Aschberg.<sup>43</sup>

The intimate association of the Hammer family with Soviet Russia was to be maintained from start to finish, with an interlude of withdrawal during the Stalinist period. Julius' son Armand, chairman of Occidental Petroleum Corporation, was the first foreigner to obtain commercial concessions from the Soviet Government. Armand was in Russia in 1921 to arrange for the reintroduction of capitalism according to the



new economic course set by Lenin, the New Economic Policy. Lenin stated to Hammer that the economies of Russia and the USA were complementary, and in exchange for the exploitation of Russia's raw materials he hoped for America's technology.<sup>44</sup> This was precisely the attitude of significant business interests in the West. Lenin stated to Hammer that it was hoped the New Economic Policy would accelerate the economic process "by a system of industrial and commercial concessions to foreigners. It will give great opportunities to the United States."<sup>45</sup>

Hammer met Trotsky, who asked him whether "financial circles" in the USA regard Russia as a desirable field of investment? Trotsky continued:

*Inasmuch as Russia had its Revolution, capital was really safer there than anywhere else because, "whatever should happen abroad, the Soviet would adhere to any agreements it might make. Suppose one of your Americans invest money in Russia. When the Revolution comes to America, his property will of course be nationalized, but his agreement with us will hold good and he will thus be in a much more favorable position than the rest of his fellow capitalists."*<sup>46</sup>

The manner by which Russia fundamentally changed direction, resulting eventually in the Cold War when Stalin refused to continue the wartime alliance for the purposes of establishing a World State via the United Nations Organization, traces its origins back to the divergence of opinion, among many other issues, between Trotsky and Stalin in regard to the role of foreign investment in the Soviet Union.<sup>47</sup> The CFR report had been prescient in warning big business to get into Russia immediately lest the situation changed radically.

### **Regimented Labor**

But for the moment, with Trotsky entrenched as the warlord of Bolshevism, and Lenin favorable towards international capital investment, events in Russia seemed to be promising. A further major factor in the enthusiasm certain capitalist interests had for the Bolsheviks was the regimentation of labor under the so-called "dictatorship of the proletariat." The workers' state provided foreign capitalists with a controlled

workforce. Trotsky had stated:

*The militarization of labor is the indispensable basic method for the organization of our labor forces. . . . Is it true that compulsory labor is always unproductive? . . . This is the most wretched and miserable liberal prejudice: chattel slavery too was productive. . . . Compulsory slave labor was in its time a progressive phenomenon. Labor obligatory for the whole country, compulsory for every worker, is the basis of socialism. . . . Wages must not be viewed from the angle of securing the personal existence of the individual worker [but should] measure the conscientiousness, and efficiency of the work of every laborer.<sup>48</sup>*

Hammer related of his experiences in the young Soviet state that although lengthy negotiations had to be undertaken with each of the trades unions involved in an enterprise, “the great power and influence of the trade unions was not without its advantages to the employer of labor in Russia. Once the employer had signed a collective agreement with the union branch there was little risk of strikes or similar trouble.”

Breaches of the codes as negotiated could result in dismissal, with recourse by the sacked worker to a labor court which, in Hammer’s experience, did not generally find in the worker’s favor, which would mean that there would be little chance of the sacked worker getting another job.<sup>49</sup>

However, Trotsky’s insane run in the Soviet Union was short-lived. As for Hammer, despite his greatly expanding and diverse businesses in the Soviet Union, after Stalin assumed power Hammer packed up and left, not returning until Stalin’s demise. Hammer opined decades later:

*I never met Stalin—I never had any desire to do so—and I never had any dealings with him. However it was perfectly clear to me in 1930 that Stalin was not a man with whom you could do business. Stalin believed that the state was capable of running everything without the support of foreign concessionaires and private enterprise. That is the main reason I left Moscow. I could see that I would soon be unable to do business there and, since business was my sole*

*reason to be there, my time was up.*<sup>50</sup>

Foreign capital did nonetheless continue to do business with the USSR<sup>51</sup> as best as it was able, but the promising start that capitalists saw in the March and November revolutions for a new Russia that would replace the antiquated Czarist system with a modern economy from which they could reap the rewards was, as the 1923 CFR report warned, short-lived. Gorbachev and Yeltsin provided a brief interregnum of hope for foreign capital, to be disappointed again with the rise of Putin and a revival of nationalism and opposition to the oligarchs. The policy of continuing economic relations with the USSR even during the era of the Cold War was promoted as a strategy in the immediate aftermath of World War II when a CFR report by George S Franklin recommended attempting to work with the USSR as much as possible, “unless and until it becomes entirely evident that the U.S.S.R. is not interested in achieving cooperation . . .”

The United States must be powerful not only politically and economically, but also militarily. We cannot afford to dissipate our military strength unless Russia is willing concurrently to decrease hers. On this we lay great emphasis.

We must take every opportunity to work with the Soviets now, when their power is still far inferior to ours, and hope that we can establish our cooperation on a firmer basis for the not so distant future when they will have completed their reconstruction and greatly increased their strength. . . . The policy we advocate is one of firmness coupled with moderation and patience.<sup>52</sup>

Since Putin, the CFR again sees Russia as having taken a “wrong direction.” The current recommendation is for “selective cooperation” rather than “partnership, which is not now feasible.”<sup>53</sup>

### **The Revolutionary Nature of Capital**

Should the fact that international capital viewed the March and even the November Revolutions with optimism be seen as an anomaly of history? Oswald Spengler was one of the first historians to expose the connections between capital and

revolution. In *The Decline of the West* he called socialism “capitalistic” because it does not aim to replace money-based values, “but to possess them.” H. G. Wells, it will be recalled, said something similar. Spengler stated of socialism that it is “nothing but a trusty henchman of Big Capital, which knows perfectly well how to make use of it.” He elaborated in a footnote, seeing the connections going back to antiquity:

*Herein lies the secret of why all radical (i.e. poor) parties necessarily become the tools of the money-powers, the Equites, the Bourse. Theoretically their enemy is capital, but practically they attack, not the Bourse, but Tradition on behalf of the Bourse. This is as true today as it was for the Gracchuan age, and in all countries . . .*<sup>54</sup>

It was the *Equites*, the big-money party, which made Tiberius Gracchu’s popular movement possible at all; and as soon as that part of the reforms that was advantageous to themselves had been successfully legalized, they withdrew and the movement collapsed.<sup>55</sup>

From the Gracchuan Age to the Cromwellian and the French Revolutions, to Soros’ “color revolutions” of today, the Russian Revolutions were neither the first nor the last of political upheavals to serve the interests of *Money Power* in the name of “the people.”

## Notes

1 - K. R. Bolton, “March 1917: Wall Street & the March 1917 Russian Revolution,” *Ab Aeterno*, No. 2 (March 2010).

2 - Michael Pearson, *The Sealed Train: Journey to Revolution: Lenin–1917* (London: Macmillan, 1975).

3 - Paul Warburg, prior to immigrating to the USA, had been decorated by the Kaiser in 1912.

4 - Col. William Wiseman, head of the British Secret Service, was the British equivalent to America’s key presidential adviser, Edward House, with whom he was in constant communication. Wiseman became a partner in Kuhn, Loeb & Co. From London on May 1, 1918 Wiseman cabled House that the Allies should intervene at the invitation of the Bolsheviks and help organize the Bolshevik army then fighting the White Armies in a bloody Civil War at a time when the Bolshevik hold on Russia was doubtful (Edward M. House, ed. Charles Seymour, *The Intimate Papers of Col. House* [New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1926], Vol. III, p. 421).

5 - Olof Aschberg of the Nye Banken, Stockholm, the so-called “Bolshevik banker” who became head of the first Soviet international bank, Ruskombank, channeled funds to the Bolsheviks. On September 6, 1948 *The London Evening Star* commented on Aschberg’s visit to Swiss bankers that he had “advanced large sums to Lenin and Trotsky in 1917. At the time of the revolution Mr. Aschberg gave Trotsky money to form and equip

the first unit of the Red Army.”

6 - Samuel Gompers, “Soviet Bribe fund Here Says Gompers, Has Proof That Offers Have Been Made, He Declares, Opposing Recognition. Propaganda Drive. Charges Strong Group of Bankers With Readiness to Accept Lenin’s Betrayal of Russia,” *The New York Times*, May 1, 1922. Online at *Times’* archives: <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=9E00E3D81739EF3ABC4953DFB3668389639EDE>

7 - Henry Wickham Steed, “Through Thirty Years 1892–1922 A personal narrative,” *The Peace Conference, The Bullitt Mission*, Vol. II. (New York: Doubleday Page and Co., 1924), p. 301.

8 - Ibid.

9 - Ibid.

10 - Ibid.

11 - Charles Seymour, 165–66. House was assigned by Wilson to draw up the constitution for the League of Nations, and in 1918 formed a think tank at Wilson’s request, called *The Inquiry*, to advise on post-war policy, which became the Council on Foreign Relations. House was the US chief negotiator at the Peace Conference in Paris, 1919–1920.

12 - Henry Wickham Steed, “Peace with Honor,” *Paris Daily Mail*, 28 March 1922; quoted in Steed (1924).

13 - Crane was a member of a 1917 Special Diplomatic Mission to Russia, and a member of the American Section of the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

14 - H. W. Steed, 1924, op. cit.

15 - Antony Sutton, *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution* (New York: Arlington House Publishers, 1974), p. 71.

16 - Ibid., p. 75.

17 - Ibid., p. 73.

18 - William Harlan Hale, “When the Red Storm Broke,” *America and Russia: A Century and a Half of Dramatic Encounters*, ed. Oliver Jensen (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962), p. 150.

19 - Ibid., p.151.

20 - “Gives Bolsheviki a Million,” *Washington Post*, 2 February 1918, cited by Sutton, *ibid.*, pp. 82–83.

21 - A. Sutton, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

22 - W. Harlan Hale, *op.cit.*, p. 151.

23 - Trotsky while still in the USA had made similar claims. “People War Weary. But Leo Trotsky Says They Do Not Want Separate Peace,” *New York Times*, March 16, 1917. This was why he became the focus of British intelligence efforts via R. H. Bruce Lockhart, special agent to the British War Cabinet in Russia.

24 - “Bolsheviki Will Not Make Separate Peace: Only Those Who Made Up Privileged Classes Under Czar Would Do So, Says Col. W. B. Thompson, Just Back From Red Cross Mission,” *New York Times*, January 27, 1918.

25 - Robert S. Rifkind, “The Wasted Mission,” *America and Russia*, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

26 - Peter Grose, *Continuing The Inquiry: The Council on Foreign Relations from 1921 to 1996* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2006). The entire book can be read online at: Council on Foreign Relations: <http://www.cfr.org/about/history/cfr/index.html> (Accessed on February 27, 2010).

27 - Ibid. Chapter: “Basic Assumptions.”

28 - H. G. Wells, *Russia in the Shadows*, Chapter VII, “The Envoy.” Wells went to Russia in September 1920 at the invitation of Kamenev, of the Russian Trade Delegation in London, one of the leaders of the Bolshevik regime. *Russia in the Shadows* appeared as a series of articles in *The Sunday Express*. The whole book can be read online at: [gutenberg.net.au/ebooks06/0602371h.html](http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks06/0602371h.html)

29 - V. I. Lenin, December 6, 1920, *Collected Works*, 4th English Edition (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965), Volume 31, 438–59 <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/dec/06.htm> (Accessed on August 4, 2010).

- 30 - Ibid.
- 31 - A. Hammer, *Witness to History* (Reading, England: Hodder and Stoughton, 1988), pp.151-152.
- 32 - "Vanderlip's Empire," *The New York Times*, December 1, 1920, 14.
- 33 - "Standard Oil Joins Vanderlip Project," *The New York Times*, January 11, 1922, p. 1.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 - Antony Sutton, *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution* (New York: Arlington House Publishers, 1974), pp. 62-63.
- 36 - "Scotland Yard Intelligence Report," London 1919, US State Dept. Decimal File, 316-22-656, cited by A. Sutton, *ibid.*, p. 113.
- 37 - Basil H. Thompson, British Home Office Directorate of Intelligence, "Special Report No. 5 (Secret)," Scotland Yard, London, July 14, 1919; cited by Sutton, *ibid.*, p. 115.
- 38 - A Sutton, *op.cit.*, pp. 130-31.
- 39 - Sands' memorandum to Lansing, p. 9; cited by Sutton, *ibid.*, pp. 132, 134.
- 40 - A. Sutton, *ibid.*, p. 135.
- 41 - Richard B Spence, "Hidden Agendas: Spies, Lies and Intrigue Surrounding Trotsky's American Visit, January-April 1917," *Revolutionary Russia*, Vol. 21, #1 (2008).
- 42 - Ibid.
- 43 - Ibid.
- 44 - A. Hammer, *Witness to History*, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
- 45 - Ibid.
- 46 - Ibid., p. 160.
- 47 - K. R. Bolton, "Origins of the Cold War: How Stalin Foiled a New World Order," *Foreign Policy Journal*, May 31, 2010, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2010/05/31/origins-of-the-cold-war-how-stalin-foiled-a-new-world-order/all/1>
- 48 - Leon Trotsky, Third All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions, April 6th, 1920. <http://www.marxists.org/archive/brinton/1970/workers-control/05.htm> (Accessed on August 4, 2010).
- 49 - A. Hammer, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
- 50 - Ibid., p. 221.
- 51 - Charles Levinson, *Vodka-Cola* (West Sussex: Biblias, 1980). Antony Sutton, *National Suicide: Military Aid to the Soviet Union* (New York: Arlington House, 1973).
- 52 - Peter Grose, *op. it.*, "The First Transformation," [http://www.cfr.org/about/history/cfr/first\\_transformation.html](http://www.cfr.org/about/history/cfr/first_transformation.html)
- 53 - Jack Kemp, *et al.*, *Russia's Wrong Direction: What the United States Can and Should do*, Independent Task Force Report, no. 57 (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2006) xi. The entire publication can be downloaded at: <http://www.cfr.org/publication/9997/>
- 54 - Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of The West* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971), Vol. 2, p. 464.
- 55 - Ibid., p. 402.

9.

## **LESSONS FROM AMERICA'S INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA 1918-1920**

The USA as the “leader of the free world” or, alternatively, of “The West” provides a classic example of the adage, “with a friend like this, who needs enemies?” America leaves in its wake a long line of ruined states and dead politicians who naively trusted the USA’s high-sounding moral principles. The USA traded on its image as the bulwark against communism for decades, and in the process frightened much of the world into its corral. The implosion of the Soviet bloc was a mixed blessing for American power elites, but it was soon replaced by another world bogeyman, “militant Islam.”

Where one is placed on the USA’s list of friends and enemies can change quite quickly. One can be the recipient of US largesse one moment, and scuttled and running for one’s life the next as per Batista,<sup>1</sup> Chiang Kai Shek,<sup>2</sup> Anastasio Somoza,<sup>3</sup> The Dalai Lama,<sup>4</sup> and the last leaders of South Vietnam. Certain forms of communism might also be serviceable by the USA while others are anathema: The Khmer Rouge “good”;<sup>5</sup> Stalin, “bad,”<sup>6</sup> for example.

In 1980 ex-President of Nicaragua, Somoza said: “I was betrayed by a long

standing and trusted ally.”<sup>7</sup> He, and many others who found themselves in a similar position, could have learnt from history and from the words of the anti-Bolshevik “Leader of All the Russias,” Admiral Kolchak, who, shortly before his shooting in 1920, basically said of America’s “intervention”: “what the hell was that about, then?”

### **Wilson’s High Rectitude a Pose for US Hegemony**

America’s reputation as the “leader of the free world,” always being stirred up against some world evil or other, largely traces back to Woodrow Wilson’s “Fourteen Points” for post-World War I reconstruction. Ever since, the USA has postured on the world stage as moral guardian and conscience. This Wilsonian world democratic revolution – which continues under other names and under both Republican and Democratic Administrations – was presented as the liberal alternative to totalitarian Bolshevism. Wilson stated at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference of the Bolsheviks:

There is throughout the world the feeling of revolt against vested interests<sup>8</sup> which influence the world in both economic and political spheres. The way to cure this domination is, in my opinion, constant discussion and a slow process of reform; but the world at large has grown impatient of delay. There are men in the United States of the finest temper, if not of the finest judgment, who are in sympathy with Bolshevism because it appears to them to offer that regime of opportunity to the individual which they desire to bring about.<sup>9</sup>

His plan was not to fight Bolshevism, then in a very precarious position, but to accept the Soviets, with confidence that the Bolsheviks would, through “constant discussion and a slow process of reform”, be integrated into the “world community”; i.e. the “world market.”

Yet the great myth of a struggle of Zoroastrian proportions between democracy and communism, whereby communism was eventually defeated by the superiority of the USA, is one of the fundamental paradigms of political and historical analysis. Hence, US State Department expert on Russia, George Kennan, wrote of America’s role in the Allied “intervention” in Russia, supposedly to defeat the Bolsheviks by aiding the “White” movement:



There are those today who see the winter of 1917-1918 as one of the great turning points of modern history, the point at which there separated and branched out, clearly and for all to see, the two great conflicting answers – totalitarian and liberal – to the emerging problems of the modern age...<sup>10</sup>

America's involvement in the "intervention" was nothing of the kind, and seems to have provided a blueprint for America's scuttling of sundry states ever since.

Histories of the "Russian Civil War" therefore generally follow the line that, in the words of historian David S Fogles:

*From the Bolshevik Revolution to the end of the Civil War the United States sought to encourage and support anti-Bolshevik movements in a variety of secretive and semi-secret ways. Constrained by a declared commitment to the principal of self-determination and hemmed by idealistic and later isolationist sentiments, Wilson and his advisors pursued methods of assisting anti-Bolshevik forces that evaded public scrutiny and avoided the need for congressional appropriations.<sup>11</sup>*

However, Fogles also states that despite the US involvement in the Allied "intervention," the Soviet regime considered the USA to be the most likely source from which to secure diplomatic and commercial relations.<sup>12</sup> While the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) was in Russia, Ludwig Martens, the Soviet representative in America, was carrying on lively communications with US business interests. Thus, when agents of the Lusk Committee of New York raided Martin's Soviet Bureau offices on June 12, 1919, communications with approximately a thousand firms were found.<sup>13</sup> A British intelligence report noted that the J P Morgan enterprise, Guaranty Trust Company of New York, was funding Martens.<sup>14</sup>

### **Bankers at the Peace Conference**

Meanwhile the paragons of capitalism, the international bankers, were busy at the Paris Peace Conference trying to get the Bolsheviks recognized, when the Soviet regime seemed unlikely to endure. Wilson and Lloyd George were eager to extend

recognition to the Soviet government. That they did not do so was largely due to the opposition undertaken by Henry Wickham Steed, editor of *The London Daily Times*, who seems to have launched a one-man crusade to expose not only the Bolsheviks, but more importantly their friends in High Finance, reminiscing, “Potent international financial interests were at work in favour of the immediate recognition of the Bolsheviks”, who were in return offering “extensive commercial and economic concessions.”<sup>15</sup> Steed related that he was contacted by Wilson’s adviser, Edward House, who was concerned at Steed’s exposé of the relationship between Bolsheviks and financiers:

*That day Colonel House asked me to call upon him. I found him worried both by my criticism of any recognition of the Bolsheviks and by the certainty, which he had not previously realized, that if the President were to recognize the Bolsheviks in return for commercial concessions his whole “idealism” would be hopelessly compromised as commercialism in disguise. I pointed out to him that not only would Wilson be utterly discredited but that the League of Nations would go by the board, because all the small peoples and many of the big peoples of Europe would be unable to resist the Bolshevism which Wilson would have accredited.*<sup>16</sup>

House in Machiavellian manner asked Steed to compromise, to support humanitarian aid supposedly for the benefit of all Russians. Steed agreed to consider this, but soon after talking with House found out that British Prime Minister Lloyd George and President Wilson were to proceed with recognition the following day. Steed therefore wrote the lead article for the Paris *Daily Mail* of March 28 exposing the maneuvers and asking how a pro-Bolshevik attitude was consistent with Wilson’s declared moral principles for the post-war world?

Charles Crane<sup>17</sup>, who had recently talked with Wilson, told Steed that Wilson was about to recognize the Bolsheviks, which would result in negative public opinion in the USA and destroy Wilson’s post-War internationalist aims. Significantly Crane also identified the pro-Bolshevik faction as being that of Big Business, stating to Steed: “Our people at home will certainly not stand for the recognition of the Bolsheviks at the bidding of Wall Street.” Steed was again seen by House, who stated

that Steed's article in the Paris *Daily Mail*, "had got under the President's hide." House asked that Steed postpone further exposés in the press, and again raised the prospect of recognition based on humanitarian aid. Lloyd George was also greatly perturbed by Steed's articles in the *Daily Mail* and complained that he could not undertake a "sensible" policy towards the Bolsheviks while the press had an anti-Bolshevik attitude.<sup>18</sup>

Reading newspaper accounts at the time, one continually sees on virtually a daily basis the question as to whether the Allies would recognize the White regimes, a matter to which Admiral A V Kolchak and others fighting the Red Army attached much importance. They never did receive recognition, *de facto* or *de jure*, and it is evident from what Wickham Steed relates that the Allies never intended to grant recognition, and that Wilson and George wished rather to recognize the Bolsheviks.

### **Why the Allies Intervened**

What should be kept in mind is that when the Allies "intervened" and sent forces to Russia in 1917, following the Bolshevik revolution, they did so at a time when it was not certain whether the Soviets would enter into an armistice with Germany. The Allies aimed to: (1) Ensure that the large stocks of war materials that had been given to Russia by the Allies to fight Germany would not be captured by the German, and (2) to provide safe conduct to the Czech prisoners-of-war who had been released by the Bolsheviks and aimed to reach France to fight the Germans and secure a place for Czech nationhood in the post-war world. Overthrowing the Bolsheviks was not part of the plan, and there was a likelihood that the Bolsheviks would join the Allies against Germany rather than signing an armistice. Robert Service states, "Most Bolshevik leaders... thought that a separate peace with the Central Powers was an insufferable concession to capitalist imperialism."<sup>19</sup> Despite Lenin's directions, Trotsky, as People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, had, instead of signing a peace treaty at Brest-Litovsk, called for a revolution against Germany; and with Trotsky's intransigence, the armistice broke, with the Germans launching another offensive on the Eastern Front, where they now fought the unprepared Red Army. This caused a sense of "solidarity"

between the Soviets and the Allied representatives.<sup>20</sup> The British, via War Cabinet special agent R H Bruce Lockhart, sought out Trotsky on the instructions of Lloyd George. So close were Lockhart and Trotsky to become that Lockhart's wife commented that he was getting the reputation as a "Red" among his colleagues in Britain.<sup>21</sup>

Kennan states that when the Americans sent their first representative to Archangel in 1917, "At the time of the Bolshevik seizure of power in Petrograd the allies were interested in Archangel not only for its importance as a channel of entrance and egress for European Russia but that also for the fact that here too, as at Vladivostok, war supplies shipped to former Russian governments had accumulated in large quantities."<sup>22</sup> General William S Graves, commander of the American Expeditionary Force in Siberia, explained:

*It should be remembered that the main reason advanced by those interested in military intervention in Siberia, was the immediate and urgent need for protection of the Czechs who were supposed to be trying to get through Siberia to Vladivostok and then to the Western front where they could join the Allies.*<sup>23</sup>

With the fear of a German attack, Allied forces landed in Murmansk to support the Soviets. Kennan notes that this was probably the first Allied landing of forces on Russian territory, and it was undertaken at the invitation of the local Soviet authorities.<sup>24</sup>

### **Contact with the Whites**

While the Allies pursued a policy of negotiation with the Bolsheviks in regard to war aims, they also left their options open in regard to the anti-Bolshevik White movement, led by Admiral Kolchak, who had established his authority over Eastern Siberia. There was a good chance that the White movement would defeat the Soviets, and if they could not get support from the Allies they would be obliged to turn to Germany. Although Admiral Kolchak was staunchly pro-British, some, such as Cossack Ataman Semenoff, were heavily backed by the Japanese, one of the Allies, but nonetheless even then suspect; and other White commanders had a pro-German

orientation.

In April 1918 British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour, on the basis of encouraging reports from Lockhart, suggested joint Allied intervention in co-operation with the Soviets.<sup>25</sup> Colonel William Wiseman of the British Secret Service, who had played a role in facilitating Trotsky's return from New York to Russia and possibly had even recruited Trotsky as a British agent,<sup>26</sup> was of the same opinion, cabling President Wilson's confidante Edward House from London on May 1 1918 that the Allies should intervene at the invitation of the Bolsheviks and help organize the Red Army<sup>27</sup>. However, the Allies remained unsure of the reliability of the Soviets.

### **Outbreak of the "Civil War"**

The catalyst for the outbreak of hostilities involved a dispute between the freed Czech POWs and the Soviets. *En route* along the Trans-Siberian railway an order came from Trotsky for the Czechs to disarm. The Czechs believed this to be of treacherous intent and a revolt broke out, the Czechs turning back into Russia and on reaching Samara on the River Volga offered their services to the Socialist-Revolutionary "Committee of Members of the Constituent Assembly." The battle-hardened Czechs defeated the Red Army and the entire Volga region came under the anti-Bolshevik Socialist-Revolutionaries. Russia was in disarray with industrial strikes, peasant resistance, and opposition to the Bolsheviks ranging from anarchists to Czarists. Additionally fighting soon broke out between the Bolsheviks and their partners, the *Left* Socialist-Revolutionaries.<sup>28</sup>

After months of procrastination, American troops landed in Siberia and North Russia in July 1918, without advising the French and British who had been pushing for decisive action. Here Admiral A V Kolchak had formed a White Army. Encouraged by Allied troop landings an anti-Bolshevik *coup* in Archangel succeeded in driving out the Soviets. A small American force led by a lieutenant chased the Soviets for seventy-five miles south along the Archangel-Vologda railroad. However, it is important to realize that military engagement against the Bolsheviks contravened US policy, and such actions were undertaken by enthusiastic military men at the scene, in disregard

for Wilson's directive of *not* engaging the Red Army. Gen. William S Graves, commander of the American Expeditionary Force in Siberia, wrote of this: "...If I had permitted American troops to be used in fighting 'Red armies,' as stated, I would have taken an immense responsibility upon myself, as no one above me, in authority, had given me any such orders...."<sup>29</sup>

### **Graves' American Kiss of Death**

As much of the world now realizes, when America enters a conflict, it is a "kiss of death" to its supposed friends. Gen. Graves took his place in Kolchak's Siberia as commander of the American Expeditionary Force, the sole aim being to protect the Trans-Siberian Railway, and definitely *not* to engage the Red Army. Graves' insisted on maintaining strict "neutrality" – other than when opportunities arose in which he could confront Kolchak and the White movement, for whom he had an unremitting contempt, writing over a decade later:

*At the time of my arrival in Vladivostok, when the Allied representatives spoke of Russians, they meant the old Czarist officials, who felt it was then safe enough for them to appear in their gorgeous uniforms every evening, and parade down Svetlanskaya, the principal thoroughfare.*<sup>30</sup>

Despite the advantage of hindsight years afterwards Graves continued to damn the atrocities and repression of the White authorities, but at no time did he acknowledge the so-called "Red Terror" which had been officially operative since December 1917, or the totalitarian nature of the Bolshevik regime, insisting in his reminisces that,

*The foreign press was constantly being told that the Bolsheviks were the Russians who were committing these terrible excesses, and propaganda had been used to such an extent that no one ever believed that atrocities were being committed against the Bolsheviks.*<sup>31</sup>

Of General Ivanoff-Rinoff, one of Kolchak's commanders, Graves stated to British High Commissioner Sir Charles Eliot, that: "As far as I'm concerned the people could bring Ivanoff-Rinoff opposite American headquarters and hang him to that telephone

pole until he is dead – and not an American would turn his hand!”<sup>32</sup> This was an example of Graves’ supposedly non-partisan involvement. Graves’ characterization of the Kolchak Government was that of “a crowd of reactionaries.”<sup>33</sup>

Other forms of “non-interference” by Graves included:

- Stopping the American Red Cross from delivering warm underwear to the White forces by threatening to withdraw Americans guarding Red Cross trains.<sup>34</sup>
- Graves’ demand that the Japanese disarm Ussuri Cossack Ataman Kalmikoff.<sup>35</sup>
- Attempted interference with the Japanese forces, which executed five suspected Bolsheviks, calling in the Japanese Chief of Staff and the American commander, and stating that the Americans should have used force against their Japanese “allies” rather than allow the executions.<sup>36</sup>
- Withholding 14,000 desperately needed arms from the already under-equipped White forces in retaliation for the failure of Kolchak to repress press criticism of Americans; arms that had been paid for by the Kolchak administration.<sup>37</sup>
- Armed intervention to prevent Semenoff’s Cossacks obtaining 15,000 rifles, the US aiming to ensure that Semenoff did not receive any weapons.<sup>38</sup>
- Prevention of Kolchak from firing on a revolutionary force at Irkutsk, which had staged a coup and taken over the railway station.
- Persuading the Japanese to withdraw from combating the Red Army at a time when the Kolchak forces were in their final life-struggle.<sup>39</sup>
- Armed prevention of the Japanese from protecting Russian Governor, General Rozanov at Vladivostok, when revolutionists besieged his home. Fortunately for Rozanov, the Japanese were able to facilitate his escape.<sup>40</sup>

### **“The Judgment of History”**

Such was the antagonism of the AEF in Siberia towards Kolchak that many Russians considered Americans to be “Bolshevistic” in their attitudes.

Interestingly, Captain Montgomery Schuyler, Chief of Staff of the AEF in Siberia, formed the same opinion of his fellow-Americans as the White press, writing in a dispatch from Omsk to Lt. Gen. Barrows in Vladivostok:

*...You will feel I am being hot about this matter but it is I feel sure, one which is going to bring great trouble on the United States when the judgment of history shall be recorded on the part we have played. It is very largely our fault that Bolshevism has spread as it has and I do not believe we will be found guiltless of the thousands of lives uselessly and cruelly sacrificed in wild orgies of bloodshed to establish an autocratic and despotic rule of principles which have been rejected by every generation of mankind which has dabbled with them.*<sup>41</sup>

When the American forces guarding the Trans-Siberian railway left Vladivostok they did so with wild acclaim from the revolutionist regime. The *New York Times* reported:

*Parades, street meetings and speechmaking marked the second day today of the city's complete liberation from Kolchak authority. Red flags fly on every Government building, many business houses and homes.*

*There is a pronounced pro-American feeling evident. In front of the American headquarters the revolutionary leaders mounted steps of buildings across the street, making speeches calling the Americans real friends, who at a critical time saved the present movement. The people insist upon an allied policy of no interference internationally in political affairs.*

*The General Staff of the new Government at Nikolsk has telegraphed to the American commander, Major Gen. Graves, expressing its appreciation for efforts toward guaranteeing an allied policy of non-interference during the occupation of the city, also in aiding in a peaceful settlement of the local situation.*<sup>42</sup>

In 1920, in the midst of defeat, Kolchak stated that, "the meaning and essence of this intervention remains quite obscure to me."<sup>43</sup> Kolchak was captured after being betrayed by his Czech guard and was shot by the Revolutionist regime on February 7.<sup>44</sup> Graves, while being appalled at the reports of the punishments allegedly meted out by the White regime, excused the execution of Kolchak as being the result of justified



“resentment by the people,” and as having been properly tried and convicted by a “military court.”<sup>45</sup>

*The New York Times* editorialized with pertinent analysis of the Allied intervention and the impending collapse of the White remnants:

*There can be no doubt that the allied Governments must bear a large part of the blame for the collapse of this movement. As The New Europe recently observed, “the publicly proclaimed vacillations of our statesmen are worth a whole army corps to the Bolsheviki.”*<sup>46</sup>

Robert Service comments that while the White forces sought to regroup and challenge the Red Army,

*Their hopes were undermined by the decision of the United Kingdom and France to halt their intervention in the Civil War. In December 1919 the British withdrew from Archangel, the French from Odessa. Neither Trotsky nor his leading comrades made much comment because they were wary of concluding that the threat of an anti-Bolshevik crusade was over... The Reds had come close to defeat several time since the Civil War... The Civil War was a close run conflict between the Reds and the Whites.*<sup>47</sup>

The White forces had not understood that their most lethal opponents were not merely from the revolutionary milieu of Europe and America’s underbelly, but were seated around the conference tables of corporate boards and Cabinets. Similar acts of sabotage were perpetrated against sundry other regimes to the extent that one might ask whether these were by accident or design, and whether there are not dialectical processes at work in seemingly contradictory American foreign policies?

## Notes

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- 3 - Anastasio Somoza and Jack Cox, *Nicaragua Betrayed* (Boston: Western Islands, 1980).
- 4 - R Sengupta, "The CIA Circus: Tibet's Forgotten Army," *Friends of Tibet* (India), February 15, 1999, <http://www.friendsoftibet.org/databank/usdefence/usd7.html>
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- 6 - K R Bolton, "Origins of the Cold War, How Stalin Foiled a 'New World Order,' Relevance for the Present," *Foreign Policy Journal*, June 1, 2010 <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2010/05/31/origins-of-the-cold-war-how-stalin-foild-a-new-world-order/>
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- 8 - Typical humbug, given that Wilson was himself surrounded by "vested interests" through his confidante, Col. Edward House.
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- 10 - George F Kennan, *The Decision to Intervene* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 13.
- 11 - David S Fogles, *America's Secret War Against Bolshevism: US Intervention in the Russian Civil War*, (University of North Carolina Press, 1995), p. 5.
- 12 - David S Fogles, *America's Secret War Against Bolshevism*, ibid., p. 6.
- 13 - Antony C Sutton, *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution* (New York: Arlington House, 1974), p. 115.
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- 16 - Henry Wickham Steed, *Through Thirty Years*, ibid.
- 17 - Crane was a member of a 1917 Special Diplomatic Mission to Russia, and a member of the American Section of the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.
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- 28 - Robert Service, *Trotsky: A Biography*, op. cit., p. 220. The 'Left Socialist Revolutionaries' were an originally pro-Bolshevik faction that had broken away from the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries over the issue of supporting the Bolsheviks.
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- 31 - William S Graves, *America's Siberian Adventure*, op. cit., "Kolchak and Recognition."
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## 10.

# STALIN'S FIGHT AGAINST INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

The notion that Stalin ‘fought communism’ at a glance seems bizarre. However, the contention is neither unique nor new. Early last century the seminal German conservative philosopher-historian Oswald Spengler stated that Communism in Russia would metamorphose into something distinctly Russian which would be quite different from the alien Marxist dogma that had been imposed upon it from outside. Spengler saw Russia as both a danger to Western Civilisation as the leader of a ‘coloured world-revolution’, and conversely as a potential ally of a revived Germany against the plutocracies. Spengler stated of Russia’s potential rejection of Marxism as an alien imposition from the decaying West that,

*Race, language, popular customs, religion, in their present form... all or any of them can and will be fundamentally transformed. What we see today then is simply the new kind of life which a vast land has conceived and will presently bring forth. It is not definable in words, nor is its bearer aware of it. Those who attempt to define, establish, lay down a program, are confusing life with a phrase, as does the ruling Bolshevism, which is not sufficiently conscious of its own West-European, Rationalistic and cosmopolitan origin.<sup>1</sup>*

Even as he wrote, Bolshevism in the USSR was being fundamentally transformed in the ways Spengler foresaw. The ‘rationalistic’ and ‘cosmopolitan’ origins of Bolshevism were soon being openly repudiated, and a new course was defined by Zhdanov and other Soviet eminences.

Contemporary with Spengler in Weimer Germany, there arose among the ‘Right’ the ‘National Bolshevik’ faction one of whose primary demands was that Germany align with the Soviet Union against the Western plutocracies. From the Soviet side, possibilities of an alliance with the ‘Right’ were far from discounted and high level Soviet sources cultivated contacts with the pro-Russian factions of the German Right including the National Bolsheviks.<sup>2</sup>

German-Soviet friendship societies included many conservatives. In Arbeitsgemeinschaft zum Studium der Sowjetrussischen Planwirtschaft (Arplan)<sup>3</sup> Conservative-Revolutionaries and National Bolsheviks comprised a third of the membership. Bund Geistige Berufe (BGB)<sup>4</sup> was founded in 1931 and was of particular interest to Soviet Russia, according to Soviet documents, which aimed ‘to attract into the orbit of our influence a range of highly placed intellectuals of rightist orientation’.<sup>5</sup>

The profound changes caused Konstantin Rodzaevsky, leader of the Russian Fascist Union among the White Russian émigrés at Harbin, to soberly reassess the USSR and in 1945 he wrote to Stalin:

*Not all at once, but step by step we came to this conclusion. We decided that: Stalinism is exactly what we mistakenly called ‘Russian Fascism’. It is our Russian Fascism cleansed of extremes, illusions, and errors.*<sup>6</sup>

In the aftermath of World War II many German war veterans, despite the devastating conflagration between Germany and the USSR, and the rampage of the Red Army across Germany with Allied contrivance, were vociferous opponents of any German alliance with the USA against the USSR. Major General Otto E Remer and the Socialist Reich Party were in the forefront of advocating a ‘neutralist’ line for Germany during the ‘Cold War’, while one of their political advisers, the American Spenglerian philosopher Francis Parker Yockey, saw Russian occupation as less culturally debilitating than the ‘spiritual syphilis’ of Hollywood and New York, and

recommended the collaboration of European rightists and neo-Fascists with the USSR against the USA.<sup>7</sup> Others of the American Right, such as the Yockeyan and Spenglerian influenced newspaper *Common Sense*, saw the USSR from the time of Stalin as the primary power in confronting Marxism, and they regarded New York as the real ‘capitol’ of Marxism.<sup>8</sup>

What might be regarded by many as an ‘eccentric’ element from the Right were not alone in seeing that the USSR had undergone a revolutionary transformation. Many of the Left regarded Stalin’s Russia as a travesty of Marxism. The most well-known and vehement was of course Leon Trotsky who condemned Stalin for having ‘betrayed the revolution’ and for reversing doctrinaire Marxism. On the other hand, the USA for decades supported Marxists, and especially Trotskyites, in trying to subvert the USSR during the Cold War. The USA, as the columnists at *Common Sense* continually insisted, was promoting Marxism, while Stalin was fighting it. This dichotomy between Russian National Bolshevism and US sponsored international Marxism was to have lasting consequences for the post-war world up to the present.

### **Stalin Purges Marxism**

The Moscow Trials purging Trotskyites and other veteran Bolsheviks were merely the most obvious manifestations of Stalin’s struggle against alien Marxism. While much has been written condemning the trials as a modern day version of the Salem witch trials, and while the Soviet methods were often less than judicious the basic allegations against the Trotskyites et al were justified. The trials moreover, were open to the public, including western press, diplomats and jurists. There can be no serious doubt that Trotskyites in alliance with other old Bolsheviks such as Zinoviev and Kameneff were complicit in attempting to overthrow the Soviet state under Stalin. That was after all, the *raison d’être* of Trotsky et al, and Trotsky’s hubris could not conceal his aims.<sup>9</sup>

The purging of these anti-Stalinist co-conspirators was only a part of the Stalinist fight against the Old Bolsheviks. Stalin’s relations with Lenin had not been cordial, Lenin accusing him of acting like a ‘Great Russian chauvinist’.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, the

‘Great Russians’ were heralded as the well-spring of Stalin’s Russia, and were elevated to master-race like status during and after the ‘Great Patriotic War’ against Germany. Lenin, near death, regarded Stalin’s demeanour as ‘offensive’, and as not showing automatic obedience. Lenin wished for Stalin to be removed as Bolshevik Party General Secretary.<sup>11</sup>

### **Dissolving the Comintern**

The most symbolic acts of Stalin against International Communism were the elimination of the Association of Old Bolsheviks, and the destruction of the Communist International (Comintern). The Comintern, or Third International, was to be the basis of the world revolution, having been founded in 1919 in Moscow with 52 delegates from 25 countries.<sup>12</sup> Zinoviev headed the Comintern’s Executive Committee.<sup>13</sup> He was replaced by Bukharin in 1926.<sup>14</sup> Both Zinoviev and Bukharin were among the many ‘Old Bolsheviks’ eliminated by Stalin.

Stalin regarded the Comintern with animosity. It seemed to function more as an enemy agency than as a tool of Stalin, or at least that is how Stalin perceived the organisation. Robert Service states that Dimitrov, the head of the Comintern at the time of its dissolution, was accustomed to Stalin’s accusations against it. In 1937 Stalin had barked at him that ‘all of you in Comintern are hand in glove with the enemy’.<sup>15</sup> Dimitrov must have wondered how long he had to live.<sup>16</sup>

Instead of the Communist parties serving as agents of the world revolution, in typically Marxist manner, and the purpose for founding the Comintern, the Communist parties outside Russia were expected to be nationally oriented. In 1941 Stalin stated of this:

*The International was created in Marx’s time in the expectation of an approaching international revolution. Comintern was created in Lenin’s time at an analogous moment. Today, national tasks emerge for each country as a supreme priority. Do not hold on tight to what was yesterday.*<sup>17</sup>

This was a flagrant repudiation of Marxist orthodoxy, and places Stalinism within the

context of National Bolshevism.

The German offensive postponed Stalin's plans for the elimination of the Comintern, and those operatives who had survived the 'Great Purge' were ordered to Ufa, South of the Urals. Dimitrov was sent to Kuibyshev on the Volga. After the Battle of Stalingrad, Stalin returned to the issue of the Comintern, and told Dimitrov on 8 May 1943 to wind up the organisation. Dimitrov was transferred to the International Department of the Bolshevik Party Central Committee.<sup>18</sup> Robert Service suggests that this could have allayed fears among the Allies that Stalin would pursue world revolution in the post-war world. However, Stalin's suspicion of the Comintern and the liquidation of many of its important operatives indicate fundamental belligerence between the two. In place of proletarian international solidarity, Stalin established an All-Slavic Committee<sup>19</sup> to promote Slavic folkish solidarity, although the inclusion of the Magyars<sup>20</sup> was problematic.

Stalin throughout his reign undertook a vigorous elimination of World Communist leaders. Stalin decimated communist refugees from fascism living in the USSR. While only 5 members of the Politburo of the German Communist Party had been killed under Hitler, in the USSR 7 were liquidated, and 41 out of 68 party leaders. The entire Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party in exile were liquidated, and an estimated 5000 party members were killed. The Polish Communist Party was formally dissolved in 1938. 700 Comintern headquarters staff were purged.<sup>21</sup>

Among the foreign Communist luminaries who were liquidated was Bela Kun, whose psychotic Communist regime in Hungary in 1919 lasted 133 days. Kun fled to the Soviet Union where he oversaw the killing of 50,000 soldiers and civilians attached to the White Army under Wrangle, who had surrendered after being promised amnesty. Kun was a member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. A favourite of Lenin's, this bloody lunatic served as a Comintern agent in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia during the 1920s. In 1938 he was brought before a tribunal and after a brief trial was executed the same day.<sup>22</sup>

Another action of great symbolism was Stalin's moves against the 'Old



Bolsheviks', the veterans of the 1917 Revolution. Leon Sedov, Leon Trotsky's son, in his pamphlet on the Great Purge of the late 1930s, waxed indignant that Stalin 'coldly orders the shooting of Bolsheviks, former leaders of the Party and the Comintern, and heroes of the Civil War'.<sup>23</sup> 'The Association of Old Bolsheviks and that of the former political prisoners has been dissolved. They were too strong a reminder of the "cursed" revolutionary past'.<sup>24</sup>

In place of the Comintern the Cominform was established in 1947, for the purpose of instructing Communist parties to campaign against the Marshall Aid programme that was designed to bring war-ravished Europe under US hegemony. 'European communism was to be redirected' towards maintaining the gains of the Red Army during World War II. 'Communist parties in Western Europe could stir up trouble', against the USA. The Cominform was far removed from being a resurrection of the old Comintern. As to who was invited to the inaugural meeting held at a secluded village in Poland, 'Stalin... refused a request from Mao Zedong, who obviously thought that the plan was to re-establish the Communist International'. The Spanish and Portuguese parties were not invited, nor were the British, or the Greek Communist Party, which was fighting a civil war against the royalists.<sup>25</sup>

The extent of the 'fraternity' between the USSR and the foreign Communists can be gauged from the delegates having not been given prior knowledge of the agenda, and being 'treated like detainees on arrival'. While Soviet delegates Malenkov and Zhdanov kept in regular communication with Stalin, none of the other delegates were permitted communication with the outside world.<sup>26</sup>

### **Repudiation of Marxist Doctrine**

The implementation of Marxism as a policy upon which to construct a State was of course worthless, and Stalin reversed the doctrinaire Marxism that he had inherited from the Lenin regime. Leon Sedov indignantly stated of this:

*In the most diverse areas, the heritage of the October revolution is being liquidated. Revolutionary internationalism gives way to the cult of the fatherland in the strictest sense. And the fatherland means, above all, the*

*authorities. Ranks, decorations and titles have been reintroduced. The officer caste headed by the marshals has been reestablished. The old communist workers are pushed into the background; the working class is divided into different layers; the bureaucracy bases itself on the 'non-party Bolshevik', the Stakhanovist, that is, the workers' aristocracy, on the foreman and, above all, on the specialist and the administrator. The old petit-bourgeois family is being reestablished and idealized in the most middle-class way; despite the general protestations, abortions are prohibited, which, given the difficult material conditions and the primitive state of culture and hygiene, means the enslavement of women, that is, the return to pre-October times. The decree of the October revolution concerning new schools has been annulled. School has been reformed on the model of tsarist Russia: uniforms have been reintroduced for the students, not only to shackle their independence, but also to facilitate their surveillance outside of school. Students are evaluated according to their marks for behaviour, and these favour the docile, servile student, not the lively and independent schoolboy. The fundamental virtue of youth today is the 'respect for one's elders', along with the 'respect for the uniform'. A whole institute of inspectors has been created to look after the behaviour and morality of the youth.<sup>27</sup>*

This is what Leon Sedov, and his father, Leon Trotsky, called the 'Bonapartist character of Stalinism'.<sup>28</sup> And that is precisely what Stalin represents in history: the Napoleon of the Bolshevik Revolution who reversed the Marxian doctrinal excrescences in a manner analogous to that of Napoleon's reversal of Jacobin fanaticism after the 1789 French Revolution. Underneath the hypocritical moral outrage about Stalinist 'repression', etc.,<sup>29</sup> a number of salient factors emerge regarding Stalin's repudiation of Marxist-Leninist dogma:

- *The 'fatherland' or what was called again especially during World War II, 'Holy Mother Russia', replaced international class war and world revolution.*
- *Hierarchy in the military and elsewhere was re-established openly rather than under a hypocritical façade of soviet democracy and equality.*

- *A new technocratic elite was established, analogous to the principles of German ‘National Bolshevism’.*
- *The traditional family, the destruction of which is one of the primary aims of Marxism generally<sup>30</sup> and Trotskyism specifically,<sup>31</sup> was re-established.*
- *Abortion, the liberalisation of which was heralded as a great achievement in woman’s emancipation in the early days of Bolshevik Russia, was reversed.*
- *A Czarist type discipline was reintroduced to the schools; Leon Sedov condemned this as shackling the free spirit of youth, as if there were any such freedom under the Leninist regime.*
- *‘Respect for elders’ was re-established, again anathema to the Marxists who seek the destruction of family life through the alienation of children from parents.<sup>32</sup>*

What the Trotskyites and other Marxists object to was Stalin’s establishment the USSR as a powerful ‘nation-state’, and later as an imperial power, rather than as a citadel for world revolution. However, the Trotskyites, more than any other Marxist faction, allied themselves to American imperialism in their hatred of Stalinist Russia, and served as the most enthusiastic partisans of the Cold War.<sup>33</sup> Sedov continued:

*Stalin not only bloodily breaks with Bolshevism, with all its traditions and its past, he is also trying to drag Bolshevism and the October revolution through the mud. And he is doing it in the interests of world and domestic reaction. The corpses of Zinoviev and Kamenev must show to the world bourgeoisie that Stalin has broken with the revolution, and must testify to his loyalty and ability to lead a nation-state. The corpses of the old Bolsheviks must prove to the world bourgeoisie that Stalin has in reality radically changed his politics, that the men who entered history as the leaders of revolutionary Bolshevism, the enemies of the bourgeoisie, – are his enemies also. Trotsky, whose name is inseparably linked with that of Lenin as the leader of the October revolution, Trotsky, the founder and leader of the Red Army; Zinoviev and Kamenev, the closest disciples of Lenin, one, president of the Comintern, the other, Lenin’s deputy and member of the Politburo; Smirnov, one of the oldest Bolsheviks, conqueror*

*of Kolchak—today they are being shot and the bourgeoisie of the world must see in this the symbol of a new period. This is the end of the revolution, says Stalin. The world bourgeoisie can and must reckon with Stalin as a serious ally, as the head of a nation-state.... Stalin has abandoned long ago the course toward world revolution.*<sup>34</sup>

As history shows, it was not Stalin to whom the ‘world bourgeoisie’ or more aptly, the world plutocracy, looked on as an ally, but leading Trotskyites whose hatred of Stalin and the USSR made them vociferous advocates of American foreign policy.

### **Family Life Restored**

Leon Trotsky is particularly interesting in regard to what he saw as the ‘revolution betrayed’ in his condemnation of Stalinist policies on ‘youth, family, and culture’. Using the term ‘Thermidor’, taken from the French revolutionary era, in his description of Stalinism vis-à-vis the Bolshevik revolution, Trotsky began his critique on family, generational and gender relations. Chapter 7 of *The Revolution Betrayed* is worth reading in its entirety as an over-view of how Stalin reversed Marxism-Leninism. Whether that is ‘good’ or ‘bad’ is, of course, left to the subjectivity of the reader.<sup>35</sup>

The primary *raison d’être* of Marxism for Trotsky personally seems to have been the destruction of religion and of family (as it was for Marx).<sup>36</sup> Hence, the amount of attention Trotsky gives to lamenting the return to traditional family relations under Stalin:

*The revolution made a heroic effort to destroy the so-called ‘family hearth’ – that archaic, stuffy and stagnant institution in which the woman of the toiling classes performs galley labor from childhood to death. The place of the family as a shut-in petty enterprise was to be occupied, according to the plans, by a finished system of social care and accommodation: maternity houses, creches, kindergartens, schools, social dining rooms, social laundries, first-aid stations, hospitals, sanatoria, athletic organizations, moving-picture theaters, etc. The complete absorption of the housekeeping functions of the family by institutions*

*of the socialist society, uniting all generations in solidarity and mutual aid, was to bring to woman, and thereby to the loving couple, a real liberation from the thousand-year-old fetters. Up to now this problem of problems has not been solved. The forty million Soviet families remain in their overwhelming majority nests of medievalism, female slavery and hysteria, daily humiliation of children, feminine and childish superstition. We must permit ourselves no illusions on this account. For that very reason, the consecutive changes in the approach to the problem of the family in the Soviet Union best of all characterize the actual nature of Soviet society and the evolution of its ruling stratum.*<sup>37</sup>

Marxism, behind the façade of women's emancipation, ridicules the traditional female role in the family as 'galley labour', but does so for the purpose of delivering women to the 'galley labour' of the Marxist state. The Marxist solution is to take the child from the parents and substitute parental authority for the State via childcare. As is apparent today, the Marxist ideal regarding the family and children is the same as that of big capitalism. It is typical of the manner by which Marxism, including Communism, converges with plutocracy, as Spengler pointed out soon after the 1917 Revolution in Russia.<sup>38</sup>

Trotsky states, 'you cannot "abolish" the family; you have to replace it'. The aim was to replace the family with the state apparatus: 'During the lean years, the workers wherever possible, and in part their families, ate in the factory and other social dining rooms, and this fact was officially regarded as a transition to a socialist form of life'. Trotsky decries the reversal by Stalin of this subversion of the family hearth: 'The fact is that from the moment of the abolition of the food-card system in 1935, all the better placed workers began to return to the home dining table'. Women as mothers and wives were retuning to the home rather than being dragooned into factories, Trotsky getting increasingly vehement at these reversals of Marxism:

*Back to the family hearth! But home cooking and the home washtub, which are now half shamefacedly celebrated by orators and journalists, mean the return of the workers' wives to their pots and pans that is, to the old slavery.*<sup>39</sup>

The original Bolshevnik plan was for a new slavery where all would be bound to the

factory floor regardless of gender, a now familiar aim of global capitalism, behind the façade of ‘equality’. Trotsky lamented that the rural family was even stronger: ‘The rural family, bound up not only with home industry but with agriculture, is infinitely more stable and conservative than that of the town’. There had been major reversals in the collectivisation of the peasant families: they were again obtaining most of their food from private lots rather than collectivised farms, and ‘there can no longer be any talk of social dining rooms’. ‘Thus the midget farms, [were] creating a new basis for the domestic hearthstone...’<sup>40</sup>

The pioneering of abortion rights by the Leninist regime was celebrated as a great achievement of Bolshevism, which was, however, reversed by Stalin with the celebration instead of motherhood. In terms that are today conventional throughout the Western world, Trotsky stated that due to the economic burden of children upon women,

*...It is just for this reason that the revolutionary power gave women the right to abortion, which in conditions of want and family distress, whatever may be said upon this subject by the eunuchs and old maids of both sexes, is one of her most important civil, political and cultural rights. However, this right of women too, gloomy enough in itself, is under the existing social inequality being converted into a privilege.*<sup>41</sup>

The Old Bolsheviks demanded abortion as a means of ‘emancipating women’ from children and family. One can hardly account for the Bolshevik attitude by an appeal to anyone’s ‘rights’ (sic). The answer to the economic hardship of childbearing was surely to eliminate the causes of the hardship. In fact, this was the aim of the Stalinists, Trotsky citing this in condemnation:

*One of the members of the highest Soviet court, Soltz, a specialist on matrimonial questions, bases the forthcoming prohibition of abortion on the fact that in a socialist society where there are no unemployed, etc., etc., a woman has no right to decline ‘the joys of motherhood’.*<sup>42</sup>

On June 27 1936 a law was passed prohibiting abortion, which Trotsky called the natural and logical fruit of a ‘Thermidorian reaction’.<sup>43</sup> The redemption of the family

and motherhood was damned perhaps more vehemently by Trotsky than any other aspect of Stalinism as a repudiation of the ‘ABCs of Communism’, which he stated includes ‘getting women out of the clutches of the family’.

Everybody and everything is dragged into the new course: lawgiver and litterateur, court and militia, newspaper and schoolroom. When a naive and honest communist youth makes bold to write in his paper: ‘You would do better to occupy yourself with solving the problem how woman can get out of the clutches of the family’, he receives in answer a couple of good smacks and – is silent. The ABCs of Communism are declared a ‘leftist excess’. The stupid and stale prejudices of uncultured philistines are resurrected in the name of a new morale. And what is happening in daily life in all the nooks and corners of this measureless country? The press reflects only in a faint degree the depth of the Thermidorian reaction in the sphere of the family.<sup>44</sup>

A ‘new’ or what we might better call traditional ‘morale’ had returned. Marriage and family were being revived in contrast to the laws of early Bolshevik rule:

*The lyric, academical and other ‘friends of the Soviet Union’ have eyes in order to see nothing. The marriage and family laws established by the October revolution, once the object of its legitimate pride, are being made over and mutilated by vast borrowings from the law treasuries of the bourgeois countries. And as though on purpose to stamp treachery with ridicule, the same arguments which were earlier advanced in favor of unconditional freedom of divorce and abortion – ‘the liberation of women’, ‘defense of the rights of personality’, ‘protection of motherhood’ – are repeated now in favor of their limitation and complete prohibition.<sup>45</sup>*

Trotsky proudly stated that the Bolsheviks had sought to alienate children from their parents, but under Stalin parents resumed their responsibilities as the guardians of their children’s welfare, rather than the role being allotted to factory crèches. It seems, that in this respect at least, Stalinist Russia was less a Marxian-Bolshevik state than the present day capitalist states which insist that mothers should leave their children to the upbringing of crèches while they are forced to work; and ironically those most vocal

in demanding such polices are often regarded as ‘right-wing’.

Trotsky lauded the policy of the early Bolshevik state, to the point where the state withdrew support from parents

*While the hope still lived of concentrating the education of the new generations in the hands of the state, the government was not only unconcerned about supporting the authority of the ‘elders’, and, in particular of the mother and father, but on the contrary tried its best to separate the children from the family, in order thus to protect them from the traditions of a stagnant mode of life.<sup>46</sup>*

Trotsky portrayed the early Bolshevik experiments as the saving of children from ‘drunken fathers or religious mothers’; ‘a shaking of parental authority to its very foundations’.<sup>47</sup>

Stalinist Russia also reversed the original Bolshevik education policy that had been based on ‘progressive’ American concepts and returned authority to the schools. In speaking of the campaign against decadence in music,<sup>48</sup> Andrei Zhdanov, Stalin’s cultural adviser, recalled the original Bolshevik education policy, and disparaged it as ‘very leftish’:

*At one time, you remember, elementary and secondary schools went in for the ‘laboratory brigade’ method and the ‘Dalton plan’,<sup>49</sup> which reduced the role of the teacher in the schools to a minimum and gave each pupil the right to set the theme of classwork at the beginning of each lesson. On arriving in the classroom, the teacher would ask the pupils ‘What shall we study today?’ The pupils would reply: ‘Tell us about the Arctic’, ‘Tell us about the Antarctic’, ‘Tell us about Chapayev’, ‘Tell us about Dneprostroi’. The teacher had to follow the lead of these demands. This was called the ‘laboratory brigade method’, but actually it amounted to turning the organisation of schooling completely topsy-turvy. The pupils became the directing force, and the teacher followed their lead. Once we had ‘loose-leaf textbooks’, and the five point system of marks was abandoned. All these things were novelties, but I ask you, did these novelties stand for progress?*

*The Party cancelled all these ‘novelties’, as you know. Why? Because these*



*'novelties', in form very 'leftish', were in actual fact extremely reactionary and made for the nullification of the school.*<sup>50</sup>

One observer visiting the USSR explained:

*Theories of education were numerous. Every kind of educational system and experiment was tried—the Dalton Plan, the Project Method, the Brigade Laboratory and the like. Examinations were abolished and then reinstated; though with a vital difference. Examinations in the Soviet Union serve as a test for scholarship, not as a door to educational privilege.*<sup>51</sup>

In particular the amorality inherent in Marxism was reversed under Stalinism. Richard Overy sates of this process:

*Changing attitudes to behaviour and social environment under Stalin went hand-in-hand with a changing attitude towards the family... Unlike family policy in the 1920s, which assumed the gradual breakdown of the conventional family unit as the state supplied education and social support of the young, and men and women sought more collective modes of daily life, social policy under Stalin reinstated the family as the central social unit, and proper parental care as the model environment for the new Soviet generation. Family policy was driven by two primary motives: to expand the birth rate and to provide a more stable social context in a period of rapid social change. Mothers were respected as heroic socialist models in their own right and motherhood was defined as a socialist duty. In 1944 medals were introduced for women who had answered the call: Motherhood medal, Second Class for five children, First Class for six; medals of Motherhood Glory in three classes for seven, eight or nine offspring, for ten or more, mothers were justly nominated Heroine Mother of the Soviet Union, and an average of 5,000 a year won this highest accolade, and a diploma from the Soviet President himself.*<sup>52</sup>

No longer were husband and wife disparaged as the 'drunken father' and the 'religious mother', from whom the child must be 'emancipated' and placed under state jurisdiction, as Trotsky and the other Old Bolshevik reprobates attempted. Professor Overy states, rather, that 'the ideal family was defined in socialist-realist terms as

large, harmonious and hardworking'. 'Free love and sexual licence', the moral nihilism encouraged by Bolshevism during its early phase, was being described in *Pravda* in 1936 as 'altogether bourgeois'.<sup>53</sup>

In 1934 traditional marriage was reintroduced, and wedding rings, banned since the 1920s, were again produced. The austere and depressing atmosphere of the old Bolshevik marriage ceremony was replaced with more festive and prolonged celebration. Divorce, which the Bolsheviks had made easy, causing thousands of men to leave their families, was discouraged by raising fees. Absentee fathers were obliged to pay half their earnings for the upkeep of their families. Homosexuality, decriminalised in 1922, was recriminalised in 1934. Abortion, legalised in 1920, was outlawed in 1936, with abortionists liable to imprisonment from one to three years, while women seeking termination could be fined up to 300 roubles.<sup>54</sup> The exception was that those with hereditary illnesses could apply for abortion.<sup>55</sup>

### ***Kulturkampf***

The antithesis between Marxist orthodoxy and Stalinism is nowhere better seen than in the attitudes towards the family, as related above, and culture.

Andrei Zhdanov, the primary theoretician on culture in Stalinist Russia, was an inveterate opponent of 'formalism' and modernism in the arts. 'Socialist-realism', as Soviet culture was termed from 1932,<sup>56</sup> was formulated that year by Maxim Gorky, head of the Union of Soviet Writers.<sup>57</sup> It was heroic, folkish and organic. The individual artist was the conveyor of the folk-soul, in contrast to the art of Western decline, dismissively described in the USSR as 'bourgeoisie formalism'.<sup>58</sup>

The original Bolshevik vision of a mass democratic art, organised as 'Proletkult', which recruited thousands of workers to be trained as artists and writers, as one would train workers to operate a factory conveyor built, was replaced by the genius of the individual expressing the soul of the people. While in The West the extreme Left and its wealthy patrons championed various forms of modernism,<sup>59</sup> in the USSR they were marginalized at best, resulting in the suicide for example of the Russian 'Constructivist' Mayakovsky. The revitalisation of Russian-Soviet art

received its primary impetus in 1946 with the launching of Zhdanovschina.<sup>60</sup>

The classical composers from the Czarist era, such as Tchaikovsky, Glinka and Borodin, were revived, after being sidelined in the early years of Bolshevism in favour of modernism, as were great non-Russian composers such as Beethoven, Brahms and Schubert.<sup>61</sup> Maxim Gorky continued to be celebrated as ‘the founder of Soviet literature and he continued to visit the USSR, despite his having moved to Fascist Italy. He returned to Russia in 1933.<sup>62</sup> Modernists who had been fêted in the early days of Bolshevism, such as the playwright, Nikolai Erdman, were relegated to irrelevance by the 1930s.<sup>63</sup>

Jazz and the associated types of dancing were condemned as bourgeoisie degeneracy.<sup>64</sup>

Zhdanov’s speech to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) intended primarily to lay the foundations of Soviet music, represents one of the most cogent recent attempts to define culture. Other than some sparse references to Marx, Lenin and internationalism, the Zhdanov speech should rank alongside T S Eliot’s *Notes Towards A Definition of Culture*<sup>65</sup> as a seminal *conservative* statement on culture. The Zhdanov speech also helped set the foundation for the campaign against ‘rootless cosmopolitanism’ that was launched several years later. Zhdanov’s premises for a Soviet music were based on the classical and the organic connexion with the folk, striving for excellence, and expressing lofty values, rejecting modernism as detached from folk and tradition.

And, indeed, we are faced with a very acute, although outwardly concealed struggle between two trends in Soviet music. One trend represents the healthy, progressive principle in Soviet music, based upon recognition of the tremendous role of the classical heritage, and, in particular, the traditions of the Russian musical school, on the combination of lofty idea content in music, its truthfulness and realism, with profound, organic ties with the people and their music and songs – all this combined with a high degree of professional mastery. The other trend is that of formalism, which is alien to Soviet art, and is marked by rejection of the classical heritage under the guise of seeming novelty, by rejection of popular music, by

rejection of service to the people in preference for catering to the highly individualistic emotions of a small group of select aesthetes.<sup>66</sup>

While some in the Proletkult, founded in 1917 were of Futurist orientation, declaring like the poet Vladimir Kirillov, for example, that ‘In the name of our tomorrow, we will burn Raphael, we will destroy museums, we will trample the flowers of art’, the Proletkult organisation was abolished in 1932,<sup>67</sup> and Soviet culture was re-established on classical foundations. Zhdanov was to stress the classical heritage combined with the Russian folk traditions, as the basis for Soviet culture in his address:

*Let us examine the question of attitude towards the classical heritage, for instance. Swear as the above-mentioned composers may that they stand with both feet on the soil of the classical heritage, there is nothing to prove that the adherents of the formalistic school are perpetuating and developing the traditions of classical music. Any listener will tell you that the work of the Soviet composers of the formalistic trend is totally unlike classical music. Classical music is characterised by its truthfulness and realism, by the ability to attain to unity of brilliant artistic form with profound content, to combine great mastery with simplicity and comprehensibility. Classical music in general, and Russian classical music in particular, are strangers to formalism and crude naturalism. They are marked by lofty idea content, based upon recognition of the musical art of the peoples as the wellspring of classical music, by profound respect and love for the people, their music and songs.<sup>68</sup>*

Zhdanov’s analysis of modernism in music and his definition of classic culture is eminently relevant for the present state of Western cultural degeneracy:

*What a step back from the highroad of musical development our formalists make when, undermining the bulwarks of real music, they compose false and ugly music, permeated with idealistic emotions, alien to the wide masses of people, and catering not to the millions of Soviet people, but to the few, to a score or more of chosen ones, to the ‘elite’! How this differs from Glinka, Chaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Dargomyjsky and Mussorgsky, who regarded the*

*ability to express the spirit and character of the people in their works as the foundation of their artistic growth. Neglect of the demands of the people, their spirit and art means that the formalistic trend in music is definitely anti-popular in character.*<sup>69</sup>

Zhdanov addressed a tendency in Russia that has thrived in The West: that of the ever new and the ‘theoretical’ that is supposedly so profound as to be beyond the understanding of all but depraved, pretentious or commodity-driven artistic coteries in claiming that only future generations will widely understand these artistic vanguards. However, Stalinist Russia repudiated the nonsense; and exposed the emperor as having no clothes:

*It is simply a terrible thing if the ‘theory’ that ‘we will be understood fifty or a hundred years hence’, that ‘our contemporaries may not understand us, but posterity will’ is current among a certain section of Soviet composers. If this altitude has become habitual, it is a very dangerous habit.*<sup>70</sup>

For Zhdanov, and consequently for the USSR, the classics were a folkish manifestation arising from the soul of the Russian people, rather than being dismissed in Marxian manner as merely products of bourgeoisie culture. In fact, as indicated previously, it was modernism that was regarded as a manifestation of ‘bourgeois decadence’. Zhdanov castigated the modernists as elitist, aloof, or better said, alienated from the folk. On the other hand the great Russian classicists, despite their class origins, were upheld as paragons of the Russian folk culture:

*Remember how the classics felt about the needs of the people. We have begun to forget in what striking language the composers of the Big Five,<sup>71</sup> and the great music critic Stasov, who was affiliated with them, spoke of the popular element in music. We have begun to forget Glinka’s wonderful words about the ties between the people and artists: “Music is created by the people and we artists only arrange it.” We are forgetting that the great master did not stand aloof from any genres if these genres helped to bring music closer to the wide masses of people. You, on the other hand, hold aloof even from such a genre as the opera; you regard the opera as secondary, opposing it to instrumental*

*symphony music, to say nothing of the fact that you look down on song, choral and concert music, considering it a disgrace to stoop to it and satisfy the demands of the people. Yet Mussorgsky adapted the music of the Hopak, while Glinka used the Komarinsky for one of his finest compositions. Evidently, we shall have to admit that the landlord Glinka, the official Serov and the aristocrat Stasov were more democratic than you. This is paradoxical, but it is a fact. Solemn vows that you are all for popular music are not enough. If you are, why do you make so little use of folk melodies in your musical works? Why are the defects, which were criticised long ago by Serov, when he said that 'learned', that is, professional, music was developing parallel with and independently of folk music, repeating themselves? Can we really say that our instrumental symphony music is developing in close interaction with folk music – be it song, concert or choral music? No, we cannot say that. On the contrary, a gulf has unquestionably arisen here as the result of the underestimation of folk music by our symphony composers. Let me remind you of how Serov defined his attitude to folk music. I am referring to his article *The Music of South Russian Songs* in which he said: 'Folk songs, as musical organisms, are by no means the work of individual musical talents, but the productions of a whole nation; their entire structure distinguishes them from the artificial music written in conscious imitation of previous examples, written as the products of definite schools, science, routine and reflexes. They are flowers that grow naturally in a given locale, that have appeared in the world of themselves and sprung to full beauty without the least thought of authorship or composition, and consequently, with little resemblance to the hothouse products of learned compositional activity'. That is why the naivete of creation, and that (as Gogol aptly expressed it in *Dead Souls*) lofty wisdom of simplicity which is the main charm and main secret of every artistic work are most strikingly manifest in them.<sup>72</sup>*

It is notable that Zhdanov emphasised the basis of culture as an organic flowering from the nation. Of painting Zhdanov again attacked the psychotic 'leftist' influences:

*Or take this example. An Academy of Fine Arts was organised not so long ago. Painting is your sister, one of the muses. At one time, as you know, bourgeois*

*influences were very strong in painting. They cropped up time and again under the most 'leftist' flags, giving themselves such tags as futurism, cubism, modernism; 'stagnant academism' was 'overthrown', and novelty proclaimed. This novelty expressed itself in insane carryings on, as for instance, when a girl was depicted with one head on forty legs, with one eye turned towards us, and the other towards Arzamas. How did all this end? In the complete crash of the 'new trend'. The Party fully restored the significance of the classical heritage of Repin, Briullov, Vereshchagin, Vasnetsov and Surikov. Did we do right in reinstating the treasures of classical painting, and routing the liquidators of painting?*<sup>73</sup>

The extended discussion here on Russian culture under Stalin is due to the importance that the culture-war between the USSR and the USA took, having repercussions that were not only world-wide but lasting.

## **Notes:**

- 1 - Oswald Spengler, *The Hour of Decision* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1963), 61.
- 2 - K R Bolton, 'Jünger and National-Bolshevism' in *Jünger: Thoughts & Perspectives* Vol. XI (London: Black Front Press, 2012).
- 3 - Association for the Study of the Planned Economy of Soviet Russia.
- 4 - League of Professional Intellectuals.
- 5 - K R Bolton, 'Jünger and National-Bolshevism', op. cit.
- 6 - Cited by John J Stephan, *The Russian Fascists* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978), 338.
- 7 - K R Bolton, 'Francis Parker Yockey: Stalin's Fascist Advocate', *International Journal of Russian Studies*, Issue No. 6, 2010, <http://www.radtr.net/dergi/sayi6/bolton6.htm>
- 8 - K R Bolton, 'Cold War Axis: Soviet Anti-Zionism and the American Right' see Appendix II below.
- 9 - See Chapter III: 'The Moscow Trials in Historical Context'.
- 10 - R Service, *Comrades: Communism: A World History* (London: Pan MacMillan, 2008), 97.
- 11 - Ibid., 98.
- 12 - Ibid., 107.
- 13 - Ibid., 109.
- 14 - Ibid., 116.
- 15 - G Dimitrov, Dimitrov and Stalin 1934-1943: Letters from the Soviet Archives, 32, cited by R Service, *ibid.*, 220.
- 16 - R Service, *ibid.*, 220.
- 17 - G Dimitrov, op. cit., cited by Service, *ibid.*, 221.

- 18 - R Service, *ibid.*, 222.
- 19 - *Ibid.*
- 20 - Hungarians.
- 21 - Richard Overy, *The Dictators: Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia* (London: Allen Lane, 2004), 201.
- 22 - L I Shvetsova, et al. (eds.), *Rasstrel'nye spiski: Moskva, 1937-1941: ... Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskii repressii.* ('The Execution List: Moscow, 1937-1941: ... Book of Remembrances of the victims of Political Repression'), (Moscow: Memorial Society, Zven'ia Publishing House, 2000), 229.
- 23 - L Sedov, 'Why did Stalin Need this Trial?', *The Red Book on the Moscow Trials*, <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/sedov/works/red/ch01.htm>
- 24 - . *Ibid.*, 'Domestic Political Reasons'.
- 25 - R Service, *op. cit.*, 240-241.
- 26 - *Ibid.*, 242.
- 27 - *Ibid.*
- 28 - *Ibid.*
- 29 - Given that when Trotsky was empowered under Lenin he established or condoned the methods of jurisprudence, concentration camps, forced labour, and the 'Red Terror', that were later to be placed entirely at the feet of Stalin.
- 30 - Karl Marx, 'Proletarians and Communists', *The Communist Manifesto*, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), 68.
- 31 - K R Bolton, 'The State versus Parental Authority', *Journal of Social, Political & Economic Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2, Summer 2011, 197-217.
- 32 - K Marx, *Communist Manifesto*, *op. cit.*
- 33 - See Chapter V.
- 34 - L Sedov, *op. cit.*, 'Reasons of Foreign Policy'.
- 35 - L Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*, Chapter 7, 'Family, Youth and Culture', <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1936/revbet/ch07.htm>
- 36 - K R Bolton, 'The Psychopathology of the Left', *Ab Aeterno*, No. 10, Jan,-March 2012, Academy of Social and Political Research (Athens), Paraparaumu, New Zealand. The discussion on Marx and on Trotsky show their pathological hatred of family.
- 37 - L Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*, *op. cit.*, 'The Thermidor in the Family'.
- 38 - 'There is no proletarian, not even a communist, movement that has not operated in the interests of money, in the directions indicated by money, and for the time permitted by money — and that without the idealist amongst its leaders having the slightest suspicion of the fact'. Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of The West* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971), Vol. II, 402.
- 39 - L Trotsky, *op.cit.*
- 40 - *Ibid.*
- 41 - *Ibid.*
- 42 - *Ibid.*
- 43 - *Ibid.*
- 44 - *Ibid.*
- 45 - *Ibid.*
- 46 - *Ibid.*
- 47 - *Ibid.*
- 48 - See below.
- 49 - A laudatory article on the 'Dalton Plan' states that the Dalton School was founded in New York in 1919



and was one of the most important progressive schools of the time, the Dalton Plan being adopted across the world, including in the USSR. It is described as ‘often chaotic and disorganized, but also intimate, caring, nurturing, and familial’. Interestingly it is described as a synthesis of the theories of John Dewey and Carleton Washburne. ‘Dalton School’, <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/1902/Dalton-School.html>

Dewey along with the Trotsky apologist Sidney Hook (later avid Cold Warrior and winner of the American Medal of Freedom from President Ronald Reagan) organised the campaign to defend Trotsky at the time of the Moscow Purges of the late 1930s. See Chapter II below.

50 - A Zhandov, Speech at the discussion on music to the Central Committee of the Communist Party SU (Bolshevik), February 1948.

51 - Hewlett Johnson, *The Socialist Sixth of the World* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1939), Book IV, ‘New Horizons’, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/johnson-hewlett/socialistsixth/ch04.htm>

52 - R Overy, op. cit., 255-256.

53 - Ibid.

54 - Ibid., 257.

55 - Ibid., p. 258.

56 - Ibid., 352.

57 - Ibid., 353.

58 - Ibid.

59 - K R Bolton, *Revolution from Above*, op. cit., 134-143.

60 - Overy, op.cit., 361.

61 - Ibid., 366-367.

62 - Ibid., 366.

63 - Ibid., 371.

64 - Ibid., 376.

65 - T S Eliot, *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967).

66 - Zhdanov, op. cit., 6.

67 - *Encyclopaedia of Soviet Writers*, <http://www.sovlit.net/bios/proletkult.html>

68 - Zhdanov, op. cit., 6-7.

69 - Ibid., 7

70 - Ibid.

71 - The Big Five – a group of Russian composers during the 1860’s: Balakirev, Mussorgsky, Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakov, Cui.

72 - Zhdanov, op. cit., 7-8.

73 - Ibid., 12.

## 11. **THE MOSCOW TRIALS IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT**

Trotsky has received comparatively good press in the West, especially since World War II, when the wartime alliance with Stalin turned sour. Trotsky has been published by major corporations,<sup>1</sup> and is generally considered the grandfatherly figure of Bolshevism.<sup>2</sup> ‘Uncle Joe’ (as Stalin had been called by the Americans during World War II) on the other hand, was quickly demonized as a tyrant, and the ‘gallant Soviet Army’ that stopped the Germans at Stalingrad was turned into a threat to world freedom, when in the aftermath of World War II the USSR did not prove compliant in regard to US plans for a post-war world order.<sup>3</sup> However, even before the rift, basically from the beginning of the Moscow Trials of the late 1930s, Western academics such as Professor John Dewey condemned the proceedings as a brutal travesty, and a public relations campaign in the West was inaugurated in favour of Trotsky and against Stalin. The Moscow Trials are here reconsidered within the context of the historical circumstances and of the judicial system that Trotsky and other defendants had themselves played prominent roles in establishing.

A reconsideration of the Moscow Trials of the defendants Trotsky et al is important for more reasons than the purely academic. Since the scuttling of the USSR

and of the Warsaw Pact by a combination of internal betrayal and of subversion undertaken by a myriad of US-based ‘civil societies’ and NGOs,<sup>4</sup> – after the Yeltsin interlude of subservience to globalisation – Russia has sought to recreate herself as a power that offers a hindrance to US global domination. A reborn Russia and a new geopolitical bloc with Russian leadership, is therefore of importance to all those throughout the world who are cynical about the prospect of a ‘new world order’ dominated by ‘American ideals’. US foreign policy analysts, ‘statesmen’ (sic), opinion moulders, and lobbyists still have nightmares about Stalin and the possibility of a Stalin-type figure arising who will re-establish Russia’s position in the world. For example, Putin, a ‘strongman’ type in Western-liberal eyes at least, has been ambivalent about the role of Stalin in history. Such ambivalence, rather than unequivocal rejection, is sufficient to make oligarchs in the USA and Russia herself, nervous. Hence, *The Sunday Times*, commenting on the Putin phenomena being dangerously reminiscent of Stalinism, stated:

*Joseph Stalin sent millions to their deaths during his reign of terror, and his name was taboo for decades, but the dictator is a step closer to rehabilitation after Vladimir Putin openly praised his achievements.*

The Prime Minister and former KGB agent used an appearance on national television to give credit to Stalin for making the Soviet Union an industrial superpower, and for defeating Hitler in the Second World War.

In a verdict that will be obediently absorbed by a state bureaucracy long used to taking its cue from above, Mr Putin declared that it was ‘impossible to make a judgment in general’ about the man who presided over the Gulag slave camps. His view contrasted sharply with that of President Medvedev, Russia’s nominal leader, who has said that there is no excuse for the terror unleashed by Stalin.

Mr Putin said that he had deliberately included the issue of Stalin’s legacy in a marathon annual question-and-answer programme on live television, because it was being ‘actively discussed’ by Russians.<sup>5</sup>

While *The Times*’ Halpin commented that Putin nonetheless gave the obligatory comments about the brutality of Stalin’s regime, following a forceful condemnation of

Stalin by Medvedev on 9 October, 2009, it is nonetheless worrying that Putin could state that positive aspects to Stalin's rule 'undoubtedly existed'. Such comments are the same as if a leading German political figure had stated that some positive aspects of Hitler 'undoubtedly existed'. The guilt complex of Stalinist tyranny is supposed to keep Russia subservient like the guilt complex over Hitler in regard to Germany. *The Times* article commented on Putin's opposition to Russian oligarchy, which has been presented by the Western news media as a 'human rights issue':

*During the television programme, Mr Putin demonstrated his populist instincts by lashing out at Russia's billionaire class for their vulgar displays of wealth. His comments came after a scandal in Geneva, when an elderly man was critically injured in an accident after an alleged road race involving the children of wealthy Russians in a Lamborghini and three other sports cars. 'The nouveaux riches all of a sudden got rich very quickly, but they cannot manage their wealth without showing it off all the time. Yes, this is our problem,' Mr Putin said.<sup>6</sup>*

This all seems lamentably (for the plutocrats) like a replay of what happened in Russia when Stalin deposed Trotsky after Lenin's death. Under Trotsky, the Bolshevik regime would have eagerly sought foreign capital.<sup>7</sup> As the Stalinists contended, Trotsky was an agent of foreign capital. It is after all why business, political and intelligence interests ensured Trotsky's safe passage back to Russia from New York in time for the Bolshevik coup.<sup>8</sup> In 1923 the omnipresent globalist think tank the Council on Foreign Relations was warning investors to hurry up and get into Soviet Russia before something went wrong,<sup>9</sup> which it did a few years later. Under Stalin, even Western technicians were not trusted.<sup>10</sup>

The purging of Trotskyites and their allies from the USSR by Stalin constituted the first significant move against foreign aims for Russia. The subsequent Russophobia that continues among American foreign policy and other influential circles has an ideological and historical framework arising to a significant extent from that period. The Moscow Trials, and the reaction symbolized by the Dewey Commission, gave impetus to a movement that was to change from Trotskyism to post-Trotskyism and ultimately to the oddly named 'neo- conservatism' (necons) and

led to the formation of organisations such as the National Endowment for Democracy, working for ‘regime change’ around the world in the interests of the USA.

In the spirit of this legacy, the oligarchs, who were unleashed on Russia after the destruction of the USSR, are being defended in the West as victims of neo-Stalinism, and their trials are being compared to those of Stalin’s ‘Moscow Show Trials’. Hence, American Professor Paul Gregory, a Fellow of the Hoover Institution, and co-editor of the ‘Yale-Hoover Series on Stalin, Stalinism, and Cold War’, wrote of the trial of oligarch Mikhail Khodorkovsky:

*When the history of Russian justice is written fifty years from now, two landmark court cases will stand out: The death sentence of Nikolai Bukharin in his Moscow show trial of March 1938 and the second prison sentence of Mikhail Khodorkovsky expected December 27, 2010. Both processes teach the same object lesson: anyone who crosses the Kremlin will be punished without mercy. There will be no protection in the courts for the innocent, and the guilty verdict and sentence will be already predetermined behind the Kremlin walls. It also does not matter how preposterous or ludicrous the charges. Vladimir Putin was born in 1952, only one year before Stalin’s death. But Stalin’s system of justice was institutionalized and survived Stalin and the collapse of the Soviet Union, for use by apt pupils such as Putin...*<sup>11</sup>

If Russia continues to take a ‘wrong turn’ (sic) as it is termed by the US foreign policy Establishment,<sup>12</sup> then we can expect the regime to be increasingly demonized<sup>13</sup> by being compared to that of Stalin. John McCain stated on the Floor of the US Senate, speaking of the ‘New START Treaty’ with Russia, that the Khodorkovsky trial indicated the flawed nature of Russia, although McCain admitted that he was ‘under no illusions’ that some of the gains of the oligarch might have been ‘ill-gotten’.<sup>14</sup> However, to those who do not like the prospect of a revived Russia, Khodorkovsky became a symbol of the type of state they hoped would emerge after the demise of the USSR, and criminal oligarchs are portrayed as victims of Stalin-like injustice.<sup>15</sup> Trotskyite veteran Carl Gershman, founding president of the National Endowment for Democracy, used the Khodorkovsky sentencing as the primary point for condemning Russia in his summing up of the world situation for democracy in

2010, when stating that:

*As 2010 drew to a close, the backsliding accelerated with a flurry of new setbacks—notably the rigged re-sentencing of dissident entrepreneur Mikhail Khodorkovsky in Russia, the brutal repression of the political opposition in Belarus following the December 19 presidential election, and the passage of a spate of repressive new laws in Venezuela, where President Hugo Chavez assumed decree powers.<sup>16</sup>*

### **Background of The Trials**

The Moscow Trials comprised three events: The first trial, held in August 1936, involved 16 members of the ‘Trotskyite-Kamenevite-Zinovievite-Leftist-Counter-Revolutionary Bloc’. The two main defendants were Grigory Zinoviev and Lev Kamenev. The primary accusations against the defendants were that they had, in alliance with Trotsky, been involved in the assassination of Sergey Kirov in 1934, and of plotting to kill Stalin.<sup>17</sup> After confessing to the charges, all were sentenced to death and executed.

The second trial in January 1937 of the ‘Anti-Soviet Trotskyite-Centre’ comprised 17 defendants, including Karl Radek, Yuri Piatakov and Grigory Sokolnikov, who were accused of plotting with Trotsky. Thirteen of the defendants were executed, and the remainder died in labour camps.

The third trial was held in 1938 against the ‘Bloc of Rights and Trotskyists’, with Bukharin as the chief defendant. They were accused of having planned to assassinate Lenin and Stalin in 1918, and of having plotted to dismember the USSR for the benefit of foreign powers.

These trials have been condemned as ‘show trials,’ yet the very openness to foreign journalists and diplomats, as distinct from secret tribunals, is surely an approach that is to be commended rather than condemned. It also indicates the confidence the Soviet authorities had in their charges against the accused, allowing the processes to be subjected to foreign scrutiny.

The world generally has come to know the Moscow Trials as a collective travesty based on torture, threats to families, and forced confessions, with the defendants in confused states, declaring their confessions of guilt by rote, as if hypnotised. The trials are considered in every sense modern-day ‘witch trials’. For example, Professor Sidney Hook, expressed the widely held view of the trials many years later that, ‘The confessions, exacted by threats and torture, physical and psychological, whose precise nature has never been disclosed, consisted largely of alleged ‘conversations about conversations.’”<sup>18</sup> However the opinions of first-hand observers are not unanimous in condemning the methodology of the trials. The US Ambassador to the USSR, himself a lawyer, Joseph E Davies, was to write of the trials in his memoirs published in 1945 (that is, about seven years after the Dewey Commission had supposedly proven the trials to have been a travesty):

*At 12 o’clock noon accompanied by Counselor Henderson I went to this trial. Special arrangements were made for tickets for the Diplomatic Corps to have seats...<sup>19</sup> ...On both sides of the central aisle were rows of seats occupied entirely by different groups of ‘workers’ at each session, with the exception of a few rows in the centre of the hall reserved for correspondents, local and foreign, and for the Diplomatic Corps. The different groups of ‘workers,’ I am advised, were charged with the duty of taking back reports of the trials to their various organizations.<sup>20</sup>*

Davies stated that among the foreign press corps were the following representatives: Walter Duranty and Harold Denny from *The New York Times*, Joe Barnew and Joe Phillips from *The New York Herald Tribune*, Charlie Nutter or Nick Massock from Associated Press, Norman Deuel and Henry Schapiro from United Press, Jim Brown from International News, and Spencer Williams from *The Manchester Guardian*. The *London Observer*, hardly pro-Soviet, opined that: ‘It is futile to think the trial was staged and the charges trumped up. The Government’s case against the defendants is genuine’.<sup>21</sup>

Of Soviet prosecutor Andrei Vyshinsky, Davies opined that: ‘the prosecutor ... conducted the case calmly and generally with admirable moderation’. Especially notable, given the subsequent claims that were made about the allegedly confused,

brainwashed appearance and tone of the defendants, Davies observed: ‘There was nothing unusual in the appearance of the accused. They all appeared well nourished and normal physically’.<sup>22</sup> A delegation of the International Association of Lawyers stated:

*We consider the claim that the proceedings were summary and unlawful to be totally unfounded. The accused were given the opportunity of taking counsels... We hereby categorically declare that the accused were sentenced quite lawfully.*<sup>23</sup>

In 1936 the British Labour Member of Parliament and distinguished lawyer D N Pritt KC, wrote extensively of his observations on the first Moscow Trial. In the lengthy article published in *Russia Today*, Pritt, after alluding to the good condition of the defendants who, in accord with the observations of Davies, did not appear to have suffered under Soviet detention, wrote:

*The first thing that struck me, as an English lawyer, was the almost free-and-easy demeanour of the prisoners. They all looked well; they all got up and spoke, even at length, whenever they wanted to do so (for the matter of that, they strolled out, with a guard, when they wanted to).*

*The one or two witnesses who were called by the prosecution were cross-examined by the prisoners who were affected by their evidence, with the same freedom as would have been the case in England.*

*The prisoners voluntarily renounced counsel; they could have had counsel without fee had they wished, but they preferred to dispense with them. And having regard to their pleas of guilty and to their own ability to speak, amounting in most cases to real eloquence, they probably did not suffer by their decision, able as some of my Moscow colleagues are.*<sup>24</sup>

Pritt was struck by the informality of the proceedings, and commented on how the defendants could interrupt at will, in what seems to have been a freewheeling debate:

*The most striking novelty, perhaps, to an English lawyer, was the easy way in which first one and then another prisoner would intervene in the course of the*



*examination of one of their co-defendants, without any objection from the Court or from the prosecutor, so that one got the impression of a quick and vivid debate between four people, the prosecutor and three prisoners, all talking together, if not actually at the same moment—a method which, whilst impossible with a jury, is certainly conducive to clearing up disputes of fact with some rapidity.*<sup>25</sup>

Pritt's view of Vyshinsky is in accord with that of Davies, stating of the prosecutor: 'He spoke with vigour and clarity. He seldom raised his voice. He never ranted, or shouted, or thumped the table. He rarely looked at the public or played for effect'.<sup>26</sup> Pritt stated that the fifteen defendants<sup>27</sup> 'spoke without any embarrassment or hindrance'. Pritt's concluding remark states: 'But it is equally clear that the judicature and the prosecuting attorney of USSR have taken at least as great a step towards establishing their reputation among the legal systems of the modern world'.<sup>28</sup>

Although Pritt was not a Communist party member, he was pro-Soviet. Was he, then, capable of forming an objective, professional opinion? Anecdotal evidence suggests he was. Jeremy Murray-Brown, biographer of the Kenyan leader Jomo Kenyatta, writing to the editor of *Commentary* in connection with the Moscow Trials, relates that he had had discussions with Pritt in 1970, in the course of which he asked Pritt about the trials:

*His reply astonished me. 'I thought they were all guilty', he said, referring to Bukharin and his co-defendants. It was as simple as that; Pritt made no attempt at political justification, but reaffirmed what was for him a matter of clear professional judgment. ...In terms of the Soviet Union's own judicial system, Pritt said, he firmly believed the defendants in the Moscow trials were guilty as charged. It was an argument which came oddly from the man who defended Kenyatta.*<sup>29</sup>

Kenyatta, accused of being leader of the terrorist Mau Mau, whom Pritt went to Kenya to defend before a British colonial court, had been 'evasive' under cross-examination, Pritt stated.<sup>30</sup> Pritt, despite his support for Kenyatta, was able to judge the veracity of proceedings regardless of political bias, and had maintained his view of the Moscow

trials even in 1970, when it would have been opportune, even among Soviet sympathizers, to conform to the accepted view, including the declarations of Khrushchev. Indeed, Sidney Hook, long since having become a Cold Warrior in the service of the USA, retorted:

*In reply to Jeremy Murray-Brown: the significance of D N Pritt's infamous defense of the infamous Moscow frame-up trials must be appraised in the light of Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's crimes available to the public (outside the Soviet Union) long before Pritt's avowals to Mr Murray-Brown. Pritt cannot have been unaware of them.*<sup>31</sup>

Of course Pritt was not unaware of Khrushchev's so-called 'revelations'. Unlike many former admirers of Stalin who found it opportune to change sides, he was simply not impressed by their veracity, and it must be assumed that his scepticism was based on both his eminent judicial experience and his first-hand observations. Certainly, Sidney Hook's leading role in the formation of the Dewey Commission for the exoneration of Trotsky, was itself a cynical travesty, as will be considered below.

If there was a general consensus that the proceedings of the Moscow Trials were legitimate, and a quite sceptical attitude towards the findings of the Dewey Commission, what has since caused an almost universal reversal of opinion? It was a change of perception in regard to Stalin in the aftermath of World War II, and not due to any sudden revelations about the Moscow Trials or about Stalin's tyranny. The wartime alliance, which, it was assumed, would endure during the post-war era, instead gave way to the Cold War.<sup>32</sup> Such was the hatred by the Trotskyites for the USSR that they were willing to enlist in the ranks of the anti-Soviet crusade even to the extent of working for the CIA<sup>33</sup>, and supporting the US in Korea and Vietnam to counter Soviet influence.<sup>34</sup> Their services as experienced anti-Soviet propagandists were eagerly sought by the CIA. Hence the findings of the Dewey Commission, largely ignored in their own time, are now heralded as definitive. The nature of this Dewey Commission will now be considered.

## **‘Preliminary Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials’**

The so-called Dewey Commission, the full title of which was the ‘Preliminary Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials’, having a legalistic and even official sound to it, was convened in March 1937 on the initiative of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky as a supposedly ‘impartial body’.<sup>35</sup> The purpose was, ‘to ascertain all the available facts about the Moscow Trial proceedings in which Trotsky and his son, Leon Sedov, were the principal accused and to render a judgment based upon those facts’.<sup>36</sup> However, the composition of the Commission indicates that it was set up as a counter-show trial with the preconceived intention of exonerating Trotsky, and was created at the instigation of Trotsky himself.

The stage was set with the founding of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky by Professor Sidney Hook, who persuaded his mentor, Professor John Dewey, to front for it. Just how ‘impartial’ the Dewey Commission was might be deduced not only from its having been initiated by those sympathetic towards Trotsky, but also by a comment in a *Time* report at the occasion of Trotsky’s deportation from Norway *en route* to Mexico: ‘The American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky spat accusations at the Norwegian Government last week for its “indecent and filthy” behavior in placing the Great Exile & Mme Trotsky on the Norwegian tanker Ruth...’<sup>37</sup>

The mock ‘trial’ organised by the Dewey Commission was prompted by a ‘demand’ from Trotsky from his new abode in Mexico, who ‘publicly demanded the formation of an international commission of inquiry, since he had been deprived of any opportunity to reply to the accusations before a legally constituted court’.<sup>38</sup> A sub-commission was formed to travel to Mexico and to allow Trotsky to give testimony in his defence under what was supposed to include ‘cross-examination’. The sub-commission comprised:

- John Dewey as chairman, described by Novack as America’s foremost liberal and philosopher;

- Otto Ruehle, a German Marxist and former Reichstag Deputy;
- Alfred Rosmer, former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (1920-21);
- Wendelin Thomas, leader of the sailor's revolt in Germany in 1918 and a former Communist Deputy in the Reichstag; and
- Carlo Tresca, Italian-American anarchist.<sup>39</sup>

Other members, whose political orientations are not mentioned by Novack, were:

- Benjamin Stolberg, American journalist;
- Suzanne La Follette, American journalist;
- Carleton Beals, authority on Latin-American affairs;
- Edward A Ross, Professor of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin;
- John Chamberlain, former literary critic of the *New York Times*; and
- Francisco Zamora, Mexican journalist.

Of these, Stolberg was a supporter of the Socialist Party, described by fellow commissioner Carleton Beals as being, along with other commissioners, thoroughly under Trotsky's spell.<sup>40</sup> Suzanne La Follette was described by Beals as having a 'worshipful' attitude towards Trotsky.<sup>41</sup> Edward A Ross, who had gone to Soviet Russia in 1917 had come back with a pro-Bolshevik sentiment, writing *The Russian Bolshevik Revolution* (1921) and *The Russian Soviet Republic* (1923). John Chamberlain, a Left-leaning liberal by his own description<sup>42</sup>, was among those who became so obsessively anti-Soviet that they ended up as avid Cold Warriors in the US camp.<sup>43</sup> In 1946 Chamberlain and Suzanne La Follette, along with free market guru Henry Hazlitt, founded the libertarian journal *The Freeman*.<sup>44</sup> Both can therefore be regarded as among the many Trotsky-sympathizers who became apologists for American foreign policy,<sup>45</sup> and laid the foundation for the 'neo-con' movement. Chamberlain and La Follette continued to pursue a vigorous anti-Soviet line at the earliest stages of the Cold War.<sup>46</sup>

Trotsky's lawyer for the Mexico hearings was Albert Goldman, who had joined

the Communist Party of America on its founding in 1920. He was expelled from the party in 1933 for Trotskyism. Goldman was another Trotskyite who became a pro-US Cold Warrior.<sup>47</sup> The Dewey Commission's 'court reporter' (sic) was Albert M Glotzer, who had been expelled from the Communist Party USA in 1928 and with prominent American Trotskyite Max Shachtman, had founded the Communist League and subsequent factions, including the Social Democrats USA,<sup>48</sup> whose executive Secretary had been Carl Gershman, founding president of the National Endowment for Democracy. Glotzer had also served as Trotsky's secretary in Turkey in 1931, and had met him on other occasions.<sup>49</sup> The Social Democrats USA provided particular support for the Cold War hawk, Left-wing Democratic Senator Henry Jackson, and has produced other foreign policy hawks such as Elliott Abrams.

Under the façade of an 'impartial enquiry' and with a convoluted title that suggests a *bona fide* judicial basis, the Dewey Commission proceeded to Mexico to 'interrogate' (sic) Trotsky on the pretence of objectivity;<sup>50</sup> an image that was to be quickly exposed by the resignation of one of the Commissioners, Carleton Beals.

### **'Trotsky's Pink Tea Party': The Beals Resignation**

Although one would hardly suspect it now, at the time the Dewey Commission was perceived by many as lacking credibility, despite the prestige of John Dewey. *Time* reported that when Dewey returned from Mexico the 'kindly, grizzled professor' told a crowd of 3,500 in Manhattan that the preliminary results of the sub-commission justified the continuation of the Commission's enquiries in the USA and elsewhere. *Time* offered the view that, 'by last week the committee had proved nothing at all', despite Dewey's positive spin.<sup>51</sup> *Time*, in referring to the resignation of Carleton Beals, cited him as stating that the hearings had been 'unduly influenced in Trotsky's favor', Beals having 'resigned in disgust'.<sup>52</sup> The Dewey report appended a statement attempting to deal with Beals.<sup>53</sup> In a reply to Dewey, Beals wrote in *The Saturday Evening Post* that despite the publicly stated intention of the enquiry to determine the innocence or guilt of Trotsky the attitudes of the sub-commission members towards Trotsky were those of reverence:

*'I want to weep,' remarks one commissioner as we pass out into the frowzy street, 'to think of him being here.' All, including Doctor Dewey, chairman of the investigatory commission, join in the chorus of sorrow over Trotsky's fallen star – except one commissioner, who sees the pathos of human change in less personal terms.*<sup>54</sup>

Beals observing Trotsky in action considered that,

*above all, his mental faculties are blurred by a consuming lust of hate for Stalin, a furious uncontrollable venom which has its counterpart in something bordering on a persecution complex – all who disagree with him are bunched in the simple formula of GPU agents, people 'corrupted by the gold of Stalin.'*<sup>55</sup>

It is evident from Beals' comments – and Beals had no particular axe to grind – that the persona of Trotsky was far from the rational demeanour of a wronged victim. From Beals' comments Trotsky seems to have presented himself in a manner that is suggestive of the descriptions often levelled against the Stalinist judiciary, making wild accusations about the supposed Stalinist affiliations of any detractors. Beals questioned Trotsky concerning his archives, since Trotsky was making numerous references to them to prove his innocence, but Trotsky 'hems and haws'. While Trotsky denied that his archives had been purged of anything incriminating, important documents had been taken out. A primary insistence of Trotsky's defence was his denial of having any communication after 1929 with those now being tried at Moscow. However Dr J Arch Getty comments:

*Yet it is now clear that in 1932 he sent secret personal letters to former leading oppositionists Karl Radek, G. Sokol'nikov, E. Preobrazhensky, and others. While the contents of these letters are unknown, it seems reasonable to believe that they involved an attempt to persuade the addressees to return to opposition.*<sup>56</sup>

Unlike virtually all Trotsky's other letters (including even the most sensitive) no copies of these remain in the Trotsky Papers. It seems likely that they have been removed from the Papers at some time. Only the certified mail receipts remain. At his 1937 trial, Karl Radek testified that he had received a letter from Trotsky containing

‘terrorist instructions’, but we do not know whether this was the letter in question.<sup>57</sup>

It can be noted here that, as will be related below, Russian scholar Professor Rogovin, in seeking to show that the Opposition bloc maintained an effective resistance to Stalin, also stated that a ‘united anti-Stalin bloc’ did form in 1932, despite Trotsky’s claim at the Dewey hearings that there had been no significant contact with any of the Moscow defendants since 1929. Beals found it difficult to believe Trotsky’s insistence that his contacts inside the USSR had since 1930 consisted of no more than a half dozen letters to individuals. If it was the case that Trotsky no longer had a network within the USSR then he and the Fourth International, and Trotskyism generally, must have been nothing other than bluster.<sup>58</sup>

Beals’ less than deferential line of questioning created antagonism with the rest of the Commission. They began to change the rules of questioning without consulting him. Beals concluded by stating that either Finerty, whom he regarded as acting like Trotsky’s lawyer instead of that of the Commission’s counsel, resign, or he would. Suzanne LaFollette ‘burst into tears’ and implored Beals to apologise to Finerty, otherwise the ‘great historical occasion’ would be ‘marred’. Beals left the room of the Mexican villa with the Commissioners chasing after him. Dewey was left to try and explain the situation to the press, while Beals countered that ‘the commission’s investigations were a fraud’.<sup>59</sup> In the concluding remarks of his article, with the subheading ‘The Trial that Proved Nothing’, Beals stated that:

- There had been no adequate cross-examination.
- The Trotsky archives had not been examined.
- The cross-examination was a ‘scant day and a half’, mostly taken up with questions about the Russian Revolution, relations with Lenin, and questions about dialectical theory.
- Most of the evidence submitted was in the form of Trotsky’s articles and books, which could have been consulted at a library.

The Commission then resumed in New York, about which Beals predicted, ‘no amount of fumbling over documents in New York can correct the omissions and errors of its

Mexican expedition', adding:

*From the press I learned that seven other commissions were at work in Europe, and that these would send representatives to form part of the larger commission. I was unable to find out how these European commissions had been created, who were members of them. I suspected them of being small cliques of Trotsky's own followers. I was unable to put my seal of approval on the work of our commission in Mexico. I did not wish my name used merely as a sounding board for the doctrines of Trotsky and his followers. Nor did I care to participate in the work of the larger organization, whose methods were not revealed to me, the personnel of which was still a mystery to me.*

*Doubtless, considerable information will be scraped together. But if the Commission in Mexico is an example, the selection of the facts will be biased, and their interpretation will mean nothing if trusted to a purely pro-Trotsky clique. As for me, a sadder and wiser man, I say, a plague on both their houses.<sup>60</sup>*

As can be seen from the last sentence of the above, Beals was not aligned to either Trotsky or Stalin. He had accepted a position with the Dewey Commission in the belief that it sought to get to the matter of the accusations against the Moscow defendants, and specifically Trotsky, in a professional manner. What Beals found was a set-up that was predetermined to exonerate Trotsky and give the 'Old Man' a podium upon which to vent his spleen against his nemesis, Stalin. It is also apparent that Trotsky attempted to deflect accusations by alleging that anyone who doubted his word was in the pay of Stalin. Yet today the consensus among scholars is that Stalin contrived false allegations about Trotsky et al, and any suggestion to the contrary is met with vehemence rather than with scholarly rebuttal.

The third session of the Mexico hearings largely proceeded on the question of the relations between Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev, and the formation of the Stalin-Kamenev-Zinoviev troika that ran the Soviet state when Lenin became incapacitated. The primary point was that Kamenev and Zinoviev were historically rivals of Trotsky and allies of Stalin in the jockeying for leadership. However, the Moscow testimony



also deals with the split of the troika, when alliances changed and Zinoviev and Kamenev aligned with Trotsky. Trotsky in reply to a question from Goldman as to the time of the split, replied: 'It was during the preparation, the secret preparation of the split. It was in the second half of 1925. It appeared openly at the Fourteenth Congress of the Party. That was the beginning of 1926'.

Trotsky was asked to explain the origins of the Zinoviev split with Stalin and the duration of the alliance with Trotsky. This, it should be noted, was at the time of an all-out offensive against Stalin, during which, Trotsky explains in his memoirs, 'In the Autumn the Opposition even made an open sortie at the meeting of Party locals'.<sup>61</sup> At the time the 'New Opposition' group led by Zinoviev and Kamenev aligned with Trotsky to form the 'United Opposition'. Trotsky also stated in his memoirs that Zinoviev and Kamenev, despite being ideologically at odds with Stalin, tried to retain their influence within the party, Trotsky having been outvoted by the Bolshevik Party membership which had in a general referendum voted 740,000 to 4,000 to repudiate him:

*Zinoviev and Kamenev soon found themselves in hostile opposition to Stalin; when they tried to transfer the dispute from the trio to the Central Committee, they discovered that Stalin had a solid majority there. They accepted the basic principles of our platform. In such circumstances, it was impossible not to form a bloc with them, especially since thousands of revolutionary Leningrad workers were behind them.*<sup>62</sup>

It seems disingenuous that Trotsky could subsequently claim that there could not have been a further alliance with Zinoviev and Kamenev, given that alliances were constantly changing, and that these old Bolshevik 'idealists' seem to have been thoroughgoing careerists and opportunists willing to embrace any alliance that would further their positions. Trotsky cited the report of the party Central Committee of the July 1926 meeting at which Zinoviev confessed his 'two most important mistakes', that of having opposed the October 1917 Revolution, and that of aligning with Stalin in forming the 'bureaucratic-apparatus of oppression'. Zinoviev added that Trotsky had 'warned with justice of the dangers of the deviation from the proletarian line and of the menacing growth of the apparatus regime. Yes, in the question of the

bureaucratic-apparatus oppression, Trotsky was right against us'.<sup>63</sup>

During 1927 the alliance between Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev had fallen apart as Zinoviev and Kamenev again sought to flow with the tide. The break with Trotsky came just a few weeks before Trotsky's expulsion from the Party, as the 'Zinoviev group' wanted to avoid expulsion from the party. However all the oppositionists were expelled from the party at the next Congress. Six months after their expulsion and exile to Siberia, Kamenev and Zinoviev reversed their position again, and they were readmitted to the party.

During 1927 Trotsky states that many young revolutionaries came to him eager to oppose Stalin for his having betrayed the Chinese Communists by insisting they subordinate themselves to the Nationalist General Chiang Kai-shek. Trotsky claimed: 'Hundreds and thousands of revolutionaries of the new generation were grouped about us... at present there are thousands of such young revolutionaries who are augmenting their political experience by studying theory in the prisons and the exile of the Stalin regime'.<sup>64</sup> With this backing the opposition launched its offensive against Stalin's control of the Bolshevik Party:

*The leading group of the opposition faced this finale with its eyes wide open. We realized only too clearly that we could make our ideas the common property of the new generation not by diplomacy and evasions but only by an open struggle which shirked none of the practical consequences. We went to meet the inevitable debacle, confident, however, that we were paving the way for the triumph of our ideas in a more distant future.*<sup>65</sup>

Trotsky then referred to 'illegal means' as the only method by which to force the Opposition onto the Party at the Fifteenth Congress at the end of 1927. From Trotsky's description of the tumultuous events during 1927 it is clear that this was a revolutionary situation that the opposition was trying to create to overthrow the Stalinist regime just as the October 1917 coup had overthrown Kerensky:

Secret meetings were held in various parts of Moscow and Leningrad, attended by workers and students of both sexes.... In all, about 20,000 people attended such meetings in Moscow and Leningrad. The number was growing. The opposition

cleverly prepared a huge meeting in the hall of the High Technical School, which had been occupied from within. The hall was crammed with two thousand people, while a huge crowd remained outside in the street. The attempts of the administration to stop the meeting proved ineffectual. Kamenev and I spoke for about two hours. Finally the Central Committee issued an appeal to the workers to break up the meetings of the opposition by force. This appeal was merely a screen for carefully prepared attacks on the opposition by military units under the guidance of the GPU. Stalin wanted a bloody settlement of the conflict. We gave the signal for a temporary discontinuance of the large meetings. But this was not until after the demonstration of November 7.<sup>66</sup>

In October 1927, the Central Executive Committee of the Bolshevik Party held its session in Leningrad, and a mass official demonstration was staged in honour of the event. Trotsky recorded that the demonstration was taken over by Zinoviev and himself and their followers by the thousands, with support from sections of the military and police. This was shortly followed by a similar event in Moscow commemorating the October 1917 Revolution, during which the Opposition infiltrated the parades. A similar attempt at a parade in Leningrad resulted in the detention of Zinoviev and Radek, but Zinoviev wrote optimistically to Trotsky that this would play into their hands. However, at the last moment, the Zinoviev group backed down in order to try and avoid expulsion from the party at the Fifteenth Congress.<sup>67</sup> However Trotsky admitted to having conversations with Zinoviev and Kamenev at a joint meeting at the end of 1927. Trotsky then stated that he had a final communication from Zinoviev on November 7 1927 in which Zinoviev closes: 'I admit entirely that Stalin will tomorrow circulate the most venomous "versions." We are taking steps to inform the public. Do the same. Warm greetings, Yours, G. ZINOVIEV'.<sup>68</sup>

As stated by Goldman, Trotsky's counsel at Mexico, the letter was addressed to Kamenev, Trotsky, and Y P Smilga. Trotsky explained that, 'Smilga is an old member of the Party, a member of the Central Committee of the Party and a member of the Opposition, of the center of the Opposition at that time'. The following questioning then took place:

*Stolberg: What do you mean by the center of the Opposition? The executive committee?*

*Trotsky: It was an executive committee, yes, the same as a central committee.*

*Goldman: Of the leading comrades of the Left Opposition?*

*Trotsky: Yes.*<sup>69</sup>

Trotsky stated that thereafter he had ‘absolute hostility and total contempt’ for those who ‘capitulated’, and that he wrote many articles denouncing Zinoviev and Kamenev. Goldman read from a statement by prosecutor Vyshinsky at the January 28 session of the 1937 Moscow trial:

The Trotskyites went underground, they donned the mask of repentance and pretended that they had disarmed. Obeying the instruction of Trotsky. Pyatakov and the other leaders of this gang of criminals, pursuing a policy of duplicity, camouflaging themselves, they again penetrated into the Party, again penetrated into Soviet offices, here and there they even managed to creep into responsible positions of the state, concealing for a time, as has now been established beyond a shadow of doubt, their old Trotskyite, anti-Soviet wares in their secret apartments, together with arms, codes, passwords, connections and cadres.<sup>70</sup>

Trotsky in reply to a question from Goldman denied any further connection with Kamenev, Zinoviev or any of the other defendants at the Moscow Trials. However, as will be considered below, Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev had formed an ‘anti-Stalinist bloc in June 1932’,<sup>71</sup> a matter only discovered after the investigations in 1935 and 1936 into the Kirov murder.

One of the features of both the first Moscow Trial of 1936 and the Dewey Commission was the allegation that defendant Holtzman, when an official for the Soviet Commissariat for Foreign Trade, had met Trotsky and his son Leon Sedov at the Hotel Britsol in Copenhagen in 1932. It is a matter that remains the focus of critique and ridicule of the Moscow Trials. For example one Trotskyite article triumphantly declares: ‘Unbeknown to the prosecutors, the Hotel Bristol had been demolished in 1917! The Stalinist investigators had not done their homework’.<sup>72</sup> Prominent historians continue to cite the supposed non-existence of the Hotel Bristol when Trotsky and his son were allegedly conspiring with Holtzman, as a primary example of the crass nature of the Stalinist allegations. While Trotsky confirmed that

he was in Copenhagen at the time of the alleged meeting, the Dewey Commission accepted statements that the Hotel Bristol had burned down in 1917 and had never reopened. The claim had first been made by the Danish newspaper *Social-Demokraten* shortly after the death sentences of the 1936 trial had been carried out.<sup>73</sup> In response *Arbejderbladet*, the organ of the Danish Communist Party, pointed out that in 1932 the Grand Hotel was connected by an interior doorway to the café Konditori Bristol. Moreover, both the hotel and the café were owned by a husband and wife team. *Arbejderbladet* editor Martin Nielsen contended that a foreigner not familiar with the area would assume that he was at the Hotel Bristol.

However these factors were ignored by the Dewey Commission, and are still ignored. Instead the Commission accepted a falsely sworn affidavit by Esther and B J Field, Trotskyites, who claimed that the Bristol café was two doors away from the Grand Hotel and that there was a clear distinction between the two enterprises. Goldman, Trotsky's lawyer, had stated at the fifth session of the Dewey hearings in Mexico that despite the statements that Holtzman was forced to make at the 1936 Moscow trial that he had met Trotsky at the Hotel Bristol, and was 'put up' there, '... immediately after the trial and during the trial, when the statement, which the Commissioners can check up on, was made by him, a report came from the Social-Democratic press in Denmark that there was no such hotel as the Hotel Bristol in Copenhagen; that there was at one time a hotel by the name of Hotel Bristol, but that was burned down in 1917...'

Goldman sought to repudiate a claim by the publication *Soviet Russia Today* that stated that the Bristol café is not next to the Grand Hotel, and used the Field affidavit for the purpose, and that there was no entrance connecting the two, the Fields stating,

As a matter of fact, we bought some candy once at the Konditori Bristol, and we can state definitely that it had no vestibule, lobby, or lounge in common with the Grand Hotel or any hotel, and it could not have been mistaken for a hotel in any way, and entrance to the hotel could not be obtained through it.<sup>74</sup>

The question of the Bristol Hotel was again raised the following day, at the 6th session of the Dewey hearings. Such was – and is – the importance attached to this in

repudiating the Stalinist allegations as clumsy. In 2008 Sven-Eric Holström undertook some rudimentary enquiries into the matter. Consulting the 1933 street and telephone directories for Copenhagen he found that – the Field’s affidavit notwithstanding – the Grand Hotel and the Bristol café were located at the same address.<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, photographs of the period show that the street entrance to the hotel and the café were the same and the only signage from the outside states ‘Bristol’.<sup>76</sup> Again, contrary to the Field affidavit, diagrams of the building show that there was a lobby and internal entrance connecting the hotel and the café. Anyone walking off the street into the hotel would assume, on the basis of the signage and the common entrance, that he had walked into a hotel called Hotel Bristol. Getty states that Trotsky’s papers archived at Harvard show that Holtzman, a ‘former’ Trotskyite, had met Sedov in Berlin in 1932 ‘and gave him a proposal from veteran Trotskyist Ivan Smirnov and other Left Oppositionists in the USSR for the formation of a united opposition bloc’,<sup>77</sup> although Trotsky stated at the Dewey hearings on questioning by Goldman that he had never had any ‘direct or indirect communication’ with Holtzman.

If the statements of Trotsky at to the Dewey Commission and his statements in *My Life* are considered in the context of the allegations presented by Vyshinsky at the Moscow Trial, a number of conclusions might be suggested:

- From 1925 there was a Trotsky-Zinoviev-Kamenev bloc, or an ‘Opposition Centre’, which Trotsky states had an ‘executive committee; which functioned as an alternative party ‘central committee.’”
- Although Zinoviev and Kamenev were aligned for a time with Stalin in a troika, they repudiated this in favour of a counter-revolutionary alliance with Trotsky, and spoke at mass demonstrations, along with others such as Radek.
- Trotsky subsequently condemned Kamenev, Zinoviev et al as ‘contemptible’ for ‘capitulating’, but Zinoviev, on Trotsky’s own account, was writing to him in November 1928 and warning of what he expected to be Stalin’s attacks.

Was the vehemence with which Trotsky attacked Kamenev, Zinoviev and other Moscow defendants a mere ruse to throw off suspicion in regard to a united Opposition bloc, which, according to Rogovin,<sup>78</sup> had been formalized as an ‘anti-

Stalinist bloc' in 1932?

On Trotsky's own account he and Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, et al had been at the forefront of a vast counter-revolutionary organization that was of sufficient strength to organize mass disruptions of official events in Moscow and Leningrad, which also had support among military and police personnel.

From his exile in Siberia in 1928, Trotsky on his own account, despite the ever-watchful eye of the Soviet secret police, the GPU, made his home the centre of opposition activities.<sup>79</sup> Trotsky had been treated leniently in Siberian exile, and was asked to refrain from opposition activities, but responded with a defiant letter to the All-Union Communist Party and to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in which he referred to Stalin's 'narrow faction'. He refused to renounce what he called, 'the struggle for the interests of the international proletariat...' In the letter to the Politburo dated 15 March 1933, Trotsky warned in grandiose manner:

*I consider it my duty to make one more attempt to appeal to the sense of responsibility of those who presently lead the Soviet state. You know conditions better than I. If the internal development proceeds further on its present course, catastrophe is inevitable.*<sup>80</sup>

As a means of saving the Soviet Union from self-destruction Trotsky advocated that the Left Opposition be accepted back into the Bolshevik party as an independent political tendency that would co-exist with all other factions, while not repudiating its own programme:<sup>81</sup>

*Only from open and honest cooperation between the historically produced fractions, fully transforming them into tendencies in the party and eventually dissolving into it, can concrete conditions restore confidence in the leadership and resurrect the party.*<sup>82</sup>

With the failure of the Politburo to reply to Trotsky's ultimatum, he published both the letter and a statement entitled 'An Explanation'.<sup>83</sup> Trotsky then cited his 'declaration' in reply to the 'ultimatum' he had received to forego oppositionist activities, to the Sixth Party Congress from his remote exile in Alma Ata. In this 'declaration' he stated what could also be interpreted as revolutionary opposition to the regime, insofar as he

considered that the USSR under Stalin had become a bureaucratic state composed of a ‘depraved officialdom’ that was working for ‘class interests hostile to the proletariat’:

*To demand from a revolutionary such a renunciation (of political activity, i.e., in the service of the party and the international revolution) would be possible only for a completely depraved officialdom. Only contemptible renegades would be capable of giving such a promise. I cannot alter anything in these words ... To everyone, his due. You wish to continue carrying out policies inspired by class forces hostile to the proletariat. We know our duty and we will do it to the end.*<sup>84</sup>

The lack of reply from the Politburo in regard to Trotsky’s ultimatum to accept him back into the Government resulted in Trotsky’s final break with the Third – Communist – International (Comintern) and the creation of the Fourth – Trotskyite – International in rivalry with the Stalinist parties throughout the world. Trotsky declared that the Bolshevik party and those parties following the Stalinist line, as well as the Comintern now only served an ‘uncontrolled bureaucracy’.<sup>85</sup> That his aims were something other than mass education and the acceptance of a ‘tendency’ within the Bolshevik party became clearer in 1933 when he wrote that, ‘No normal “constitutional” ways remain to remove the ruling clique. The bureaucracy can be compelled to yield power into the hands of the proletariat only by force’.<sup>86</sup>

What he was advocating was a palace coup that would remove Stalin with minimal disruption. This did not mean ‘an armed insurrection against the dictatorship of the proletariat but the removal of a malignant growth upon it...’ These would not be ‘measures of a civil war but rather the measures of a police character’.<sup>87</sup> The intent was unequivocal, and it appears disingenuous for Trotsky and his apologists up to the present day to insist that nothing was meant other than for Trotskyism to be accepted as a ‘tendency’ within the Bolshevik party that could debate the issues in parliamentary fashion.

If Trotsky was less than honest with the fawning Dewey Commission, the farcical ‘cross examination’ by the Commission’s counsel was not going to expose it. Heaven forbid that Trotsky could lie to serve his own cause, and that he could be anything but a saintly figure. A less than deferential attitude toward Trotsky by Beals



was sufficient to set the one objective Commissioner at loggerhead with the others.

Of the lie as a political weapon, Trotsky was explicit. Trotsky had written in 1938, the very year of the third Moscow Trial, an article chastising a grouplet of German Marxists for adhering to ‘bourgeoisie’ notions of morality such as truthfulness. He stated, ‘that morality is a product of social development; that there is nothing invariable about it; that it serves social interests; that these interests are contradictory; that morality more than any other form of ideology has a class character’.<sup>88</sup>

*Norms ‘obligatory upon all’ become the less forceful the sharper the character assumed by the class struggle. The highest pitch of the class struggle is civil war which explodes into mid-air all moral ties between the hostile classes. ... This vacuity in the norms obligatory upon all arises from the fact that in all decisive questions people feel their class membership considerably more profoundly and more directly than their membership in “society”. The norms of “obligatory” morality are in reality charged with class, that is, antagonistic content. ... Nevertheless, lying and violence “in themselves” warrant condemnation? Of course, even as does the class society which generates them. A society without social contradictions will naturally be a society without lies and violence. However there is no way of building a bridge to that society save by revolutionary, that is, violent means. The revolution itself is a product of class society and of necessity bears its traits. From the point of view of “eternal truths” revolution is of course ‘anti-moral.’ ... It remains to be added that the very conception of truth and lie was born of social contradictions.<sup>89</sup>*

Given the lengthy ideological discourse on the value of the lie and the relativity of morality, it is absurd to rely on any statement Trotsky and his followers make about anything. He lied and obfuscated to the Dewey Commission in the knowledge that he was among friends.

### **Kirov’s Murder**

The year after Trotsky’s ultimatum to the Politburo (1934) the popular

functionary Kirov was murdered. Trotsky's view of Kirov was not sympathetic, calling him a 'rude satrap [whose killing] does not call forth any sympathy'.<sup>90</sup> The consensus now seems to be that Stalin arranged for the murder of Kirov to blame the Opposition as justification for launching a murderous purge against his rivals. For example, Robert Conquest states that Kirov was a moderate and a popular rival to Stalin, whose murder was both a means of eliminating a rival and of launching a purge.<sup>91</sup> Not only Trotskyites and eminent historians such as Conquest share this view, but it was also implied by Khrushchev during his 1956 'secret address' to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party denouncing Stalin.<sup>92</sup> After Stalin's death several Soviet administrations undertook investigations to try and uncover definitive evidence against him in the Kirov murder.

The original source for the accusations against Stalin regarding Kirov seems to have been an anonymous 'Letter of an Old Bolshevik' published in 1937.<sup>93</sup> It transpired that the 'Old Bolshevik' was a Menshevik, Boris Nicolaevsky, who claimed that his information came from Bukharin when the latter was in Paris in 1936. In 1988 Bukharin's widow published a book on her late husband, in which she denied that any such discussions had taken place between Bukharin and Nicolaevsky, and considered the 'Letter' to be a 'spurious document'.<sup>94</sup>

In 1955 the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party commissioned P N Pospelov, the Secretary of the Central Committee, to investigate Stalinist repression. It had been the opinion of the party by this time that Stalin had been behind the murder of Kirov. Another commission of enquiry was undertaken in 1956. Neither found evidence that Stalin had a hand in the Kirov killing, but Khrushchev did not release the findings. Former foreign minister Molotov remarked of the 1956 enquiry: 'The commission concluded that Stalin was not implicated in Kirov's assassination. Khrushchev refused to have the findings published since they didn't serve his purpose'.<sup>95</sup> As recently as 1989, the USSR was still making efforts to implicate Stalin, and a Politburo Commission headed by A Yakovlev was set up. The two year enquiry concluded that: 'In this affair no materials objectively support Stalin's participation or NKVD participation in the organisation and carrying out of Kirov's murder'.<sup>96</sup> The findings of this enquiry were not released either.

Dr J Arch Getty writes of the circumstances of the Kirov murder that the OGPU and the NKVD had infiltrated opposition groups and there had been sufficient evidence obtained to consider that the so-called Zinovievites were engaged in dangerous underground activity. Stalin consequently regarded this group as being behind the assassin, Nikolayev. Although their former followers were being rounded up, *Pravda* announced on December 23, 1934 that there was 'insufficient evidence to try Zinoviev and Kamenev for the crime'.<sup>97</sup> When the trial against this bloc did occur two years later, it was after many interrogations, and was therefore no hasty process. From the interrogations relative to the Kirov assassination, Stalin found out about the continued existence of the Opposition bloc that focused partly around Zinoviev. Vadim Rogovin, a Professor at the Russian Academy of Sciences, wrote that Kamenev and Zinoviev had rejoined Trotsky and formed 'the anti-Stalinist bloc in June 1932', although Trotsky had maintained to the Dewey Commission and subsequently, that no such alliance existed and that he had nothing but contempt for Zinoviev and Kamenev. Rogovin, a Trotskyite academic having researched the Russian archives, stated:

*Only after a new wave of arrests following Kirov's assassination, after interrogations and reinterrogations of dozens of Oppositionists, did Stalin receive information about the 1932 bloc, which served as one of the main reasons for organizing the Great Purge.*<sup>98</sup>

Hence, the primary reason for the Moscow Trials and the purge of the Opposition was found by the most recent research of Dr Rogovin, a pro-Trotsky academic, to be valid.

In 1934 Yakov Agranov, temporary head of the NKVD in Leningrad, had found connections between the assassin Nikolayev and leaders of the Leningrad Komsomol at the time of Zinoviev's authority over the city. The most prominent was I Kotolynov, whom Robert Conquest states 'had, in fact, been a real oppositionist'.<sup>99</sup> Kotolynov, a 'Zinovievite', was among those of the so-called 'Leningrad terrorist centre' found guilty in 1934 of the death of Kirov. The investigation had been of long duration and the influence of Zinoviev's followers had been established. However, there was considered to be insufficient evidence to charge Zinoviev and Kamenev.<sup>100</sup>

In 1935 other evidence came to light showing that Zinoviev and Kamenev were

aware of the ‘terrorist sentiments’ in Leningrad, which they had ‘inflamed’.<sup>101</sup> While several trials associated with the Kirov killing took place in 1935, in 1936 sufficient evidence had accrued to begin the first of the so-called Moscow Trials of the ‘Trotsky-Zinoviev Terrorist Centre’, including Trotsky and his son Sedov, who were tried in absentia. The defendant Sergei Mrachovsky testified that at the end of 1932 a terrorist bloc was formed between the Trotskyites and the Zinovievites, stating:

*That in the second half of 1932 the question was raised of the necessity of uniting the Trotskyite terrorist group with the Zinovievites. The question of this unification was raised by I N Smirnov... In the autumn of 1932 a letter was received from Trotsky in which he approved the decision to unite with the Zinovievites... Union must take place on the basis of terrorism, and Trotsky once again emphasised the necessity of killing Stalin, Voroshilov and Kirov... The terrorist bloc of the Trotskyites and the Zinovievites was formed at the end of 1932.*<sup>102</sup>

Despite the condemnation that such testimony has received from academia and media, this accords with the relatively recent findings of the Trotskyite academic Professor Rogovin, and the letter from Trotsky sent to Radek et al, in 1932, referred to by J Arch Getty. The Kirov investigations, which were a prelude to the Moscow Trials, were carefully undertaken. When there was still insufficient evidence against Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev et al, this was conceded by the party press. When testimony was obtained implicating the leaders of an Opposition bloc, this testimony has transpired to have conformed to what has come to light quite recently in both the Kremlin archives and the Trotsky papers at Harvard.

### **Rogovin’s Findings**

The reality of the Opposition bloc in relation to the Moscow Trials was the theme of a lecture by Professor Rogovin at Melbourne University in 1996. The motive of Rogovin was to present Trotskyism as having been an effective opposition within Stalinist Russia, and therefore he departs from the usual Trotskyite attitude of denial, stating:

*...This myth says that virtually the entire population of the Soviet Union was reduced to a stunned silence by the terror, and either said nothing about the repression, or blindly believed in and supported the terror. This myth also claims that the victims of the repression were completely innocent of any crimes, including opposition to Stalin. They were, instead, victims of Stalin's excessive paranoia. Since there was no serious opposition to the regime of Stalin, according to this myth, the victims were not guilty of such opposition.*<sup>103</sup>

Rogovin alludes to anti-Stalinist leaflets that were being widely distributed in the USSR as late as 1938, calling for a 'struggle against Stalin and his clique'. Rogovin also states that there was much more to the Opposition than isolated incidents of leaflet distribution:

*Of course these are isolated incidents, but prior to the unleashing of the Great Terror there was a much more widespread, more serious, and well-organised opposition to Stalinism as a regime which had veered ever more widely away from the ideals of socialism.*

*This battle against Stalin began back in 1923 with the formation of the Left Opposition. The inner party struggle unfolded in ever-sharper form throughout the 20s. Thousands upon thousands of Communists took part in this Opposition, openly in the early days and then, after opposition groups were banned, in illegal underground forms against the abolition of party democracy by the Stalinist party clique.*<sup>104</sup>

In 1932 the Opposition coalesced, 'the old opposition groups' became more active, and 'were joined by layers of newly-formed opposition groups'. Many representatives of the Opposition groups that year began to discuss ways of uniting into an 'anti-Stalinist bloc'. Rogovin states that the year previously Ivan Smirnov, one of the former leaders of the Left Opposition who had capitulated but then returned to the Opposition, went on an official trip to Berlin where he established contact with Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov and discussed the need to 'coordinate efforts between Trotsky and his son....' What Rogovin states is in agreement with the supposedly forced confessions of the defendants at the Moscow Trials. Getty had also found

similar material in the Trotsky Papers at Harvard, previously referred to.

Rogovin states that it was only in 1935 and 1936, having assessed the information garnered from the Kirov investigation in 1934, that the secret police were able to find conclusive evidence on the existence of an anti-Stalinist bloc since 1932. ‘This was one of the main factors which drove Stalin to unleash the Great Terror’, states Rogovin. He also confirms the basis of the Stalinist accusations that ‘they did try to establish contact among themselves and fight for the overthrow of Stalin’s clique’.<sup>105</sup>

Rogovin’s statements cannot be lightly dismissed. He was speaking as a sympathiser of Trotskyism, who had access to the Soviet archives in the writing of a six volume series on the political conflicts within the Communist Party Soviet Union and the Communist International between 1922 and 1940, of which Stalin’s Great Terror is volume four. On his sixtieth birthday in 1997, Rogovin received tribute from Trotskyite luminaries from Germany, Britain and the USA.<sup>106</sup>

## Notes:

1 - One of Trotsky’s publishers was Secker & Warburg, London, which published the Dewey Commission’s report, *The Case of Leon Trotsky*, in 1937. The proprietor, Fredric Warburg, became head of the British section of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. (Frances Stonor Saunders, op. cit., 111).

Trotsky’s *Where is Britain going?* was published in 1926 by George Allen & Unwin. His autobiography, *My Life*, was published by Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York, 1930. *Stalin: an appraisal of the man and his influence*, was published posthumously in 1946 by Harpers.

2 - The most salient example being the hagiographies by Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Armed* (1954), *The Prophet Unarmed: Trotsky 1921-1929* (1959), and *The Prophet Outcast* (Oxford University Press, 1963).

3 - ‘Origins of the Cold War: How Stalin Foiled a New World Order’, Chapter V below. *Russian translation: ‘Origins of the Cold War’, Red Star, Russian Ministry of Defense, [http://www.redstar.ru/2010/09/01\\_09/6\\_01.html](http://www.redstar.ru/2010/09/01_09/6_01.html)*

4 - K R Bolton, ‘Mikhail Gorbachev: Globalist Super-Star,’ *Foreign Policy Journal*, April 3, 2011, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2011/04/03/mikhail-gorbachev-globalist-super-star/>

Russian translation: “Mikhail Gorbachev: Globalist Super-Star,” *Perevodika, <http://perevodika.ru/articles/18345.html>*

5 - Tony Halpin, ‘Vladimir Putin Praises Stalin for Creating a Super Power and Winning the War’, *The Sunday Times*, London, December 4, 2009,

<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article6943477.ece>

6 - Tony Halpin, op. cit.

7 - Armand Hammer, *Witness to History* (Kent: Coronet Books, 1987), 160. Here Hammer relates his discussion with Trotsky and how the Commissar wished to attract foreign capital. Hammer later laments that this all turned sour under Stalin.

8 - Richard B Spence, 'Interrupted Journey: British Intelligence and the Arrest of Leon Trotsky, April 1917', *Revolutionary Russia*, 13 (1), 2000, 1-28.

Spence, "Hidden Agendas: Spies, Lies and Intrigue Surrounding Trotsky's American Visit January-April 1917," *Revolutionary Russia*, Vol. 21, No. 1., 2008.

9 - Peter Grosse, 'Basic Assumptions', *Continuing The Inquiry: The Council on Foreign Relations from 1921 to 1996*, (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2006). The entire book can be read online at: Council on Foreign Relations: <http://www.cfr.org/about/history/cfr/index.html>

10 - The 1933 charges against employees of Metropolitan-Vickers, including six British engineers, accused of sabotage and espionage. M Sayers and A E Kahn, *The Great Conspiracy Against Russia* (London: Collett's Holdings, 1946), 181-186.

11 - P Gregory, 'What Paul Gregory is writing about', December 18, 2010, <http://whatpaulgregoryisthinkingabout.blogspot.com/2010/12/stalin-putin-justice-bukharin.html>

12 - Jack Kemp, et al, *Russia's Wrong Direction: What the United States Can and Should do*, Independent Task Force Report no. 57 (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2006) xi. The entire publication can be downloaded at: < <http://www.cfr.org/publication/9997/>>

13 - As was the case when Russia was condemned with Cold War-type rhetoric for going to the assistance of South Ossetia after the invasion by Georgia in 2008.

14 - 'Senator McCain on Khodorkovsky and US-Russia relations', *Free Media Online*, December 18, 2010, <http://www.govoritamerika.us/rus/?p=17995>

15 - The same situation arose with the jailing of the 'punk' female group 'Pussy Riot' for staging a filth-ridden stunt against Putin in a Russian Orthodox Cathedral, their jailing having become a *cause celebre* among anti-Putin interests in Russia and around the world. This is a perfect example of 'rootless cosmopolitanism' that continues to be used against Russia. The lineup of those demanding the release of 'Pussy Riot' is instructive; a coalition of socialists, liberals, globalists, liberals and purveyors of artistic nihilism: 'Burmese opposition leader' Aung San Suu Kyi; Yoko Ono, who is giving the 'Lenon Peace Award' to 'Pussy Riot'; Paul Murphy, Member of the European Parliament for the Irish Socialist Party; former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who now postures on the world stage as a globalist; Lech Walesa, leader of the Polish Solidarity movement that was backed by the National Endowment for Democracy in subverting the Soviet bloc; Francois Zimeray, French Ambassador-at-large for human rights; Human Rights Watch, associated with the Open Society network of currency speculator George Soros, who specialises in funding 'colour revolutions'; 121 members of the German parliament who signed a petition to Putin; British Shadow Foreign Secretary Kerry McCarthy; sundry pop, punk, and rock performers; US Ambassador to Russia, Michael McFaul; Sting; Amnesty International; Austrian Green Party, which organised a demonstration in front of the Russian Embassy on 19

June 2012; European Union; PlaneTransGender, et al. See: ‘Free Pussy Riot’, <http://freepussyriot.org/news>

Mass anti-Putin demonstrations have taken place in Russia. The global campaign is a present-day example of how cultural nihilism is used to subvert a nation and a culture, as Chernov warned over sixty years ago.

16 - C Gershman, ‘The Fourth Wave: Where the Middle East revolts fit in the history of democratization—and how we can support them’, *The New Republic*, March 14, 2011. NED, <http://www.ned.org/about/board/meet-our-president/archived-presentations-and-articles/the-fourth-wave>

17 - ‘The Case of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre’, Heard Before the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., *Report of Court Proceedings*, ‘Indictment’, Moscow, August 19-24, 1936.

18 - Sidney Hook, ‘Reader Letters: The Moscow Trials’, *Commentary Magazine*, New York, August 1984, <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/the-moscow-trials/>

19 - Joseph E. Davies, *Mission to Moscow* (London: Gollancz, 1942), 26.

20 - Ibid., 34.

21 - *London Observer*, August 23, 1936.

22 - Davies, op. cit., 35.

23 - Cited by A Vaksberg, *Stalin’s Prosecutor: The Life of Andrei Vyshinsky* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1991), 123.

24 - D N Pritt, ‘The Moscow Trial was Fair’, *Russia Today*, 1936-1937. Sloan <http://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/sections/britain/pamphlets/1936/moscow-trial-fair.htm>

25 - Ibid.

26 - Ibid.

27 - Tomsy had committed suicide.

28 - Pritt, op. cit.

29 - Jeremy Murray-Brown, ‘The Moscow Trials’, *Commentary*, August 1984, <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/the-moscow-trials/>

30 - Ibid.

31 - Sidney Hook, *ibid.*

32 - See: Chapter V, ‘Origins of the Cold War,’

33 - Central Intelligence Agency, ‘Cultural Cold War: Origins of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, 1949-50’, <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/docs/v38i5a10p.htm#rft1>

34 - For example, a position supported by leading US Trotskyite Max Shachtman, Shachtmanism metamorphosing into a virulent anti-Sovietism, and providing the impetus for the formation of the National Endowment for Democracy. Trotsky’s widow Natalya as early into the Cold War as 1951 wrote a letter to the Executive Committee of the Fourth International and to the US Socialist Workers Party (May 9) stating that her late husband would not have supported North Korea against the USA, and that it was Stalin who was the major obstacle to world socialism. ‘Out of the Shadows’ *Time*, June 18, 1951. ‘Natalya Trotsky breaks with the Fourth International’, <http://www.marxists.de/trotism/sedova/english.htm>



Given the many Trotskyites and Trotsky sympathizers such as Sidney Hook, became apologists for US foreign policy against the USSR, it might be asked whether Stalin's contention that Trotskyites would act as agents of foreign powers was prescient?

35 - George Novack, "'Introduction,' The Case of Leon Trotsky', *International Socialist Review*, Vol. 29, No.4, July-August 1968, pp.21-26.

36 - Ibid.

37 - 'Russia: Trotsky and Woe'. *Time*, January 11, 1937. <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,757254,00.html>

38 - Novack, op. cit.

39 - Descriptions by Novack.

See also: John Dewey, Jo Ann Boydston, John J McDermot, *John Dewey: The Later Works*, (Southern Illinois University, 2008), 640.

40 - Carleton Beals, 'The Fewer Outsiders the Better: The Master Comes to Judgement', *Saturday Evening Post*, 12 June 1937. <http://www.revleft.com/vb/fewer-outsiders-better-t124508/index.html?s=37316b1a8beb93cba88ad37731a4779c&am>.

41 - Ibid.

42 - John Chamberlain, *A Life with the Printed Word* (Chicago: Regnery, 1982), 65.

43 - Veteran British Trotskyite Tony Cliff laments of this phenomena: 'The list of former Trotskyists who in their Stalinophobia turned into hard-line Cold War liberals is much longer'. Tony Cliff, 'The Darker the Night the Brighter the Star, 1927-1940', <http://www.revleft.com/vb/fewer-outsiders-better-t124508/index.html?s=37316b1a8beb93cba88ad37731a4779c&am>

44 - *The Freeman*, August 13, 1951, <http://mises.org/journals/oldfreeman/Freeman51-8.pdf>

La Follette served as "managing editor," (p. 2).

45 - K R Bolton, 'America's 'World Revolution': Neo-Trotskyist Foundations of U.S. Foreign Policy', *Foreign Policy Journal*, May 3, 2010, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2010/05/03/americas-world-revolution-neo-trotskyist-foundations-of-u-s-foreign-policy/>

46 - Ibid.

47 - In 1950 Goldman declared himself to be a 'right-wing socialist'. In 1952 he admitted collaborating with the FBI, and stated, 'if I were younger I would gladly offer my services in Korea, or especially in Europe where I could do some good fighting the Communists'. A M Wald, *The New York Intellectuals* (New York 1987), 287.

48 - 'British Trotskyism in 1931', *Encyclopaedia of Trotskyism Online: Revolutionary History*, <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/revhist/backiss/vol1/no1/plotzer.html> Glotzer was another of the Trotskyite veterans who became an ardent defender of the USA as the bulwark against Stalinism. He was prominent in the Social Democrats USA, whose honorary president was Sidney Hook.

49 - Gershman gave an eulogy at the 'Albert Glotzer Memorial Service' in 1999. <http://www.ned.org/about/board/meet-our-president/archived-presentations-and-articles/albert-glotzer->

memorial-service

50 - John Dewey, Jo Ann Boydston, John J McDermot, op. cit., 641. Dewey is also shown here to have been in communication with American Trotskyite luminary Max Eastman.

51 - 'Trotsky's Trial', *Time*, International Section, May 17, 1937.

52 - It would be a mistake nonetheless to see *Time* as an amiable pro-Soviet mouthpiece. Several months previously a lengthy *Time* article was scathing in its condemnation of the 1937 Moscow Trial and the confessions. 'Old and New Bolsheviks', Foreign News Section, *Time*, February 1, 1937. See also: 'Russia: Lined With Despair', *Time*, March 14, 1938.

53 - J Dewey, et al., *The Case of Leon Trotsky: Report of Hearings on the Charges Made Against Him in the Moscow Trials by the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Trotsky in the Moscow Trials*, 'Point 6: The Resignation of Carleton Beals,' 1937. <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1937/dewey/report.htm>

54 - Carleton Beals, op. cit.

55 - Ibid.

56 - J Arch Getty, "Trotsky in Exile: The Founding of the Fourth International," *Soviet Studies*, Vol.38, No. 1, January 1986, 24-35.

57 - Getty, *ibid.*, Footnote 18, *Trotsky Papers*, 15821.

58 - As will be shown below, Prof. Rogovin, a Trotskyite who has studied the Soviet archives, quite recently sought to show that the Trotskyites were the focus of an important Opposition bloc since 1932.

59 - C Beals, op. cit.

60 - Ibid.

61 - Leon Trotsky, *My Life* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), Chapter 42, 'The Last Period of Struggle within the Party,' <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1930/mylife/ch42.htm>

62 - Ibid.

63 - *Verbatim Report of Central Committee*, IV, p.33, cited by Trotsky at the 'third session' of the Dewey Commission hearings. Trotsky alludes to this, writing: 'Zinoviev and Kamenev openly avowed that the "Trotskyists" had been right in the struggle against them ever since 1923'. Trotsky, *ibid.*

64 - Ibid.

65 - Ibid.

66 - Ibid.

67 - Ibid.

68 - *The Case of Leon Trotsky*, 'Third Session', April 12, 1937. <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1937/dewey/session03.htm>

69 - Ibid.

70 - Vyshinsky, 'Verbatim Report', 464, quoted by Goldman, *The Case of Leon Trotsky*, op. cit.

71 - Vadim Rogovin, *1937: Stalin's Year of Terror* (Mehring Books, 1998), 63. Note: Mehring Books is a

Trotskyite publishing house.

72 - R Sewell, 'The Moscow Trials' (Part I), *Socialist Appeal*, March 2000, [http://www.trotsky.net/trotsky\\_year/moscow\\_trials.html](http://www.trotsky.net/trotsky_year/moscow_trials.html)

73 - *Social-Demokraten*, September 1, 1936, p. 1.

74 - *The Case of Leon Trotsky*, Fifth Session, April 13, 1937, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1937/dewey/session05.htm>

75 - Sven-Eric Holström, 'New Evidence Concerning the 'Hotel Bristol Question in the First Moscow Trial of 1936,' *Cultural Logic*, 2008, 6.2, 'The Copenhagen Street Directory and Telephone Directory'.

76 - Ibid., 6.3, 'Photographic evidence', Figure 7.

77 - Getty, 1986, op. cit., 28.

78 - See: 'Kirov Assassination' below.

79 - Trotsky, *My Life*, op. cit., Chapter 43.

80 - L Trotsky, 'A Letter to the Politburo', March 15, 1933, *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1932-33)* (New York: Pathfinder Press), 141-2.

81 - Ibid. 'Renunciation of this programme is of course out of the question'.

82 - Ibid.

83 - 'An Explanation', May 13, 1933, *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1932-33)*, ibid., p. 235.

84 - Trotsky, 'Declaration to the Sixth Party Congress', December 16, 1926, cited in Trotsky, *My Life*, op. cit., Chapter 44.

85 - Trotsky, 'Nuzhno stroit' zanovo kommunistcheskie partii i International', *Bulletin of the Opposition*, No. 36-37, 21, July 15, 1933.

86 - Trotsky, 'Klassovaya priroda sovetskogo gosudarstava', *Bulletin of the Opposition*, No. 36-37, October 1, 1933, 1-12. At Moscow Vyshinsky cited this article as evidence that Trotsky advocated the violent overthrow of the Soviet state. The emphasis of the word 'force' is Trotsky's.

87 - Ibid.

88 - Trotsky, 'Their Morals and Ours: In Memory of Leon Sedov', *The New International*, Vol. IV, no. 6, June 1938, 163-173, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1938/morals/morals.htm>

*The New International* was edited by Max Shachtman, whose post-Trotskyite line laid a basis for the 'neo-con' movement and support of US foreign policy during the Cold War. CIA asset Sidney Hook was a contributor to *The New International*. (December 1934, <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/hook/1934/12/hess-marx.htm>; April 1936, <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/hook/1936/04/feuerbach.htm>). Albert Goldman, Trotsky's lawyer at the Mexico Dewey hearings, was also a contributor.

89 - Ibid.

90 - Ibid.

91 - R Conquest, *Stalin and the Kirov Murder* (London; 1989).

- 92 - N S Khrushchev, "Secret Address at the Twentieth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," February 1956; Henry M Christman (ed.) *Communism in Action: a documentary history* (New York: Bantam Books, 1969), 176-177.
- 93 - 'Letter of an Old Bolshevik: The Key to the Moscow Trials', New York, 1937.
- 94 - Anna Larina Bukharina, *Nezabyvaemoe* (Moscow, 1989); *This I Cannot Forget* (London, 1993), 276.
- 95 - A. Resis (ed.) *Molotov Remembers* (Chicago: Ivan R Dee, 1993), 353.
- 96 - A. Yakovlev, 'O dekabr'skoi tragedii 1934', *Pravda*, 28th January, 1991, 3, 'The Politics of Repression Revisited', in J Arch Getty and Roberta T. Manning (editors), *Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives* (New York, 1993), 46.
- 97 - J Arch Getty, *Origins of the Great Purges: The Soviet Communist Party Reconsidered: 1933-1938* (Cambridge; 1985), 48.
- 98 - Vadim Rogovin, *1937: Stalin's Year of Terror* (Mehring Books, 1988), 64.
- 99 - R Conquest, *The Great Terror: Stalin's Purge of the Thirties* (London, 1973), 86.
- 100 - J Arch Getty, op. cit., 209.
- 101 - *The Crime of the Zinoviev Opposition* (Moscow, 1935), 33-41.
- 102 - *Report of Court Proceedings: The Case of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre* (Moscow, 1936), 41-42.
- 103 - Vadim Rogovin, 'Stalin's Great Terror: Origins and Consequences', lecture, University of Melbourne, May 28, 1996. World Socialist Website: <http://www.wsws.org/exhibits/1937/lecture1.htm>
- 104 - Ibid.
- 105 - Ibid.
- 106 - <http://www.wsws.org/exhibits/1937/title.htm>

## 12.

# **TROTSKY, STALIN, & THE COLD WAR: THE HISTORIC IMPLICATIONS & CONTINUING RAMIFICATIONS OF THE TROTSKY-STALIN CONFLICT**

The Moscow Trials were symptomatic of a great divide that had occurred in Bolshevism. The alliance with Stalin during World War II had formed an assumption among US internationalists that after the Axis defeat a ‘new world order’ would emerge via the United Nations Organisation. This assumption was ill-founded, and the result was the Cold War. Trotskyists emerged as avid Cold Warriors dialectically concluding that the USSR represented the primary obstacle to world socialism. This essay examines the dialectical process by which major factions of Trotskyism became, in Stalinist parlance, a ‘tool of foreign powers and of world capitalism.’

One of the major accusations against Trotsky and alleged Trotskyists during the Moscow Trials of 1936-1938 was that they were agents of foreign capital and foreign powers, including intelligence agencies, and were engaged in sabotage against the Soviet State. In particular, with the advent of Nazi Germany in 1933, Stalin sought to show that in the event of war, which he regarded as inevitable, the Trotskyist network in the USSR would serve as a fifth column for Germany.

## **Stalin Correct in Fundamental Accusations Against Trotskyites**

What is significant is that Khrushchev did concede that Stalin was correct in his fundamental allegation that the Trotskyists, Bukharinites et al represented a faction that sought the ‘restoration of capitalism and capitulation to the world bourgeoisie’. However Khrushchev and even Stalin could not go far enough in their denunciation of Trotskyists et al as seeking to ‘restore capitalism’ and as being agents of foreign powers. To expose the full facts in regard to such accusations would also mean to expose some unpalatable, hidden factors of the Bolshevik Revolution itself, and of Lenin; which would undermine the whole edifice upon which Soviet authority rested – the October 1917 Revolution. Lenin, and Trotsky in particular, had intricate associations with many un-proletarian individuals and interests.

The fact of behind the scenes machinations between the Bolsheviks and international finance was commented upon publicly by two very well-positioned but quite different sources: Henry Wickham Steed, conservative editor of *The London Times*, and Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labour.

In a first-hand account of the Peace Conference of 1919 Wickham Steed stated that proceedings were interrupted by the return from Moscow of William C Bullitt and Lincoln Steffens, ‘who had been sent to Russia towards the middle of February by Colonel House<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Lansing, for the purpose of studying conditions, political and economic, therein for the benefit of the American Commissioners plenipotentiary to negotiate peace.’<sup>2</sup> Steed stated specifically and at some length that international finance was behind the move for recognition of the Bolshevik regime and other moves in favour of the Bolsheviks, stating that: ‘Potent international financial interests were at work in favour of the immediate recognition of the Bolsheviks.’<sup>3</sup> In return for diplomatic recognition Tchitcherin, the Bolshevik Commissary for Foreign Affairs, was offering ‘extensive commercial and economic concessions.’<sup>4</sup>

For his part, Samuel Gompers, the American labour leader, was vehemently opposed to the Bolsheviks and any recognition or commercial transactions, stating to the press in regard to negotiations at the international economic conference at Genoa, that a group of ‘predatory international financiers’ were working for the recognition of

the Bolshevik regime for the opening up of resources for exploitation. Gompers described this as an ‘Anglo-American-German banking group’. He also commented that prominent Americans who had a history of anti-labour attitudes were advocating recognition of the Bolshevik regime.<sup>5</sup>

### **Trotsky’s Banking Connections**

What is of significance here however is that Trotsky in particular was the focus of attention by many individuals acting on behalf not only of foreign powers but of international financial institutions. Hence while Stalin and even Khrushchev could aver to the association of Trotsky with foreign powers and even – albeit vaguely – with seeking the ‘restoration of capitalism and capitulation to the world bourgeoisie’, to trace the links more specifically to international finance would inevitably lead to the association also of the Bolshevik regime per se to those same sources, thus undermining the founding myth of the USSR as being the ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’.

These associations between Trotsky and international finance, as well as foreign intelligence services, have been meticulously documented by Dr Richard Spence.<sup>6</sup> Spence states that ‘Trotsky was the recipient of mysterious financial assistance and was a person of keen interest to German, Russian and British agents’. Such contentions are very similar to the charges against Trotsky et al at the Moscow Trials, and there are details and personalities involved, said to have been extracted under torture and threats, that are in fact confirmed by Spence, who traces Trotsky’s patronage as far back as 1916 when he was an exile from Czarist Russia and was being expelled from a succession of countries in Europe before finding his way to the USA, prior to his return to Russia in 1917 to play his part in the Revolution. Expelled from France to Spain, Trotsky was locked up as a ‘terrorist agitator’ for three and a half days in comfortable conditions.<sup>7</sup> Ernst Bark, perhaps with the use of German funds, arranged Trotsky’s release and his transfer to Cadiz to await passage with his family to New York and paid for first class passage on the SS Montserrat. Bark was cousin of the Czar’s minister of finance Petr Bark who, despite his service to the Czar,

had the pro-German, pro-Bolshevik banker Olof Aschberg, of the Nya Banken, Sweden, as his financial agent for his New York dealings. A report reaching US Military Intelligence in 1918 stated that Trotsky had been 'bought by the Germans', and that he was organising the Bolshevik<sup>8</sup> movement with Parvus.

From being penniless in Spain to his arrival in New York, Trotsky had arrived with \$500 which Spence states is today's equivalent to about \$10,000, although Trotsky liked to depict himself as continuing in proletarian poverty. Immigration authorities also noted that his place of residence would be the less than proletarian Hotel Astor in Times Square.

In New York the Trotskys lived in a Bronx apartment with all the mod-coms of the day. Employed by *Novyi Mir*, and was hosted by Dr Julius Hammer, a Bolshevik who combined revolution with an opulent lifestyle. Hammer was probably the mysterious 'Dr M' referred to by Trotsky in his memoirs, who provided the Trotskys with sightseeing jaunts in his chauffeured car.<sup>9</sup>

One of the main contacts for Trotsky was a maternal uncle, banker and businessman Abram Zhivotovskii. In 1915 Zhivotovskii was jailed in Russia for trading with Germany. The US State Department described Zhivotovskii as outwardly 'very anti-Bolshevik', but who had laundered money to the Bolsheviks and other socialist organizations.<sup>10</sup> He seems to have played a double role in moneymaking, working as a financial agent for both Germans and Allies. During the war he maintained an office in Japan under the management of a nephew Iosif Zhivotovskii, who had served as secretary to Sidney Reilly, the so-called 'British Ace of Spies' who nonetheless also seems to have been a duplicitous character in dealing with Germany. Spence mentions that Reilly, who had a business in the USA, had gone to Japan when Trotsky was in Spain, and arrived back in the USA around the time of Trotsky's arrival, the possibility being that Reilly had acquired funds from Trotsky's uncle to give to his nephew in New York. Another Reilly association with Zhivotovskii was via Alexander Weinstein, who had been Zhivotovskii's agent in London, and had joined Reilly in 1916. He was supposedly a loyal Czarist but was identified by American Military Intelligence as a Bolshevik.<sup>11</sup> Of further interest is that Alexander's brother Gregory was business manager of *Novyi Mir*, the newspaper that employed Trotsky



while he was in New York. Reilly and Weinstein were also associated with Benny Sverdlov, a Russian arms broker who was the brother of Yakov Sverdlov, the future Soviet commissar.

These multiple connections between Trotsky and Reilly's associates are significant here in that one of the accusations raised during the Moscow Trials was that the Trotskyists had had dealings with 'British spy' Sidney Reilly.

The dealings of Sir William Wiseman, British Military Intelligence chief in the USA, and his deputy Norman Thwaites, with Reilly and associates were concealed even from other British agencies.<sup>12</sup> Wiseman had kept Trotsky under surveillance in New York. Trotsky secured a visa from the British consulate to proceed to Russia via Nova Scotia and Scandinavia. The Passport Control Section of the British Consulate was under the direction of Thwaites. Trotsky was to remark on his arrival in Russia about the helpful attitude of consular officials, despite his detention as a possible German agent by Canadian authorities at Nova Scotia. Trotsky had been able to pay for tickets aboard the Kristianiafiord for himself and his family, and also for a small entourage. What is additionally interesting about Wiseman is that he was closely associated with banking interests, and around 1921 joined Kuhn, Loeb and Co.<sup>13</sup> In 1955 Wiseman launched his own international bank with investments from Kuhn, Loeb & Co.; Rothschild; Rockefeller; Warburg firms, et al<sup>14</sup>. He was thus very close to the international banking dynasties throughout much of his life.

To return to the Kristianiafiord however, on board with Trotsky and his entourage, first class, were Robert Jivotovsky (Zhivotovskii), likely to have been another Trotsky cousin; Israel Fundaminsky, whom Trotsky regarded as a British agent, and Andrei Kalpaschnikoff, who acted as translator when Trotsky was being questioned by British authorities at Nova Scotia. Kalpaschnikoff was closely associated with Vladimir Rogovine, who worked for Weinstein and Reilly. Kalpaschnikoff was also associated with John MacGregor Grant, a friend and business partner of both Reilly and Olof Aschberg. We can therefore see an intricate connection between British super-spy Reilly, and bankers such as Aschberg, who served as a conduit of funds to the Bolsheviks, and Zhivotovskii via Alexander Weinstein.

When Trotsky and several of his entourage were arrested on 29 March at Nova Scotia and questioned by authorities regarding associations with Germany this could well have been an act to dispel any suspicions that Trotsky might be serving British interests. The British had the option of returning him to New York but allowed him to proceed to Russia.<sup>15</sup>

The attitude of Wiseman towards the Bolsheviks once they had achieved nominal power was one of urging recognition, Wiseman cabling President Wilson's principal adviser Col. Edward House on 1 May 1918 that the allies should intervene at the invitation of the Bolsheviks and help organise the Bolshevik army then fighting the White Armies during the Civil War.<sup>16</sup> This would accord with the aim of certain international bankers to secure recognition of the Bolshevik regime, as noted by both Gompers and Steed.

The financial interests in the USA that formed around the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), founded by presidential adviser Col. Edward M House as a foreign policy think tank of businessmen, politicians and intellectuals, were clamouring for recognition of the Soviets. The CFR issued a report on Bolshevik Russia in 1923, prompted by Lenin's 'New Economic Policy'. The report repudiated anti-Bolshevik attitudes and fears that Bolshevism would be spread to other countries (although it had already had a brief but bloody reign in Hungary and revolts in Germany). CFR historian Peter Grosse writes that the report stated that,

the Bolsheviks were on their way to 'sanity and sound business practices,' the Council study group concluded, but the welcome to foreign concessionaires would likely be short-lived.... Thus, the Council experts recommended in March 1923 that American businessmen get into Russia while Lenin's invitation held good...<sup>17</sup>

Armand Hammer, head of Occidental Petroleum, son of the aforementioned Dr Julius Hammer who had been the Trotsky family's host in New York, was a globetrotting plutocrat who mixed with the political and business elites of the world for decades. **Hammer was in intimate contact with every Soviet leader from Lenin to Gorbachev — except for Stalin.**<sup>18</sup> This omission is indicative of the rift that had occurred between the USSR and Western financial and industrial interests with the

assumption of Stalin and the defeat of Trotsky.

The CFR report on the USSR that advised American business to get in quick before the situation changed, was prescient. In 1921 Hammer was in the USSR sewing up business deals. Hammer met Trotsky, who asked him whether ‘financial circles in the USA regard Russia as a desirable field of investment?’ Trotsky continued:

*Inasmuch as Russia had its Revolution, capital was really safer there than anywhere else because, ‘whatever should happen abroad, the Soviet would adhere to any agreements it might make. Suppose one of your Americans invests money in Russia. When the Revolution comes to America, his property will of course be nationalised, but his agreement with us will hold good and he will thus be in a much more favourable position than the rest of his fellow capitalists.’<sup>19</sup>*

In contrast to the obliging Trotsky who was willing to guarantee the wealth and investments of Big Business, Hammer said of Stalin:

*I never met Stalin and I never had any dealing with him. However it was perfectly clear to me in 1930 that Stalin was not a man with whom you could do business. Stalin believed that the state was capable of running everything, without the support of foreign concessionaires and private enterprise. That was the main reason why I left Moscow: I could see that I would soon be unable to do business there...<sup>20</sup>*

As for Trotsky’s attitude toward capitalist investment, were the charges brought against Trotsky et al during the Moscow Trials wholly cynical efforts to disparage and eliminate the perceived opposition to Stalin’s authority, or was there at least some factual basis to the charge that the Trotskyist-Left and Bukharin-Right blocs sought to ‘restore capitalism’ to the USSR? It is of interest in this respect to note that even according to one of Trotsky’s present-day exponents, David North, Trotsky ‘placed greater emphasis than any other Soviet leader of his time on the overriding importance of close economic links between the USSR and the world capitalist market’. North speaking to an Australian Trotskyist conference went on to state of Trotsky’s attitude:

*Soviet economic development, he insisted, required both access to the resources*

*of the world market and the intelligent utilisation of the international division of labour. The development of economic planning required at minimum a knowledge of competitive advantage and efficiencies at the international level. It served no rational economic purpose for the USSR to make a virtue of frittering away its own limited resources in a vain effort to duplicate on Soviet soil what it could obtain at far less cost on the world capitalist market.... It is helpful to keep in mind that Trotsky belonged to a generation of Russian Marxists who had utilised the opportunity provided by revolutionary exile to carefully observe and study the workings of the capitalist system in the advanced countries. They were familiar not only with the oft-described 'horrors' of capitalism, but also with its positive achievements. ... Trotsky argued that a vital precondition for the development of the Soviet economy along socialist lines was its assimilation of the basic techniques of capitalist management, organisation, accounting and production.<sup>21</sup>*

It was against this background that during the latter half of the 1930s Stalin acted against the Trotsky and Bukharin blocs as agents of world capitalism and foreign powers. The most cogent defence of the Moscow Trials, *The Great Conspiracy Against Russia*,<sup>22</sup> was written by two American journalists, Albert E Kahn and Michael Sayers, and carried an endorsement by former US ambassador to the USSR, Joseph Davis, who had witnessed the trials.

Among the charges against Trotsky was that he was in contact with British Intelligence operatives, and was conspiring against Lenin. This is not altogether implausible. Lenin and the Bolshevik faction were in favour of a separate peace between Russia and Germany. Lenin and his entourage had been provided with funds and transport by the German General Staff to travel back to Russia,<sup>23</sup> while Trotsky's return from New York to Russia had been facilitated by British and American Intelligence interests. Kahn and Sayers commented that 'for fourteen years, Trotsky had fiercely opposed the Bolsheviks; then in August 1917, a few months before the Bolshevik Revolution he had joined Lenin's party and risen to power with it. Within the Bolshevik Party, Trotsky was organizing a Left Opposition to Lenin.'<sup>24</sup>

Trotsky was not well disposed to negotiate peace with German imperialists, and

it was a major point of debate among the Allies whether certain socialist revolutionaries could be won over to the Allied cause. Trotsky himself had stated in the offices of *Novy Mir* just before his departure from New York to Russia that although revolutionists would soon overthrow the Kerensky regime they 'would not make a separate peace with Germany'.<sup>25</sup> From this perspective it would have made sense for William Wiseman to have intervened and for the British authorities to have let Trotsky proceed after having detained him at Nova Scotia.

American mining magnate and banker Colonel William Boyce Thompson, head of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia,<sup>26</sup> was eager to recruit the Bolsheviks for the Allied cause. He stated his intention of providing \$1,000,000 of his own money to assist with Bolshevik propaganda directed at Germany and Austria.<sup>27</sup> Thompson's insistence that if the Allies recognised the Bolsheviks they would not make a separate peace with Germany,<sup>28</sup> accorded with Trotsky's own attitude insofar as he also wished to see the war end not with a separate peace but with revolutions that would bring down Germany and Austria. His agenda therefore seems to have been quite distinct from that of Lenin's, and might point to separate sources of funds that were provided to them.

Trotsky's actions when the Bolsheviks assumed power were consistent with his declarations, and went against Lenin's policy of ending the war with Germany. As Foreign Commissar Trotsky had been sent to Brest-Litovsk 'with categorical instructions from Lenin to sign peace.'<sup>29</sup> Instead he called for a Communist uprising in Germany, and stated that although the Russian army could no longer continue in the war and would demobilise, the Soviets would not sign a peace agreement. After Trotsky's rhetoric at Brest-Litovsk the Germans launched another assault on the Eastern Front, and the new Red Army found itself still fighting the Germans.

It was at this point that R H Bruce Lockhart, special agent of the British War Cabinet, sought out Trotsky, on the instructions from British Prime Minister Lloyd George.

Lockhart, generally considered the typical anti-Bolshevik Establishment figure, was actually well disposed towards the Bolsheviks and like Colonel Thompson, hoped

to win them over to the Allies. At one point his wife warned that his colleagues in Britain thought he might be going 'Red'. Lockhart wrote of the situation:

*Russia was out of the war. Bolshevism would last – certainly as long as the war lasted. I deprecated as sheer folly our militarist propaganda, because it took no account of the war-weariness which had raised the Bolsheviks to the supreme power. In my opinion, we had to take the Bolshevik peace proposals seriously. Our policy should now aim at achieving an anti-German peace in Russia'.<sup>30</sup>*

Coincidentally, 'an anti-German peace in Russia' seems to precisely describe the aim of Trotsky.

Trotsky intended that the World War would be transformed into a revolutionary war, with the starting point being revolutions in Germany and Austria. This would certainly accord with Colonel Thompson's intentions to fund Bolshevik propaganda in Germany and Austria with \$1,000,000. Thompson was in communication with Trotsky via Raymond Robins, his deputy with the Red Cross Mission, and like him an enthusiast for the Bolshevik regime.<sup>31</sup> Lloyd George had met Thompson and had been won over to the aim of contacting Lenin and Trotsky. Lockhart was instructed to return to Russia to establish 'unofficial contact with the Bolsheviks'.<sup>32</sup> Lockhart relates that he met Trotsky for two hours at the latter's office at Smolny. While Lockhart was highly impressed with Trotsky he did not regard the Foreign Commissar as able to wield sufficient influence to replace Lenin. Trotsky's parting words to Lockhart at this first meeting were: 'Now is the big opportunity for the Allied Governments'. Thereafter Lockhart saw Trotsky on a daily basis.<sup>33</sup> Lockhart stated that Trotsky was willing to bring Soviet Russia over to Britain:

*He considered that war was inevitable. If the Allies would send a promise of support, he informed me that he would sway the decision of the Government in favour of war. I sent several telegrams to London requesting an official message that would enable me to strengthen Trotsky's hands. No message was sent.<sup>34</sup>*

Given Trotsky's position in regard to Germany, and the statements of Lockhart in his memoirs, the Stalinist accusation is entirely plausible that Trotsky was the focus of Allied support, and would explain why the British expedited Trotsky's return to

Russia. Indeed, Lockhart was to remark that the British view was that they might be able to make use of the dissensions between Trotsky and Lenin, and believed that the Allies could reach an accord with Soviet Russia because of the extravagant peace demands of the Germans.<sup>35</sup> However from what Lockhart sates, it seems that the Allied procrastination in regard to recondition of the Bolsheviks was the uncertainty that they constituted a stable and lasting Government, and that they were suspicious of the Bolshevik intentions towards Germany, with Lenin and Trotsky still widely regarded as German agents.<sup>36</sup>

The period preceding World War II, particularly the signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact between Germany, Italy and Japan, served as a catalyst for Stalin's offensive against Trotskyists and other suspect elements. Trotsky had since his exile been promoted in the West as the great leader of the Bolshevik Revolution<sup>37</sup>, while his own background had been one of opportunism, for the most part as an anti-Leninist Menshevik.<sup>38</sup> It was only in August 1917, seeing the situation in Russia, that Trotsky applied for membership of the Bolshevik Party.<sup>39</sup> Trotsky had joined the Bolshevik Party with his entire faction, a faction that remained intact within the Soviet apparatus, and was ready to be activated after Stalin's election as General Secretary in 1922. Trotsky admits to a revolutionary network from 1923 when he wrote in his 1938 eulogy to his son Leon Sedov: 'Leon threw himself headlong into the work of the Opposition...Thus, at seventeen, he began the life of a fully conscious revolutionist, quickly grasped the art of conspiratorial work, illegal meetings, and the secret issuing and distribution of Opposition documents. The Komsomol (Communist Youth organization) rapidly developed its own cadres of Opposition leaders.'<sup>40</sup> Hence Trotsky had freely admitted to the fundamental charges of the Stalinist regime: the existence of a widespread Trotskyist 'conspiracy'. Indeed, as far back as 1921, the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party had already passes a resolution banning all 'factions' in the Party, specifically warning Trotsky against 'factional activities', and condemning the factionalist activities of what the resolution called 'Trotskyites'.<sup>41</sup>

In 1924 Trotsky met with Boris Savinkov, a Socialist Revolutionary, who had served as head of the terrorist wing, the so-called 'Fighting Organization', of the Party, and who had been Deputy Minister of War in the Kerensky Government. After the

triumph of the Bolsheviks Savinkov, leaving Russia in 1920, became associated with French and Polish authorities, and with British agents Lockhart<sup>42</sup> and Sidney Reilly.<sup>43</sup> Savinkov was involved in counter-revolutionary activities, in trying to form an army to overthrow the Bolsheviks. Winston Churchill confirms Savinkov's meeting with Trotsky in 1924, Churchill himself being involved in the anti-Soviet machinations, writing in his *Great Contemporaries*: 'In June 1924, Kamenev and Trotsky definitely invited him (Savinkov) to return'.<sup>44</sup>

In 1924 a leading Trotskyite, Christian Rakovsky, arrived in Britain as Soviet Ambassador. According to the testimony at the Moscow Trial during March 1938 Rakovsky admitted to meeting two British agents, Lockhart and Captain Armstrong. Rakovsky is said to have confessed at this trial that Lockhart and Armstrong had told him that he had been permitted entry into Britain because of his association with Trotsky, as they wanted to cultivate relations with the latter. When Rakovsky reported back to Trotsky several months later, Trotsky was alleged to have been interested. In 1926 Rakovsky was transferred to France prior to which he was alleged to have been instructed by Trotsky to seek out contacts with 'conservative circles' who might support an uprising, as Trotsky considered the situation in Russia to be right for a coup. Rakovsky, as instructed, met several French industrialists, including the grain merchant Louis Dreyfus, and the flax merchant Nicole, both Deputies of the French Parliament.<sup>45</sup> Rakovsky in his testimony during the 1936 trial of Bukharin, et al, Rakovsky being one of the defendants, relates the manner by which he was approached by various intelligence agencies, including those of Japan when in 1934 Rakovsky was head of a Soviet Red Cross Delegation.<sup>46</sup> Rakovsky spoke of the difficulty the Trotskyites had in maintaining relations with both British and Japanese intelligence agencies, since the two states were becoming antagonistic over problems in China.<sup>47</sup> Rakovsky explained that: 'We Trotskyites have to play three cards at the present moment: the German, Japanese and British...'<sup>48</sup> At that time the Trotskyites – or at least Rakovsky – regarded the likelihood of a Japanese attack on the USSR as more likely than a German attack. Rakovsky even then alluded to his belief that an accord between Hitler and Stalin was possible. It seems plausible enough that Trotskyites were indeed looking toward an invasion of the USSR as the means of



destabilising the regime during which Trotskyist cells could launch their counter-revolution. Certainly we know from the account of Churchill that Trotsky met the ultra-terrorist Socialist Revolutionary Savinkov, who was himself involved with British Intelligence via Reilly and Lockhart. Rakovsky stated of a possible Hitler-Stalin Pact:

*Personally I thought that the possibility was not excluded that Hitler would seek a rapprochement with the government of the USSR. I cited the policy of Richelieu: in his own country he exterminated the Protestants, while in his foreign policy he concluded alliances with the Protestant German princes. The relations between Germany and Poland were still in the stage of their inception at the time. Japan, on the other hand, was a potent aggressor against the USSR. For us Trotskyites the Japanese card was extremely important, but, on the other hand, we should not overrate the importance of Japan as our ally against the Soviet government.<sup>49</sup>*

As far as the Stalinist allegations go in regard to the Trotskyists aligning with foreign powers and viewing an invasion of the USSR as a catalyst for revolution, other ultra-Marxists had taken paths far more unlikely. As mentioned Savinkov, who had been one of the most violent of the Socialist Revolutionaries in Czarist Russia, had sought out British assistance in forming a counter-revolutionary army. Savinkov had fled to Poland in 1919 where he tried to organize ‘the evacuation committee’ within the Polish armies then attacking Russia.<sup>50</sup> Savinkov’s colleagues in Poland, Merezhkovsky, and his wife Zinaida Hippus, who had been ardent Socialist Revolutionary propagandists, later became supporters of Mussolini and then of Hitler, in the hope of overthrowing Stalin<sup>51</sup>. Therefore the Stalinist allegation of Trotskyite collusion even with Fascist powers is plausible.

It is the same road that resulted in the alliance of many Trotskyists, Mensheviks and other Leftists with the CIA, and their metamorphoses into ardent Cold Warriors. It is the same road that brought leading American Trotsky apologist Professor Sidney Hook, ‘a lifelong Menshevik’, to the leadership of a major CIA front, the previously considered Congress for Cultural Freedom.

## **Max Shachtman**

Max Shachtman, one of Trotsky's leading representatives in the USA<sup>52</sup>, is pivotal when considering why Trotskyites became ardent Cold Warriors, CIA front men, apologists for US foreign policy, and continue to champion the USA as the only 'truly revolutionary' state.

Expelled from the Communist Party USA in 1928 Shachtman co-founded the Communist League and the Socialist Workers Party. He then split to form the Workers Party of the United States in 1940, which became the Independent Socialist League and merged with the Socialist Party in 1958.<sup>53</sup> The Socialist Party factionalised into the Democratic Socialists and the Social Democrats.

Shachtman was of course scathing of the Moscow Trials. His critique is standard, and will not be of concern here.<sup>54</sup> What is of interest is Shachtman's surpassing of Trotsky himself in his opposition to the USSR, his faction (the so-called 'Third Camp') being what he considered as a purified, genuine Trotskyism, which eventuated into apologists for US foreign policy.

The Shachtmanist critique of the USSR was that it had at an early stage been transformed from 'government 'bureaucratism to 'party bureaucratism'.<sup>55</sup> 'Soviet bureaucratism became party bureaucratism. In increasing number the government official was the party official.'<sup>56</sup> 'We do not have a workers' state but a workers' state with bureaucratic deformations', Shachtman stated in quoting Trotsky as far back as 1922. And again from Trotsky: 'We have a bureaucracy not only in the Soviet institutions, but in the institutions of the party'... Shachtman continues: 'A month later, in a veiled public attack upon Stalin as head of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, he repeated his view that the state machine was still "a survival to a large extent of the former bureaucracy ... with only a superficial new coat of paint."<sup>57</sup>

While in 1937 Shachtman declared that the USSR should nonetheless be defended against aggression from, for example, Nazi Germany and that it was a Stalinist slur to think that Trotsky would be an enemy of the USSR in such circumstances<sup>58</sup>, by 1940 Shachtman was at loggerheads with Trotsky himself and the 'Cannon'<sup>59</sup> group in the Workers Party.

The Trotskyites were agreed that Stalinist Russia had become a 'degenerated workers' state,' however the Cannon-Trotsky line and the position of the Fourth International was that should the USSR be attacked by capitalist or fascist powers, because it still had a so-called 'progressive' economy based on the nationalisation of property, the USSR must be defended on that basis alone. The Shachtman line, on the other hand, argued from what they considered to be a dialectical position:

*Just as it was once necessary, in connection with the trade union problem, to speak concretely of what kind of workers' state exists in the Soviet Union, so it is necessary to establish, in connection with the present war, the degree of the degeneration of the Soviet state. The dialectical method of treating such questions makes this mandatory upon us. And the degree of the degeneration of the regime cannot be established by abstract reference to the existence of nationalized property, but only by observing the realities of living events.*

*The Fourth International established, years ago, the fact that the Stalinist regime (even though based upon nationalized property) had degenerated to the point where it was not only capable of conducting reactionary wars against the proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard, and even against colonial peoples, but did in fact conduct such wars. Now, in our opinion, on the basis of the actual course of Stalinist policy (again, even though based upon nationalized property), the Fourth International must establish the fact that the Soviet Union (i.e., the ruling bureaucracy and the armed forces serving it) has degenerated to the point where it is capable of conducting reactionary wars even against capitalist states (Poland, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, now Finland, and tomorrow Rumania and elsewhere). This is the point which forms the nub of our difference with you and with the Cannon faction.<sup>60</sup>*

Shachtman now expressed his approach unequivocally:

*War is a continuation of politics, and if Stalinist policy, even in the occupied territory where property has been statified, preserves completely its reactionary character, then the war it is conducting is reactionary. In that case, the revolutionary proletariat must refuse to give the Kremlin and its army material*

*and military aid. It must concentrate all efforts on overturning the Stalinist regime. That is not our war! Our war is against the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy at the present time!*

*In other words, I propose, in the present war, a policy of revolutionary defeatism in the Soviet Union, as explained in the statement of the Minority on the Russian question – and in making this proposal I do not feel myself one whit less a revolutionary class patriot than I have always been.<sup>61</sup>*

That was the Shachtmanite line during World War II: that it was better that Nazi Germany defeated Stalin than that the ‘degenerated workers’ state’ should continue to exist. The same thinking emerged during the Cold War, shortly after World War II, when Shachtman began to speak about the threat of Stalinist parties throughout the world as agencies for Soviet policy, a theme that would become a basis of US attitudes towards the USSR:

*The Stalinist parties are indeed agents of the Kremlin oligarchy, no matter what country they function in. The interests and the fate of these Stalinist parties are inseparably intertwined with the interests and fate of the Russian bureaucracy. The Stalinist parties are everywhere based upon the power of the Russian bureaucracy, they serve this power, they are dependent upon it, and they cannot live without it.<sup>62</sup>*

By 1948 Shachtmanism as a Cold Warrior apologia for American foreign policy was taking shape. In seeing positive signs in the Titoist Yugoslavia break with the USSR, Shachtman wrote:

*In the first place, the division in the capitalist camp is, to all practical intents, at an end. In any case, there is nothing like the division that existed from 1939 onward and which gave Stalinist Russia such tremendous room for maneuvering. In spite of all the differences that still exist among them, the capitalist world under American imperialist leadership and drive is developing an increasingly solid front against Russian imperialism.<sup>63</sup>*

In other words, Shachtman saw unity among the capitalist states against Stalinist Russia as a positive sign. The overthrow of Stalinism became the first priority of

Shachtmanite Trotskyism in the Cold War era, as it had during World War II.

In 1948 Shachtman scathingly attacked the position of the Fourth International in having continued to defend the USSR as a 'degenerated workers' state', and of its mistaken belief that the Stalinist 'bureaucratic dictatorship' would fall apart during World War II. He pointed out that Stalinist imperialism had emerged from the war victorious.<sup>64</sup>

From here it was but a short way for the Shachtmanites to embrace the Cold War opposition to the USSR, and for the heirs of this to continue as enthusiasts for US foreign policy to the present-day.

By 1950 Stalinism had become the major problem for world socialism, Shachtman now writing as head of the Independent Socialist League:

*The principal new problem faced by Marxian theory, and therewith Marxian practice, is the problem of Stalinism. What once appeared to many to be either an academic or 'foreign' problem is now, it should at last be obvious, a decisive problem for all classes in all countries. If it is understood as a purely Russian phenomenon or as a problem 'in itself,' it is of course not understood at all.*<sup>65</sup>

### **Natalia Sedova Trotsky**

Natalia Sedova, Trotsky's widow, endorsed the Shachtmanite line, declaring that the American-led alliance against the USSR would have been approved by her late husband. Her letter of resignation to the Fourth International and to the Socialist Workers Party (USA) is worth reproducing in its entirety:

*You know quite well that I have not been in political agreement with you for the past five or six years, since the end of the [Second World] war and even earlier. The position you have taken on the important events of recent times shows me that, instead of correcting your earlier errors, you are persisting in them and deepening them. On the road you have taken, you have reached a point where it is no longer possible for me to remain silent or to confine myself to private protests. I must now express my opinions publicly.*

*The step which I feel obliged to take has been a grave and difficult one for me, and I can only regret it sincerely. But there is no other way. After a great deal of reflections and hesitations over a problem which pained me deeply, I find that I must tell you that I see no other way than to say openly that our disagreements make it impossible for me to remain any longer in your ranks.*

*The reasons for this final action on my part are known to most of you. I repeat them here briefly only for those to whom they are not familiar, touching only on our fundamentally important differences and not on the differences over matters of daily policy which are related to them or which follow from them.*

*Obsessed by old and outlived formulas, you continue to regard the Stalinist state as a workers' state. I cannot and will not follow you in this.*

*Virtually every year after the beginning of the fight against the usurping Stalinist bureaucracy, L D Trotsky repeated that the regime was moving to the right, under conditions of a lagging world revolution and the seizure of all political positions in Russia by the bureaucracy. Time and again, he pointed out how the consolidation of Stalinism in Russia led to the worsening of the economic, political and social positions of the working class, and the triumph of a tyrannical and privileged aristocracy. If this trend continues, he said, the revolution will be at an end and the restoration of capitalism will be achieved.*

*That, unfortunately, is what has happened even if in new and unexpected forms. There is hardly a country in the world where the authentic ideas and bearers of socialism are so barbarously hounded. It should be clear to everyone that the revolution has been completely destroyed by Stalinism. Yet you continue to say that under this unspeakable regime, Russia is still a workers' state. I consider this a blow at socialism. Stalinism and the Stalinist state have nothing whatever in common with a workers' state or with socialism. They are the worst and the most dangerous enemies of socialism and the working class.*

*You now hold that the states of Eastern Europe over which Stalinism established its domination during and after the war, are likewise workers' states. This is equivalent to saying that Stalinism has carried out a revolutionary socialist*

*role. I cannot and will not follow you in this.*

*After the war and even before it ended, there was a rising revolutionary movement of the masses in these Eastern countries. But it was not these masses that won power and it was not a workers' state that was established by their struggle. It was the Stalinist counterrevolution that won power, reducing these lands to vassals of the Kremlin by strangling the working masses, their revolutionary struggles and their revolutionary aspirations.*

*By considering that the Stalinist bureaucracy established workers' states in these countries, you assign to it a progressive and even revolutionary role. By propagating this monstrous falsehood to the workers' vanguard, you deny to the Fourth International all the basic reasons for existence as the world party of the socialist revolution. In the past, we always considered Stalinism to be a counterrevolutionary force in every sense of the term. You no longer do so. But I continue to do so.*

*In 1932 and 1933, the Stalinists, in order to justify their shameless capitulation to Hitlerism, declared that it would matter little if the Fascists came to power because socialism would come after and through the rule of Fascism. Only dehumanized brutes without a shred of socialist thought or spirit could have argued this way. Now, notwithstanding the revolutionary aims which animate you, you maintain that the despotic Stalinist reaction which has triumphed in Europe is one of the roads through which socialism will eventually come. This view marks an irredeemable break with the profoundest convictions always held by our movement and which I continue to share.*

*I find it impossible to follow you in the question of the Tito regime in Yugoslavia. All the sympathy and support of revolutionists and even of all democrats, should go to the Yugoslav people in their determined resistance to the efforts of Moscow to reduce them and their country to vassalage. Every advantage should be taken of the concessions which the Yugoslav regime now finds itself obliged to make to the people. But your entire press is now devoted to an inexcusable idealization of the Titoist bureaucracy for which no ground*

*exists in the traditions and principles of our movement.*

*This bureaucracy is only a replica, in a new form, of the old Stalinist bureaucracy. It was trained in the ideas, the politics and morals of the GPU. Its regime differs from Stalin's in no fundamental regard. It is absurd to believe or to teach that the revolutionary leadership of the Yugoslav people will develop out of this bureaucracy or in any way other than in the course of struggle against it.*

*Most insupportable of all is the position on the war to which you have committed yourselves. The third world war which threatens humanity confronts the revolutionary movement with the most difficult problems, the most complex situations, the gravest decisions. Our position can be taken only after the most earnest and freest discussions. But in the face of all the events of recent years, you continue to advocate, and to pledge the entire movement to, the defense of the Stalinist state. You are even now supporting the armies of Stalinism in the war which is being endured by the anguished Korean people. I cannot and will not follow you in this.*

*As far back as 1927, Trotsky, in reply to a disloyal question put to him in the Political Bureau [of the Soviet Communist Party] by Stalin, stated his views as follows: For the socialist fatherland, yes! For the Stalinist regime, no! That was in 1927! Now, twenty-three years later Stalin has left nothing of the socialist fatherland. It has been replaced by the enslavement and degradation of the people by the Stalinist autocracy. This is the state you propose to defend in the war, which you are already defending in Korea.*

*I know very well how often you repeat that you are criticizing Stalinism and fighting it. But the fact is that your criticism and your fight lose their value and can yield no results because they are determined by and subordinated to your position of defense of the Stalinist state. Whoever defends this regime of barbarous oppression, regardless of the motives, abandons the principles of socialism and internationalism.*

*In the message sent me from the recent convention of the SWP you write that*



*Trotsky's ideas continue to be your guide. I must tell you that I read these words with great bitterness. As you observe from what I have written above, I do not see his ideas in your politics. I have confidence in these ideas. I remain convinced that the only way out of the present situation is the social revolution, the self-emancipation of the proletariat of the world.*<sup>66</sup>

Natalia Trotsky, like the Shachtmanites, regarded the USSR as having irredeemably destroyed Marxism, and that the only option left was to destroy the USSR, which meant aligning with the USA in the Cold War.

It was this bellicose anti-Stalinism that brought the Shachtmanites into the US foreign policy establishment during the Cold War, and beyond, to the present-day. Haberkern, an admirer of Shachtman's early commitment to Trotskyism and opposition to Stalinism, lamented:

*There is, unfortunately, a sad footnote to Shachtman's career. Beginning in the 50s he began to move to the right in response to the discouraging climate of the Cold War. He ended up a Cold Warrior and apologist for the Meany wing of the AFL-CIO.*<sup>67</sup> *But that should not diminish the value of his earlier contributions.*<sup>68</sup>

## **Cold War and Beyond**

Professor Hook and Max Shachtman veered increasingly towards a pro-US position to the point that Hook, while maintaining his commitment to Social-Democracy, voted for Richard Nixon and publicly defended President Ronald Reagan's policies.

During the 1960s, Hook critiqued the New Left and became an outspoken supporter of the Vietnam War. In 1984 he was selected by the National Endowment for the Humanities to give the annual Jefferson Lecture, 'the highest honor the federal government confers for distinguished intellectual achievement in the humanities'.<sup>69</sup> On May 23 1985 Hook was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Reagan. Edward S Shapiro writing in the American 'conservative' journal *First*

*Principles*, summarised Hook's position:

*One of America's leading anticommunist intellectuals,[70] Hook supported American entry into the Korean War, the isolation of Red China, the efforts of the United States government to maintain a qualitative edge in nuclear weapons, the Johnson administration's attempt to preserve a pro-western regime in South Vietnam, and the campaign of the Reagan administration to overthrow the communist regime in Nicaragua.*

*Those both within and outside of conservative circles viewed Hook as one of the gurus of the neoconservative revival during the 1970s and 1980s. In 1985, President Reagan presented Hook with the Presidential Medal of Freedom for being one of the first 'to warn the intellectual world of its moral obligations and personal stake in the struggle between freedom and totalitarianism'.<sup>71</sup>*

In the 1960s Shachtmanism aligned with the Democratic Party and was also involved with the New Left. By the mid 1960s such was the Shachtmanite opposition to the USSR that they had arrived on issues of American foreign policy that were the same as Hook's, including supporting the American presence in Vietnam. In 1972 the Shachtmanists endorsed Leftist Senator Henry Jackson for the Democratic presidential nomination against Leftist George McGovern whom they regarded as an appeaser toward the USSR. Jackson was both pro-war and vehemently anti-Soviet, advocating a 'hawkish' position on foreign policy towards the USSR. Like Hook, Jackson was also awarded the Medal of Freedom by President Reagan in 1984.

At this time Tom Kahn, a prominent Shachtmanite and an organizer of the AFL-CIO, who will be considered below, was Senator Jackson's chief speechwriter.<sup>72</sup> Many of Jackson's aides were to become prominent in the oddly 'neo-conservative' movement, including veteran Trotskyites Paul Wolfowitz, Elliott Abrams, Richard Perle, and Douglas Feith, all of whom became prominent in the Administration of President George H W Bush, all of whom helped to instigate the present war against Islam, which they began to call 'Islamofascism', as a new means of extending American world supremacy.

Tom Kahn, who remained an avid follower of Shachtman, explained his

mentor's position on the USA in Vietnam in this way, while insisting that Shachtman never compromised his Socialist ideals:

*His views on Vietnam were, and are, unpopular on the Left. He had no illusions about the South Vietnamese government, but neither was he confused about the totalitarian nature of the North Vietnamese regime. In the South there were manifest possibilities for a democratic development... He knew that those democratic possibilities would be crushed if Hanoi's military takeover of the South succeeded. He considered the frustration of the attempt to be a worthy objective of American policy...*<sup>73</sup>

This position in its own right can be readily justified by dialectics, as the basis for the support of Trotskyist factions, including those of both Hook and Shachtman during the Cold War, and the present legacy of the so-called 'neo-cons' in backing American foreign policy as the manifestation of a 'global democratic revolution', as a development of Trotsky's 'world proletarian revolution.'

### **National Endowment for Democracy**

It was from this milieu that the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) was formed, which took up from the CIA's Congress for Cultural Freedom.

President George W Bush embraced the world revolutionary mission of the USA, stating in 2003 to NED that the war in Iraq was the latest front in the 'global democratic revolution' led by the United States. 'The revolution under former president Ronald Reagan freed the people of Soviet-dominated Europe, he declared, and is destined now to liberate the Middle East as well'.<sup>74</sup>

NED was established in 1983 at the prompting of Shachtmanist veteran Tom Kahn, and endorsed by an Act of US Congress introduced by Congressman George Agree. Carl Gershman,<sup>75</sup> a Shachtmanite, was appointed president of NED in 1984, and remains so. Gershman had been a founder and Executive Director (1974-1980) of Social Democrats USA (SD-USA).<sup>76</sup> Among the founding directors of NED was Albert Glotzer, a national committee member of the SD-USA, who had served as

Trotsky's bodyguard and secretary in Turkey in 1931,<sup>77</sup> who had assisted Shachtman with founding the Workers Party of the United States.

Congressman Agree and Tom Kahn believed that the USA needed a means, apart from the CIA, of supporting subversive movements against the USSR. Kahn, who became International Affairs Director of the AFL-CIO, was particularly spurred by the need to support the Solidarity movement in Poland, and had been involved with AFL-CIO meetings with Leftists from Latin America and South Africa.<sup>78</sup>

Kahn had joined the Young Socialist League, the youth wing of Shachtman's Independent Socialist League,<sup>79</sup> and the Young People's Socialist League, which he continued to support until his death in 1992. Kahn was impressed by the Shachtman opposition to the USSR as the primary obstacle to world socialism.<sup>80</sup> He built up an anti-Soviet network throughout the world in 'opposition to the accommodationist policies of détente'.<sup>81</sup> There was a particular focus on assisting Solidarity in Poland from 1980.<sup>82</sup> Racehille Horowitz's eulogy to Kahn ends with her confidence that had he been alive, he would have been a vigorous supporter of the war in Iraq.<sup>83</sup>

NED is funded by US Congress and supports 'activists and scholars' with 1000 grants in over 90 countries.<sup>84</sup> NED describes its program thus:

*From time to time Congress has provided special appropriations to the Endowment to carry out specific democratic initiatives in countries of special interest, including Poland (through the trade union Solidarity), Chile, Nicaragua, Eastern Europe (to aid in the democratic transition following the demise of the Soviet bloc), South Africa, Burma, China, Tibet, North Korea and the Balkans. With the latter, NED supported a number of civic groups, including those that played a key role in Serbia's electoral breakthrough in the fall of 2000. More recently, following 9/11 and the NED Board's adoption of its third strategic document, special funding has been provided for countries with substantial Muslim populations in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia.*<sup>85</sup>

NED therefore serves as a kind of 'Comintern' of the so-called 'American democratic revolution' throughout the world. The subversion by the USA, culturally, politically, and economically, with its front-groups, spies, fellow-travellers, activists, and outright

revolutionaries, is more far-reaching than the USSR's allegedly 'communist' subversion ever was.

The accusation by the Stalinists at the Moscow Trials of the 1930s was that the Trotskyists were agents of foreign powers and would reintroduce capitalism. The crisis in Marxism caused by the Stalinist regime – the so-called 'betrayal of the revolution' as Trotsky himself termed it – resulted in such outrage among the Trotskyites that they were willing to whore themselves and undertake anything to bring down the Soviet edifice.

### Notes:

1 - American President Woodrow Wilson's principal adviser and confidante.

2 - Henry Wickham Steed, *Through Thirty Years 1892-1922 A personal narrative*, 'The Peace Conference, The Bullitt Mission', Vol. II. (New York: Doubleday Page and Co., 1924), 301.

3 - Ibid.

4 - Ibid.

5 - Samuel Gompers, 'Soviet Bribe Fund Here Says Gompers, Has Proof That Offers Have Been Made, He Declares, Opposing Recognition. Propaganda Drive. Charges Strong Group of Bankers With Readiness to Accept Lenin's Betrayal of Russia', *The New York Times*, 1 May 1922.

6 - Richard B Spence, 'Hidden Agendas: Spies, Lies and Intrigue Surrounding Trotsky's American Visit, January-April 1917', *Revolutionary Russia*, Volume 21, Issue 1 June 2008, 33 – 55.

7 - Ibid.

8 - It is more accurate to state that Trotsky managed to straddle both the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks until the impending success of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917.

9 - Ibid.

10 - Ibid.

11 - Military Intelligence Division, 9140-6073, Memorandum # 2, 23 August 1918, 2. Cited by Spence, op.cit.

12 - Spence, ibid.

13 - Wiseman became a partner in 1929.

14 - 'Sir William's New Bank', *Time*, October 17 1955.

15 - The foregoing on Trotsky's associations from Spain to New York and his transit back to Russia are indebted to Spence, op.cit.

16 - Edward M. House, ed. Charles Seymour, *The Intimate Papers of Col. House* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co.), Vol. III, 421.

17 - Peter Grosse, *Continuing The Inquiry: The Council on Foreign Relations from 1921 to 1996*, (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2006), 'Basic Assumptions'. The entire book can be read online at: <http://www.cfr.org/about/history/cfr/index.html>

18 - Armand Hammer, *Witness to History* (London: Coronet Books, 1988), 221.

19 - Ibid., 160.

20 - Ibid., 221.

- 21 - David North, 'Leon Trotsky and the Fate of Socialism in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century', opening lecture to the International Summer School on 'Marxism and the Fundamental Problems of the 20th Century', organised by the International Committee of the Fourth International and the Socialist Equality Party of Australia, Sydney, Australia, January 3 1998. David North is the national secretary of the Socialist Equality Party in the USA, and has lectured extensively in Europe, Asia, the US and Russia on Marxism and the program of the Fourth International. <http://www.wsws.org/exhibits/trotsky/trlect.htm> (accessed 12 March 2010).
- 22 - Albert E Kahn and Michael Sayers, *The Great Conspiracy Against Russia*, (London: Collet's Holdings Ltd., 1946).
- 23 - Antony Sutton, op.cit., 39-42.
- 24 - Kahn and Sayers, op.cit. p. 29.
- 25 - 'Calls People War Weary, But Leo Trotsky Says They Do Not Want Separate Peace', *The New York Times*, 16 March 1917.
- 26 - The real purpose of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia was to examine how commercial relations could be established with the fledgling Bolshevik regime, as indicated by the fact that there were more business representatives in the Mission than there were medical personnel. See: Dr Anton Sutton, *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution* (New York: Arlington House Publishers, 1974), 71-88. K R Bolton, *Revolution from Above* (London: Arktos Media Ltd., 2011) 63-64.
- 27 - 'Gives Bolsheviks a Million', *Washington Post*, 2 February 1918, cited by Sutton, op.cit., pp. 82-83.
- 28 - *The New York Times*, 27 January 1918, op.cit.
- 29 - Kahn and Sayers, op.cit., p. 29.
- 30 - R H Bruce Lockhart, *British Agent* (London: G P Putnam's Sons, 1933), Book Four, 'History From the Inside', Chapter I.
- 31 - Antony Sutton, op.cit., 84, 86.
- 32 - R H Bruce Lockhart, op.cit.
- 33 - Ibid., Chapter III.
- 34 - Ibid.
- 35 - Ibid. Lockhart observed that while the German peace terms received 112 votes from the Central Executive Committee of the Bolshevik Party, there had been 86 against, and 25 abstentions, among the latter of whom was Trotsky.
- 36 - Ibid., Chapter IV.
- 37 - That at least was the perception of Stalinists of Trotsky's depiction by the West, as portrayed by Kahn and Sayers, op.cit., 194.
- 38 - Kahn and Sayers cite a number of Lenin's statements regarding Trotsky, dating from 1911, when Lenin stated that Trotsky slides from one faction to another and back again, but ultimately 'I must declare that Trotsky represents his own faction only...' Ibid., 195.
- 39 - Ibid., 199.
- 40 - Leon Trotsky, *Leon Sedov: Son-Friend-Fighter*, 1938, cited by Kahn and Sayers, 205.
- 41 - Ibid., 204.
- 42 - R H Bruce Lockhart, op.cit., Book Three: War & Peace, Chapter IX. Lockhart described Savinkov as a professional 'schemer', who 'had mingled so much with spies and agents-provocateurs that, like the hero in his own novel, he hardly knew whether he was deceiving himself or those whom he meant to deceive'. Lockhart commented that Savinkov had 'entirely captivated Mr Churchill, who saw in him a Russian Bonaparte'.
- 43 - Reilly, the British 'super agent' although widely known for his anti-Bolshevik views, prior to his becoming a 'super spy' and possibly working for the intelligence agencies of four states, by his own account had been arrested in 1892 in Russia by the Czarist secret police as a messenger for the revolutionary Friends of Enlightenment.

- 44 - Kahn and Sayers, op.cit., 208.
- 45 - Commissariat of Justice, *Report of the Case of the Anti-Soviet 'Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites', Heard Before The Military Collegium of the Court of the USSR*, Moscow, March 24 1938, 307.
- 46 - Ibid., 288.
- 47 - Ibid. 293.
- 48 - Ibid.
- 49 - Ibid.
- 50 - Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal, 'Eschatology and the Appeal of Revolution', *California Slavic Studies*, Volume. II, University of California Press, California, 1930, 116.
- 51 - Ibid.
- 52 - Shachtman was one of the two most prominent Trotskyites in the USA according to Trotskyist historian Ernest Haberkern, *Introduction to Max Shachtman*, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/shachtma/intro.htm>
- 53 - 'British Trotskyism in 1931', *Encyclopaedia of Trotskyism Online: Revolutionary History*, <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/revhist/backiss/vol1/no1/glotzer.html>
- 54 - Max Shachtman, *Behind the Moscow Trial* (New York: Pioneer Publishers, 1936).
- 55 - Max Shachtman, 'Trotsky Begins the Fight', *The Struggle for the New Course* (New York: New International Publishing Co., 1943).
- 56 - Ibid.
- 57 - Ibid.
- 58 - Leon Trotsky, *In Defence of the Soviet Union*, Max Shachtman, 'Introduction.' (New York: Pioneer Publishers, 1937).
- 59 - James P Cannon, a veteran Trotskyist and former colleague of Shachtman's.
- 60 - Max Shachtman, 'The Crisis in the American Party: An Open Letter in Reply to Comrade Leon Trotsky', *New International*, Vol.6 No.2, March 1940), 43-51.
- 61 - Ibid.
- 62 - Max Shachtman, 'The Nature of the Stalinist Parties: Their Class Roots, Political Role and Basic Aim', *The New International: A Monthly Organ of Revolutionary Marxism*, Vol.13 No.3, March 1947, 69-74.
- 63 - Max Shachtman, 'Stalinism on the Decline: Tito versus Stalin The Beginning of the End of the Russian Empire', *New International*, Vol. XIV No.6, August 1948, 172-178.
- 64 - Max Shachtman, 'The Congress of the Fourth International: An Analysis of the Bankruptcy of "Orthodox Trotskyism"', *New International*, Vol.XIV, No.8, October 1948, pp.236-245.
- 65 - Max Shachtman, 'Reflections on a Decade Past: On the Tenth Anniversary of Our Movement', *The New International: A Monthly Organ of Revolutionary Marxism*, Vol.16 No.3, May-June 1950, pp.131-144.
- 66 - Natalia Sedova Trotsky, May 9, 1951, *Labor Action*, June 17, 1951, <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/socialistvoice/natalia38.html>
- 67 - American Federation of Labor-Central Industrial Organization.
- 68 - Haberkern, op.cit.
- 69 - Sidney Hook, 'Education in Defense of a Free Society', 1984, Jefferson Lecture in the Humanities, National Endowment for Humanities, <http://www.neh.gov/whoweare/jefflect.html>
- 70 - Again, there is obfuscation with the use of the term 'anti-Communist'. What is meant in such cases is not opposition to Communism, but opposition to Stalinism, and the course the USSR had set upon after the elimination of the Trotskyites, et al. Many of these so-called 'anti-Communists' in opposing the USSR considered themselves loyal to the legacy of Trotsky.
- 71 - Edward S Shapiro, 'Hook, Sidney', *First Principles: The Home of American Intellectual Conservatism*, July 3, 2009, <http://www.firstprinciplesjournal.com/articles.aspx?article=699&loc=r>
- 72 - Tom Kahn, 'Max Shachtman: His Ideas and His Movement', Editor's Note on Kahn, *Dissent Magazine*,

252 [http://www.dissentmagazine.org/democratiya/article\\_pdfs/d11Khan.pdf](http://www.dissentmagazine.org/democratiya/article_pdfs/d11Khan.pdf)

73 - Tom Kahn, *Democratiya* 11, 2007, reprinted in *Dissent Magazine*, *ibid.*, 258.

74 - Fred Barbash, 'Bush: Iraq Part of 'Global Democratic Revolution': Liberation of Middle East Portrayed as Continuation of Reagan's Policies', *Washington Post*, 6 November 6, 2003.

75 - Gershman served as Senior Counsellor to the United States Representative to the United Nations beginning in 1981. As it happens, the Representative he was advising was fellow Social Democrats comrade, Jeane Kirkpatrick, who had begun her political career in the (Trotskyist) Young People's Socialist League, a branch of the Shachtmanist-orientated Socialist Party, as had many other 'neo-cons.'

76 - The Social Democrats USA had originated in 1972 after a split with the Trotskyist-orientated Socialist Party. The honorary chairman of the Social Democrats USA until his death in 1984 was Prof. Sidney Hook.

77 - Glotzer was a leading Trotskyist. Expelled from the Communist Party USA in 1928 along with Max Shachtman, they founded the Communist League and the subsequent factions. When the Socialist Party factionalised in 1972 Glotzer joined the Social Democrats – USA faction, which remained closest to Shachtmanism, and which supported US foreign policy. Even in 1981 Glotzer was still involved with luminaries of the Socialist Workers Party. "British Trotskyism in 1931", *Encyclopaedia of Trotskyism Online: Revolutionary History*, <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/revhist/backiss/vol1/no1/glotzer.html> (Accessed 7 March 2010).

78 - Rachele Horowitz, "Tom Kahn and the Fight for Democracy: A Political Portrait and Personal Recollection", *Dissent Magazine*, pp. 238-239. [http://www.dissentmagazine.org/democratiya/article\\_pdfs/d11Horowitz.pdf](http://www.dissentmagazine.org/democratiya/article_pdfs/d11Horowitz.pdf) (Accessed 8 March 2010).

79 - *Ibid.*, p. 209.

80 - *Ibid.* p 211.

81 - *Ibid.*, p. 234.

82 - *Ibid.*, p. 235.

83 - *Ibid.*, p. 246.

84 - 'About NED', National Endowment for Democracy, <http://www.ned.org/about> (accessed 7 March 2010).

85 - David Lowe, 'Idea to Reality: NED at 25: Reauthorization', NED, <http://www.ned.org/about/history> (accessed 7 March 2010).



### 13.

## **JOE MCCARTHY & THE ESTABLISHMENT BOLSHEVIKS**

*“I think the Communist conspiracy is merely a branch of a much bigger conspiracy.”—Bella Dodd.<sup>1</sup>*

Joseph Raymond McCarthy, Senator for Wisconsin, is now remembered mostly as an uncouth bully who recklessly destroyed the lives of decent people in the pursuit of his political career. The very term “McCarthyism” refers to a modern-day witch-hunt, and is a label held in as much contempt as the designation “Quisling.” The so-called “McCarthy era” is painted as the blackest period of American history, and anyone who raises a voice against anything of a Left-wing nature continues to be branded as a “McCarthyite” and is himself quickly condemned to disgrace and ruin. Yet recent declassified files have started to show that McCarthy was correct in his supposedly “reckless” and “fraudulent” accusations. This essay is not however primarily concerned with reassessing McCarthy’s accusations as with whether McCarthy was coming too close to other forces which set the course for his destruction.

Indicative of the ongoing reassessment of McCarthy even in respectable quarters, a recent BBC Radio 4 programme is described by *Radio Times* as follows:

*David Aaronovitch thinks the unthinkable about the McCarthy period.*

*The hunt for the so-called 'Reds under the beds' during the Cold War is generally regarded as a deeply regrettable blot on U.S history. But the release of classified documents reveals that Joseph McCarthy was right after all about the extent of Soviet infiltration into the highest reaches of the U.S government.*

*Thanks to the public release of top secret FBI decrypts of Soviet communications, as well as the release under the fifty year rule of FBI records and Soviet archives, we now know that the Communist spying McCarthy fought against was extensive, reaching to the highest level of the State department and the White House.*

*We reveal that many of McCarthy's anticommunist investigations were in fact on target. His fears about the effect Soviet infiltration might be having on US foreign policy, particularly in the Far East were also well founded.*

*The decrypts also reveal that people such as Rosenberg, Alger Hiss and even Robert Oppenheimer were indeed working with the Soviets. We explore why much of this information, available for years to the FBI, was not made public. We also examine how its suppression prevented the prosecution of suspects.*

*Hearing from former FBI, CIA and KGB operatives as well as formerly blacklisted writers, David Aaronovitch, himself from a family of communists tells the untold story of Soviet influence and espionage in the United States.<sup>2</sup>*

McCarthy began his investigations against Communism when on February 9, 1950, he spoke before a Republican Women's Club in Wheeling, West Virginia, at which he said that there were at least 57 known Communists in the U.S. State Department, and that the State Department knew it.<sup>3</sup>

It has been the common charge that McCarthy launched his anti-communist campaign for no other reason than to serve his own political career by whipping up hysteria. Yet other facts show him to have been a man of principle regardless of his

career: In 1949 McCarthy had taken up the cause of German POWs held for allegedly gunning down American prisoners during the so-called Malmédy Massacre. McCarthy exposed the fact that the Germans had had their POW status revoked so that the Geneva Convention did not protect them, and that they were being tortured to extract confessions. Obviously this was not the type of cause that was designed to win friends. This had indeed already brought condemnation to McCarthy by the news media.<sup>4</sup>

It was the Senate that insisted that McCarthy make his list of 57 names of subversives public, although he did not himself think it proper, yet it is McCarthy who has since been damned as the man who destroyed the innocent by public inquisitions.<sup>5</sup>

McCarthy's elimination had been guaranteed, not because he was going after Soviet spies and subversives but because he was getting too close to the centres of financial and political power.

### **Censure**

The deathblow to McCarthy's campaign was instigated not by some Party hack at the *Daily Worker*, but by Sen. Ralph Flanders, who introduced the resolution for Senate censure of McCarthy. This was backed by Sen. Herbert Lehman, son of Mayer Lehman, founder of Lehman Brothers international investment bank, of which Herbert became a partner.

Columbia University in its description of Lehman in regard to the Lehman Papers collection, states of the august Senator:

*Having served as Governor of New York State between 1933 and 1942, in 1949, at the age of 71, Lehman was elected United States Senator to fill the unexpired term of Robert F. Wagner, Sr. Re-elected for a full term in 1950, Senator Lehman gave six years of distinguished service to the people of his state and nation.*

*His courage, moral integrity and unfaltering dedication soon made Senator Lehman one of Washington's most respected senators; just as they had won him affection and honor in New York[6] and on the world scene. He became known*

*as “the conscience of the Senate” as he led those who stood for liberal principles and for the rights of accused individuals in the early 1950s when Senator McCarthy’s influence was at its peak. Utterly fearless and disdainful for his own political fortunes he fought, at times almost alone, against tremendous opposition.*<sup>7</sup>

Stating that Lehman stood fearless, “at times almost alone,” is nonsense. It was McCarthy who stood fearless and alone, while Lehman had the full weight of the US Administration up to the presidency, the Washington and Wall Street elites, and the most influential of the news media.

Columbia University describes the battle between Lehman and McCarthy as “bitter.” “According to Lehman’s biographer, Allen Nevins, on at least one occasion senatorial colleagues feared that the verbal combat between Lehman and McCarthy would lead to blows on the floor of the Senate” (See Allan Nevins, *Herbert H. Lehman and His Era*, 1963).

Lehman, like the Warburgs, Schiffs, et al., was one of those who intermarried among the banking dynasties, marrying Edith Louise Altschul, the daughter of the head of the New York branch of Lazard Frères, the Paris-based banking house. He was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his campaign against Sen. McCarthy,<sup>8</sup> as was the anti-McCarthy cartoonist Herbert Block.

Sen. Flanders as the introducer of the Senate death blow to McCarthy himself had an interesting background, not as some “progressive” or liberal Democrat, but as a Republican, an industrialist and a banker. Under the guise of being an anti-communist, Flanders stated that McCarthy was misdirecting efforts against communism by looking inward, at subversion in the USA, whereas the fight must be directed outward against Soviet expansion.<sup>9</sup> This line fitted entirely with that of the US Establishment: Ever since Stalin foiled the US proposition to create a “new world order” immediately after World War II via the United Nations and the “Baruch Plan” for the internationalisation of atomic energy, both measures which would in the Soviet opinion have assured US global hegemony, the wartime US-Soviet accord had been replaced by a Cold War.<sup>10</sup> The US Establishment sought to recruit influential anti-

Soviet Leftists, whom the CIA likes to depict as “anti-communists” (sic). This ideological offensive was undertaken by the CIA, with backing from wealthy and influential elites, in particular the Rockefellers, and primarily under the banner of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, led by pro-Trotsky “Menshevik” intellectual Prof. Sidney Hook, another recipient of the Presidential Medal of Freedom.<sup>11</sup>

McCarthy’s most dangerous enemies were, in this writer’s opinion, not the Soviet spies and American Communist Party functionaries he was exposing, but those whom he had not even yet got around to targeting, the power elite and their agents.

Flanders had been president of the Boston Federal Reserve Bank for two years prior to being elected Senator for Vermont. In 1942 he was appointed to the Committee for Economic Development, which was established to formulate US post-war economic policy, including the role of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.<sup>12</sup>

When Flanders introduced his resolution of censure against McCarthy *Time* reported:

*From outside the Senate, Flanders won the support of a group of 23 top businessmen, labor leaders and educators, e.g., Publisher John Cowles (Des Moines Register & Tribune), Movie Producer Samuel Goldwyn, Financier Lewis W. Douglas (chairman, Mutual Life of New York). They wired every U.S. Senator (except McCarthy himself) urging a favorable vote “to curb the flagrant abuse of power by Senator McCarthy.”<sup>13</sup>*

Note the line-up against McCarthy was that of the Left combined with big business and capital, precisely the nexus that any student of the inner workings of history and politics would expect. Flanders’ resolution read: “Resolved, that the conduct of the Senator from Wisconsin . . . is unbecoming a member of the United States Senate, is contrary to senatorial traditions, and tends to bring the Senate into disrepute, and such conduct is hereby condemned.”

Keep in mind at this stage that both Flanders and Lehman<sup>14</sup> were members of the Council on Foreign Relations, which CFR official historian Peter Grosse described as “the US foreign policy establishment.”<sup>15</sup> Flanders had been involved in a CFR study

committee on post-war US foreign policy set up in 1940. Flanders was also a member of the Business Advisory Council, another association of significance that will be considered shortly.

Other CFR study group members included Lauchlin Currie<sup>16</sup> and Benjamin V Cohen both from the US State Department, Asia expert Prof. Owen Lattimore,<sup>17</sup> and economist Leo Pasvolsky, special assistant for post-war planning to the US Secretary of State.<sup>18</sup> All of these CFR advisers were to come to the attention of Sen. McCarthy's investigations into subversion.

This CFR connection is a primary key to understanding McCarthy's political destruction, as will be considered below.

### **Soviet Agents or System Scions?**

The primary contention of this article is that the individuals and associations that McCarthy was going after were not Soviet agents so much as Establishment scions. Hence when McCarthy attacked US policy in China as favouring the Maoists,<sup>19</sup> it was assumed that the interests being served were those of the USSR. It has more recently been confirmed that McCarthy was correct in pointing the finger at Far Eastern advisers such as Prof. Owen Lattimore and others of the Institute on Pacific Relations. However the policy that was being pursued was on behalf of the American plutocratic cabal, while Stalin did his best to resist a communist takeover and indeed backed Chiang right up until the end of the General's defeat.<sup>20</sup>

The eminent American historian Dr. Carroll Quigley of Georgetown University, acknowledged by President Clinton as his academic mentor, wrote of an international "network" controlled by international bankers, which seeks to establish a system of world political and economic control. Quigley was primarily referring the Council on Foreign Relations and its offshoots, and claimed inside knowledge, having been permitted in the 1960s to examine its papers and records.<sup>21</sup> Although Quigley only writes of this "network" in a scant dozen or so pages in his more than 1300 page magnum opus *Tragedy and Hope*, which he used as a text for his Georgetown courses, this was sufficient to suddenly bring Quigley's long and disguised career to an abrupt

halt, despite his impeccable credentials and an Establishment liberal-internationalist.<sup>22</sup>

Quigley does however provide much clarity on the origins of the real power that McCarthy and others were up against in supposing that they were simply fighting Communism and Soviet espionage. Quigley explained: “It is this power structure which the Radical Right in the US has been attacking for years in the belief that they were attacking the Communists.”

*It must be recognised that the power that these energetic Left-wingers exercised was NEVER their own power nor communist power but ultimately the power of the international financial coteries, and once the anger and suspicions of the American people were aroused, as they were by 1950, it was a fairly simple matter to get rid of the Red sympathisers. Before this could be done however a congressional committee, followed backward to their sources the threads which led from admitted Communists like Whitaker Chambers, through Alger Hiss, and the Carnegie Endowment to Thomas Lamont and the Morgan Bank, fell into the whole complicated network of tax exempt foundations.<sup>23</sup>*

One such example of the power of the “international financial coteries,” mistaken as communist influence, was the aforementioned Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR), which was held responsible by a 1951 Subcommittee on Internal Security under Sen. Pat McCarran, for being responsible for pushing China toward communism. Quigley commented on this: “The influence of the communists in IPR is well established, but the patronage of Wall Street is less well known.” He goes on to state that the financial backing for the IPR came from Rockefeller and J. P. Morgan interests, from Standard Oil, ITT, International General Electric, National City Bank, Chase Manhattan Bank, etc.<sup>24</sup>

### **Council on Foreign Relations**

Much of the influence of the “network” referred to by Quigley on US Administrations is exercised by the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), established in 1921 by President Wilson’s chief adviser Edward Mandel House out of a previous think tank called The Inquiry, formed in 1917-1918 to advise Pres. Wilson on the Paris

Peace Conference of 1919, and another group of bankers and academics that had already been named the Council on Foreign Relations. CFR historian Grosse writes of the CFR in regard to the “McCarthy era”:

*Concerns that seemed more pressing bore down at the turn of the 1950s. The nation was in danger of succumbing to a red-baiting frenzy, marked by the rise into the headlines of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. Not surprisingly, the Council’s membership seemed solidly united in contempt for the Wisconsin demagogue; under his provocative rhetoric, after all, was a thinly veiled attack on the entire East Coast foreign policy establishment, whose members gathered regularly in the closed conference rooms of the Harold Pratt House.<sup>25</sup>*

Here Grosse is saying in an official CFR history that:

1. The entire “network” was “solidly united against” McCarthy in what he saw as nothing other than a fight against communism and Soviet influence;
2. That what McCarthy thought was communism and Soviet infiltration was actually the “entire East Coast foreign policy establishment” centred on the CFR.

While a large proportion of the subversives McCarthy was turning the nation’s attention to were CFR members such as Owen Lattimore, Lauchlin Currie, et al., there were three individuals in particular who were too well-connected to the US Establishment for McCarthy to be allowed to continue. He was unwittingly too close to the centre of the US power structure. These individuals were Cord Meyer, John J. McCloy and Robert T. Stevens.

Robert T. Stevens was Secretary of the Army at a time when McCarthy was involved in his final campaign before his silencing; an investigation into communist activities in the military. Stevens of J. P. Stevens & Co., Charles E. Wilson of General Motors as Secretary of Defense, and George M. Humphrey of M. A. Hanna Co., as Treasury Secretary; had been elevated to these posts after a meeting between Pres. Eisenhower, international banker Sidney Weinberg, and Gen. Lucius Clay. Those involved were members of the Business Advisory Council (BAC), Weinberg and Clay being on the executive committee.



*The BAC had been formed in 1933 to advise Pres. Roosevelt on business matters, just as the CFR advised on foreign policy. The BAC was the brainchild of Sidney Weinberg of Goldman, Sachs & Co., who recruited most of the key members.<sup>26</sup> In September 1960 Harper's Magazine published an expose of the BAC, which it described as "America's most powerful private club."<sup>27</sup> The article includes some pertinent insights into the forces that destroyed McCarthy.*

*The Business Advisory Council meets regularly with government officials six times a year. . . . On two of these six occasions . . . the BAC convenes its sessions at plush resorts, and with a half-dozen or more important Washington officials and their wives as its guests, it indulges in a three-day 'work and play' meeting. . . .*

*The guest list is always impressive: on occasion, there have been more Cabinet officers at a . . . BAC meeting than were left in the Capital.*

*After the 1952 election, the BAC was having its fall 'work and play' meeting at the Cloister, just off the Georgia coast and a short distance from Augusta, where Ike [President Eisenhower] was alternating golf with planning his first-term Cabinet. [Sidney] Weinberg and [General Lucius D.] Clay [members of the BAC executive committee] hustled to Augusta, conferred with Ike [a 'close, intimate, personal friend' of both men]. . . .*

*The result was historic: Ike tapped three of the BAC leaders . . . for his Cabinet. They were Charles E. Wilson of General Motors as Defense Secretary; [George M.] Humphrey, then boss of the M. A. Hanna Co., as Treasury Secretary; and Robert T. Stevens of the J. P. Stevens & Co., as Army Secretary. . . .*

*The BAC, powerful in its composition and with an inside track, is thus a special force. An intimation of its influence can be gleaned from its role in the McCarthy case. . . . BAC helped push Senator Joe McCarthy over the brink in 1954, by supplying a bit of backbone to the Eisenhower Administration at the right time. McCarthy's chief target in the Army-McCarthy hearings was the aforementioned Robert T. Stevens—a big wheel in the BAC who had become Secretary of the Army. The BAC didn't pay much—if any—attention to Joe*

*McCarthy as a social menace until he started to pick on Bob Stevens. Then, they burned up.*

*During the May 1954 meeting at the Homestead [expensive resort hotel in Hot Springs, Virginia, where the BAC often holds its ‘work and play’ sessions with high government officials and their wives], Stevens flew down from Washington for a weekend reprieve from his televised torture. A special delegation of BAC officials made it a point to journey from the hotel to the mountaintop airport to greet Stevens. He was escorted into the lobby like a conquering hero. Then, publicly, one member of the BAC after another roasted the Eisenhower Administration for its McCarthy-appeasement policy. The BAC’s attitude gave the Administration some courage, and shortly thereafter former Senator Ralph Flanders (a Republican and BAC member) introduced a Senate resolution calling for censure.*

The other particularly important Establishment figure that McCarthy was coming close to investigating was John J. McCloy, chairman of the CFR, Wall Street lawyer, adviser to Presidents from Roosevelt to Reagan, Military Governor and US High Commissioner of post-war West Germany, chairman of the Chase National then the Chase Manhattan Bank, etc., *The New York Times* writing of McCloy:

*Between times and often concurrently, he was board chairman of the Ford Foundation, chairman of the powerful Council on Foreign Relations and board chairman of a dozen or so other entities, including the Salk Institute and of E. R. Squibb & Sons. As a lawyer, he represented scores of corporate clients, including 23 oil companies dealing with the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.*

*‘Chairman of the Establishment’*

*Mr. McCloy was chairman of so many boards and had his hands in so many ventures that the political writer Richard Rovere once proposed that he was the informal “chairman of the Establishment,” a group that “fixes major goals and constitutes itself a ready pool of manpower for the more exacting labors of leadership.”<sup>28</sup>*

McCloy came to McCarthy's attention when his committee began investigating communist influences in occupied Germany under McCloy's authority. Some of those questioned by the McCarthy committee declined to answer under the Fifth Amendment regarding self-incriminating testimony, or were evasive. Wes Vernon states:

Senator McCarthy at one point cited a "secret order" McCloy had issued in 1944 as Assistant Secretary of War wherein Communists and their sympathizers were not to be discriminated against by the Army unless a "specific finding" of disloyalty could be made.

Writing about this in the 1992 book *The Chairman*, McCloy's left-wing biographer Kai Bird concedes that "McCarthy had his facts right, and given the current climate [1954], McCloy was aware that he was vulnerable."

Bird shows step-by-step how McCloy buttonholed Ike [Pres. Eisenhower] at every opportunity to take decisive action against McCarthy. The occasions for exerting such influence included—but by no means were restricted to—the cozy camaraderie of a "stag party" at the White House.<sup>29</sup>

Vernon in his series on the destruction of McCarthy, cogently describes the situation:

*Thus, what was going on behind the scenes was in fact a "strange bedfellow" coalition whereby extremely powerful forces on Wall Street were pushing in the same direction as the Communist Party USA—the goal being the destruction of the Wisconsin senator and the termination of his investigations.*

*While the Communists were using their transmission belt apparatus to get the party line on McCarthy out on the street, Wall Street titans managed the power plays. There was surely no evidence of a knowing alliance between the two or that anyone anywhere was pushing buttons to coordinate it, but the goal was identical—once again certifying that—as has often been said, "Not everybody who hated McCarthy was a Communist, but every Communist hated McCarthy."<sup>30</sup>*

The other major figure about to be investigated by McCarthy was Cord Meyer, an omnipresent CIA operative who was responsible for special operations involved with recruiting and using anti-Stalinist Leftists. Meyer for example had recruited to the CIA sponsored, phoney “New Left revolution” LSD guru Timothy Leary and seminal radical feminist Gloria Steinem.

In 1948 Timothy Leary, a psychology graduate student, met Cord Meyer at a Milwaukee convention of the Left-wing American Veterans Committee, of which Meyer was a founder. Leary credited Meyer with, “helping me understand my political cultural role more clearly.” In 1950 Meyer was assigned to the CIA’s International Relations Division, which included the Congress for Cultural Freedom,<sup>31</sup> the aim of which was to support, fund and infiltrate Left-wing movements.

An informative press obituary quoted by the Arlington National Cemetery, the US Government resting place for military veterans, states that Meyer served with the CIA for 26 years, and was sometimes criticised for his role in subsidizing [Leftist] student and labour groups as a counter to the USSR. Despite what is called his “anti-communism” (sic), which should read anti-Stalinism, “Mr. Meyer faced accusations at the height of the McCarthy era that he was a Communist sympathizer.”<sup>32</sup>

Meyer was a co-founder, with James P Warburg of the Warburg banking dynasty, of the United World Federalists in 1947, to promote a World State, and he became president of the World Federalists in 1948.<sup>33</sup>

The Arlington obituary continues that Meyer was a special assistant with the US founding delegation of the United Nations in 1945. “He was young and idealistic and very much involved in the one world movement, said Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, a former American delegate to the United Nations . . .”<sup>34</sup>

In regard to Meyer’s role in the founding of the United Nations Organisation as part of the American Delegation, it is important to note that according to the 1948 *Times* interview: “There he saw the United Nations born. He deplored the veto, which left U.N. virtually powerless to prevent aggression.” It is highly significant that it was Joseph Stalin who wrecked these globalist plans, by insisting on a veto.<sup>35</sup>

McCarthy described the CIA as a “communist sinkhole.” Information had been

given to him by the FBI on Leftists in the CIA. The so-called “Communism Fighter,” Cord Meyer, had already been considered a communist by the FBI but was protected by the CIA, which according to Meyer’s own account refused to permit the FBI to interrogate him.<sup>36</sup> In 1953 McCarthy stated he intended exposing a hundred communists in the CIA, and one of the first was to be Cord Meyer.

A media smear was launched under the direction of Frank Wisner, the head of the CIA’s Office of Policy Coordination, who marshalled CIA connected journalists Drew Pearson, Joe Alsop, Jack Anderson, Walter Lippmann, and Ed Murrow.<sup>37</sup>

Another influential CFR member who was exposed by McCarthy but ultimately called to account by Richard Nixon, was Alger Hiss, who also enjoyed high-level patronage.

Helen Lehman Buttenwieser, daughter of Arthur Lehman and niece of Sen. Herbert Lehman, was a lifelong, tireless defender of Hiss, a senior official of the US State Department, and General Secretary at the United Nations Founding Conference, when Hiss was convicted for perjury in 1950. Helen Buttenwieser was married to Benjamin Buttenwieser, a senior partner of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. Her sister Frances married into the Loeb family.<sup>38</sup>

### **The Smear Campaign**

As noted, the CIA instigated a smear campaign against McCarthy by calling in their pet journalists. However, the smears against McCarthy had previously been launched, headed up by the Establishment mouthpiece, the CIA-connected *Washington Post*.

This was at a time when *The Washington Post* was run by Katharine Meyer Graham, daughter of the international banker Eugene Meyer. Katharine’s husband Philip, the publisher, was a CIA operative. Biographer Deborah Davis writes:

*Katharine’s husband, Philip Graham, publisher of the Post until his suicide in 1963 also up until that year served as director of the CIA’s Project Mockingbird, whose object was to infiltrate the corporate news media. The CIA*

*apparently bought around 600 journalists. Philip Graham boasted that “you could get a journalist cheaper than a good call girl, for a couple of hundred dollars a month.”*<sup>39</sup>

Katharine boasts that it was her paper that coined the term “McCarthyism.” While Ms. Graham concedes that the Communist “party had succeeded in establishing a surprising network of infiltrators and even spies,” the *Washington Post* had already in 1947 started attacking the pre-McCarthy House Committee on Un-American Activities. Graham cites one editorial as “putting the *Post*’s position succinctly”; stating that the congressional committee was “more dangerously un-American than that of any of the groups or individuals that it had investigated.” What the Establishment feared was not McCarthy’s attacks on Soviet spies and agents, but that an American nationalism would be generated as a by-product.

Both Katharine and Philip Graham were members of the CFR.<sup>40</sup>

When in early 1950 McCarthy launched his investigations, Phil Graham was from the start antagonistic, and his antagonism cannot be seen as anything other than a reflection of the attitude—and fear—by the CIA and the US Establishment towards this upstart. Katharine remarks that, “much of Phil’s time was taken up with the McCarthy menace. . . . Most effective of all probably was Herblock’s series of cartoons depicting McCarthy and his various outrageous activities. It was Herblock who had coined the term ‘McCarthyism.’”<sup>41</sup>

Herblock or Herbert Block worked as the chief editorial cartoonist for *The Washington Post* for 55 years, right up until the time of his death in 2001. While McCarthy is of course now recalled by the US Establishment and its kept media as having created the USA’s darkest period of history, Herblock is eulogised as a hero. He won three Pulitzer Prizes (1942, 1954—the year of McCarthy’s censure—and 1979, possibly for his smears against Nixon). He was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1994. The Library of Congress continues to feature an ongoing Herblock exhibition of editorial cartoons.<sup>42</sup> In 1999 he was awarded a Doctor of Arts from Harvard University. In the year 2000 the Library of Congress named him a “Living Legend.”<sup>43</sup>

The other Establishment media flagship is *The New York Times*, which did not neglect its duties as part of the smear-campaign to destroy McCarthy. A pamphlet written during those times, by the American patriot Joseph P Kamp gives an alternative view of the so-called “McCarthy era,” the time during which McCarthy supposedly held Americans in fear. Kamp stated of *The New York Times* campaign: “*The Times* has pursued Joe McCarthy with a hysteria of invective far out-doing the statesman whom it falsely brands as master of the smear.”<sup>44</sup> Kamp stated that *The New York Times* had described McCarthy as a “traducer of reputations and mud-slinger extraordinary,” in its issue of July 10, 1952.<sup>45</sup> Later it was editorialised that McCarthy “preys on fear, he stirs up hatred,” “via the route of wild charges gross distortions and assorted form of demagoguery.”<sup>46</sup>

On March 22, 1953 *The New York Times* editorialised:

*If these attacks have not yet reached a point of grave danger it is because they are mainly conducted by men of small intellectual stature. . . . They are little men who might otherwise be overlooked. They are little men who are intoxicated with a bit of power and splash of publicity. We cannot indefinitely have these arrogant upstarts prying into matters which are no affairs of theirs, including the private opinions of our citizens.*<sup>47</sup>

As Kamp commented, this was “pure propaganda. It included not a name or fact.”<sup>48</sup> However it is typical of the nonsense that has continued to this day to be heaped upon the memory of McCarthy.

In contrast, one of McCarthy’s prime subjects of interest, Prof. Owen Lattimore, was heralded as a hero by *The Times*,<sup>49</sup> featuring Lattimore’s photo on page one with a glowing review of his book *Ordeal by Slander*. Kamp states however McCarthy’s own book *McCarthyism: The Fight for America* was blacklisted by *The Times*, as were all other books by McCarthy’s publisher, Devin-Adair.<sup>50</sup>

*The Times* was published during this period by Arthur Hays Sulzberger, whose other associations included serving as a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation (1939-1957), and membership of the CFR.<sup>51</sup>

## Climate of Intolerance

The cliché-ridden descriptions of the “McCarthy era” have become part of popular American mythology, in describing the way decent and intelligent citizens were “blacklisted” and subjected to “witch-hunts.” Given that it was the US Establishment that mobilised against “McCarthyism,” a more critical consideration of this myth is warranted. American scholar and poet E. Merrill Root of Harvard, a self-declared “McCarthyite,” and hardly the stereotypical “little man who would otherwise be overlooked,” as *The Times* portrayed “McCarthyites,” described something of the atmosphere of this era for those who supported the Senator:

*The “Age of McCarthy,” as the Little Orphan Annie “intellectuals” report it, is an artifact, an illusion of bad consciences, a lie. There was no such thing. I lived in those years and through them, and I know. I was a conservative college professor then, and I know the climate of that time. One “Liberal” colleague would pass me in the corridors of my college and would never speak. My seven “Liberal” colleagues in the English department sought to discourage my best students from taking more courses with me. . . . Hostility, criticism, opposition, did all they could to keep me from writing my book *Collectivism on the Campus*. As Ludwig Lewisohn well said, it was a time when: “The only scholar, the only type of student who is still forced into a defensive position on American campuses . . . is the conservative teacher or student.”*

*I know the truth of that by my own experiences. I said publicly that Joe McCarthy was one of my three favourite Senators (The other two were William Jenner of Indiana and Robert Taft of Ohio), and so I was regarded in academic circles as one who had intellectual leprosy. I became a tin can for intellectuals to shoot at.<sup>52</sup>*

Interestingly, Prof. Root also mentioned that the president of his college, who was fortunately resistant to the pressures to get rid of Root, when seeking out funds for the college from “among the rich and powerful,” stated that he was told: “Go home and fire E. Merrill Root first,” to which he replied: “Gentlemen, Earlham College is not for sale.”<sup>53</sup> Prof. Root continued:



*I tell this with no bitterness, with no concern for myself, with no complaint; that, in Academe, it was those who supported Senator McCarthy who were ostracized, attacked, and in danger. Meanwhile at my college, as at all colleges I knew (and I knew many) the majority of the faculties spoke openly, and freely, and with venom, of Senator McCarthy.*

*They said they were afraid; but, as God is my witness, they had nothing to fear! To attack McCarthy—virulently, venomously—was merely to be a good little gilded weathervane, showing which way the prevailing academic wind was blowing. It was smart. It was chic. It was the cliché of the academic hour. It was to add your conventional yip, yip, to the chorus of the hounds. . . . It was the holy cow of the “intellectuals.” . . . You were not on the inside unless you were anti-McCarthy. I know, I was there. I was a McCarthyite, and I learned how ancient lepers in Jerusalem felt when the good citizens cried out, “Unclean, unclean!”<sup>54</sup>*

McCarthy was finished off by a coalition of Big Business, CFR, Business Advisory Council, US Administration, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, CIA. He carried on as Senator for a further several years during which time he was ostracised and his speeches boycotted in the Senate. McCarthy was wrecked emotionally and physically by the campaign against him, Fred J Cook describing him as “a pale ghost of his former self”; he died in 1957 at the age of 48.<sup>55</sup> E Merrill Root cogently described the situation with which McCarthy was probably unknowingly confronted: “. . . I do not think that the Senator ever quite saw the real nature of the enemy within, the full scope of the Conspiracy in New York and Washington . . . .”<sup>56</sup>

A different perspective on Joe McCarthy: Mrs Jean McCarthy thanks the Marine Corps for the honours that were accorded to her late husband, showing a man of tolerance, bravery and humour. Note Mrs McCarthy’s references to the DCF and the Air Medal Four Stars, and the citation for bravery written by Admiral Nimitz. The letter is featured on the website of The 8th & I Reunion Association of the US Marine Corps.<sup>57</sup> McCarthy, a Judge at the time of World War II, had volunteered for Service, despite his exemption. One of the major smears against McCarthy continues to be that he had not seen active service, that the image of “Tail Gunner Joe” was a myth, and

that he had faked the Nimitz citation for bravery.<sup>58</sup>

## Notes:

- 1 - Bella Dodd was a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party USA, leaving the party in 1948. Comment to W. Cleon Skousen, former FBI special agent and Police Chief of Salt Lake City. *The Naked Capitalist* (Skousen, 1970), p. 1.
- 2 - “McCarthy: There Were Reds Under the Bed,” aired July 25, and August 9 2010. BBC Radio 4: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00t7hhf>
- 3 - Scott Speidel, Florida State University, “The Destruction of Joe McCarthy, Part 1,” <http://www.kevinalfredstrom.com/2009/07/the-destruction-of-joe-mccarthy-part-1/>
- 4 - Ibid.
- 5 - Ibid. McCarthy was never permitted to make full disclosure of his evidence. That he referred to three separate lists of subversives was distorted by the media and portrayed as inconsistency by McCarthy.
- 6 - Considering Lehman’s New York constituency, he would have gained its esteem regardless . . .
- 7 - Columbia University Libraries, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, “Materials for the Study of McCarthyism at the Herbert H. Lehman Suite and Papers,” <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/web/indiv/rbml/units/lehman/guides/mccarthyism.html>
- 8 - “Herbert Henry Lehman,” Jewish Virtual Library, <http://74.125.155.132/search?q=cache:kt24GqyEyfYJ:www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/biography/lehman.html>
- 9 - Ralph E. Flanders, “Activities of Senator McCarthy—The World Crisis,” *Congressional Record—Proceedings and Debates of the 83rd Congress, Second Session* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office), March 9, 1954.
- 10 - K. R. Bolton, “Origins of the Cold War: How Stalin Foiled a ‘New World Order,’ Relevance for the Present,” *Foreign Policy Journal*, June 1, 2010, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/>
- 11 - Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: The New Press, 2000).
- 12 - Ralph E. Flanders, *Senator from Vermont* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961), pp. 179-80.
- 13 - *Time*, National Affairs: “The Dispensable Man,” August 2, 1954.
- 14 - Peter Gross, *Continuing the Inquiry*, “Basic Assumptions” (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:Uif-nS4fc30J:www.cfr.org/about/history/cfr/assumptions.html>)
- 15 - Ibid.
- 16 - Joseph R McCarthy, *America’s Retreat from Victory: The Story of George Catlett Marshall* (Boston: Western Islands, 1965), p. 57. Originally published by Devin-Adair, 1951. This book by McCarthy on how China was delivered to Mao via the USA is an example of how McCarthy’s arguments were meticulously documented.
- 17 - Laurence H. Shoup and William Minter, *Imperial Brain Trust: The Council on Foreign Relations and the United States Foreign Policy* (Lincoln, NE: Authors Choice Press, 1977), pp. 120-21.
- 18 - Ibid., p. 124.
- 19 - McCarthy, 1951, op.cit.
- 20 - Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, *Mao: The Unknown Story* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970), “Saved by Washington,” pp. 304-11.
- 21 - Carroll Quigley, *Tragedy and Hope* (New York: the MacMillan Company, 1966), p. 950.
- 22 - Robert Eringer, *The Global Manipulators* (Bristol: Pentacle Books, 1980), p. 9. Comments by Quigley to

Eringer.

23 - Quigley, op. cit, p. 954.

24 - Ibid., pp. 946-47.

25 - Peter Grosse, op. cit, "X Leads the Way."

26 - Dan Smoot, *The Invisible Government* (Dallas: The Dan Smoot Report, 1964), p. 81. Smoot, a former Harvard professor joined the FBI as a special agent. His book is one of the first exposing the CFR, and is meticulously researched.

27 - Hobart Rowan, "America's Most Powerful Private Club: How a semi-social organization of the very biggest businessmen—discretely shielded from public scrutiny—is 'advising' the government on its top policy decisions," *Harper's Magazine*, September 1960, pp. 79-84.

28 - "John J. McCloy, Lawyer and Diplomat, Is Dead at 93," *New York Times*, March 12, 1989.

29 - Wes Vernon, "McCarthy—the Censure," December 3 2007, *RenewAmerica*, <http://www.renewamerica.com/columns/vernon/071203>

30 - Ibid.

31 - Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: the CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York, The New Press, 2000).

32 - "Cord Meyer Jr., Communism Fighter at C.I.A., Dies at 80," "contemporary press report" cited by Arlington National Cemetery, *Cord Meyer Junior*, [http://74.125.155.132/search?q=cache:k\\_VSIYl\\_5rgJ:www.arlingtoncemetery.net/cordmeyer.htm](http://74.125.155.132/search?q=cache:k_VSIYl_5rgJ:www.arlingtoncemetery.net/cordmeyer.htm)

33 - "Opinion in a drawing room," *Time Magazine*, February 16, 1948. <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,794188,00.html>.

34 - "Cord Meyer Jr., Communism Fighter at C.I.A., Dies at 80," op. cit.

35 - K. R. Bolton, *Foreign Policy Journal*, op. cit.

36 - Cord Meyer, *Facing Reality: From World Federalism to the CIA*, 1980, pp.60–84.

37 - Jack Anderson, *Confessions of a Muckraker* (New York: Random House, 1979), p. 208.

38 - Susan Heller Anderson, "Helen Buttenwieser, 84, Lawyer and Civic Leader," *New York Times*, November 23, 1989, <http://www.nytimes.com/1989/11/23/obituaries/helen-buttewieser-84-lawyer-and-civic-leader.html?pagewanted=1>

39 - Deborah Davis, *Katharine the Great* (New York: Sheridan Square Press, 1991), p. 131.

40 - CFR membership lists: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/29338152/Council-on-Foreign-Relations-Brochure>

41 - Katharine Graham, *Personal History* (New York: Knopf, 1997), p. 193.

42 - "Enduring Outrage: Editorial cartoons of Herblock," Library of Congress, <http://myloc.gov/exhibitions/enduringoutrage/pages/objectlist.aspx>

43 - Library of Congress, "Herblock's History: political cartoons form the crash to the millennium," *Introduction*, <http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/swann/herblock/intro-jhb.html>

44 - Joseph P. Kamp, *How the New York Times Betrayed its Readers on "McCarthyism"* (New York: Headlines, 1954), p. 2.

45 - Ibid., 4.

46 - Ibid.

47 - Ibid.

48 - Ibid., p.5.

49 - *Times Sunday Review of Books*, July 30, 1950, p.1.

50 - Kamp, op. cit., p. 5.

51 - CFR membership lists: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/29338152/Council-on-Foreign-Relations-Brochure>

52 - E. Merrill Root, "Joe McCarthy: Why the 'Liberals' Hate Him Still," *American Opinion*, Belmont, Mass.,

March 1973, Vol. XVI, No. 3, p. 86.

53 - Ibid., pp. 87-88.

54 - Ibid., p. 88.

55 - Fred J. Cook, *The Nightmare Decade: The Life and Times of Senator Joe McCarthy* (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 537.

56 - E. Merrill Root, op. cit., p. 93.

57 - <http://www.8thandi.com/mem50.html>

58 - The reader is referred to the entries for Joseph McCarthy at the generally quite worthless *Wikipedia*, and at *Conservapedia*, the latter of which quotes the citation from Nimitz: [http://www.conservapedia.com/Joseph\\_McCarthy](http://www.conservapedia.com/Joseph_McCarthy)

## 14.

# A CONTEMPORARY EVALUATION OF FRANCIS PARKER YOCKEY

*“Thus, the Liberation Front now states to Europe its two great tasks: (1) the complete expulsion of everything alien from the soul and from the soil of Europe, the cleansing of the European soul of the dross of 19th century materialism and rationalism with its money-worship, liberal-democracy, social degeneration, parliamentarism, class-war, feminism, vertical nationalism, finance-capitalism, petty-statism, chauvinism, the Bolshevism of Moscow and Washington, the ethical syphilis of Hollywood, and the spiritual leprosy of New York; (2) the construction of the Imperium of Europe and the actualizing of the divinely-emanated European will to unlimited political Imperialism.”*

— Francis Parker Yockey<sup>1</sup>

Francis Parker Yockey (aka Ulick Varange) has enjoyed a renaissance over the course of several decades, although his thought was never permitted to die with him in a San Francisco jail in 1960 thanks to the stalwart efforts of individuals such as Willis Carto, William Pierce, and H. Keith Thompson, as well as the ongoing efforts of others such

as Michael O'Meara. Yockey has been the subject of a major biography,<sup>2</sup> and is discussed at length in Martin Lee's book on "neo-Nazism."<sup>3</sup> This writer's Renaissance Press also carries a range of Yockey materials including hitherto unpublished manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> Christian Bouchet in France carries material by and about Yockey, and Alfonso De Filippi's Italian translation of *The Proclamation of London* in a nicely bound volume is a sterling effort.<sup>5</sup>

Yockey has been criticized by some "Rightist" luminaries such as David Duke, who has stated that Willis Carto's introduction to Yockey's *magnum opus*, *Imperium*, is of more value than the work itself,<sup>6</sup> while the revisionist David McCalden stated that *Imperium* served as a good doorstop. Certainly, Yockey's philosophy does not fit neatly into the racial-nationalist paradigm of genetic reductionism. Like Oswald Spengler's epochal *Decline of the West*,<sup>7</sup> to which Yockey owed a great intellectual debt, Yockey focused on spirit and culture above and beyond genetics.

Just as Spengler was criticized by National Socialist race theorists, primarily by Alfred Rosenberg, who nonetheless conceded that *The Decline of Tthe West* was "great and good" – although by then redundant philosophically,<sup>8</sup> Yockey was not well received by American National Socialist George Lincoln Rockwell, who condemned "Yockeyism" as "dangerous" and "evil." Although James Madole of the National Renaissance Party was very much influenced by Yockey's ideas.<sup>9</sup>

Those who continue to regard Yockey's paradigm as a seminal method for analyzing events, the lasting contribution of Yockeyan philosophy is that of "cultural morphology," developing Spengler's theory of "culture as an organism," and in particular formulating the diagnostic method of "culture pathology," which includes the concepts of "culture distortion," "culture parasitism," and "culture retardation."<sup>10</sup>

Yockey's diagnostic method allows one to see beyond the surface of problems which are often otherwise reduced to simplistic formulas of White vs. Black, Christian vs. Jew, and concepts as banal as "Freedom vs. Communism," which preoccupied even the "Radical Right" of Rockwell, *et al.*; the arguments of which make for a poor showing when confronted by the pseudo-intelligentsia of the Left and its corporate allies.

It was this perspective which for example allowed Yockey to see, contra much of the rest of the “Right” during the Cold War era, why the US is ultimately a much more pervasive, subversive, and degenerative force for the destruction of Europe than a military invasion by the USSR. This is why Yockey referred to the “Bolshevism of Washington,” a phrase that much of the “Right” from Yockey’s time to our own, would find utterly incomprehensible, if not outright “evil.”

During 1948–1949, when his *Imperium* and *Proclamation* were published, Yockey still considered the twin outer enemies of Europe to be the “Bolshevism of Moscow and of Washington.” By 1952, Yockey had come to consider the latter the prime enemy. In an unsigned article in *Frontfighter* commenting on Point 5 of the European Liberation Front program, it is stated that the opposition to “the virus of Jewish Bolshevism [is] more readily understood, and therefore not as dangerous” as the “ethical syphilis of Hollywood.”<sup>11</sup>

As Yockey saw it, the primary problem with Moscow’s Bolshevism at the time was its leadership of a world colored revolt against the white world, reminiscent of Spengler’s scenario in *The Hour of Decision*.<sup>12</sup> However, Yockey, like many German war veterans such as Maj. Gen. Otto Remer, whose growing Socialist Reich Party was advocating a neutralist line during the Cold War, saw the primary danger not of a Soviet invasion of Europe but of Europe being subordinated to the US under the guise of protection from “Communism.”

*The Liberation Front does not allow Europe to be distracted by the situation of the moment, in which the two crude Bolshevisms of Washington and Moscow are preparing a Third World War. In those preparations, the Culture-retarders, the inner enemies, the liberal-communist-democrats are again at their posts: with one voice the churchills, the spaaks, the lies, the gaulles, croak that Washington is going to save Europe from Moscow, or that Moscow is going to take Europe from Washington. There is nothing to substantiate this propaganda.*<sup>13</sup>

Yockey’s reorientation towards an openly pro-Soviet position *vis-à-vis* the USA, was determined by the seminal event of the 1952 Prague Treason Trial,<sup>14</sup> which Yockey

saw as Moscow's definitive break with the "Jewish" faction within Bolshevism which had been vying for control with the Slavic faction, that at heart remained true to the soul of Russia.<sup>15</sup>

In fact, as Yockey now discerned, the breaks between Moscow and New York had proceeded immediately after World War II when Stalin declined to subordinate himself to American internationalist schemes for a new world order via the United Nations Organization and the *Baruch Plan* for the supposed "internationalization" of atomic energy, which Stalin perceived would in fact mean US control. This laid the basis for the Cold War,<sup>16</sup> despite the insistence of many on the "Right" that there was an ongoing secret alliance between Jews in Washington and Jews in Moscow to rule the world with the Cold War being a cunning plan to bamboozle the *goyim*.

Some saw through this nonsense from the start, either under Yockey's influence or based on their own perceptions of *Realpolitik*. These included the insightful staff writers at the periodical *Common Sense*, Wilmot Robertson of *Instauration*, Dr. William Pierce, and the eccentric but sincere and determined James Madole of the National Renaissance Party.<sup>17</sup>

This then was Yockey's new orientation in regard to the USSR and the USA during the Cold War:

*The treason trials in Bohemia are neither the beginning nor the end of a historical process, they are merely an unmistakable turning point. Henceforth, all must perforce reorient their policy in view of the undeniable reshaping of the world-situation. The ostrich-policy is suicide. The talk of "defense against Bolshevism" belongs now to yesterday, as does the nonsense of talking of "the defense of Europe" at a period when every inch of European soil is dominated by the deadly enemies of Europe, those who seek its political-cultural-historical extinction at all costs.*<sup>18</sup>

And further, those who sought the liberation and unity of Europe could play off the USA against the USSR; if they pursued a policy of *Realpolitik* as people such as Remer<sup>19</sup> were themselves advocating:

*Henceforth, the European elite can emerge more and more into affairs, and will*



*force the Jewish-American leadership to render back, step by step, the custody of European Destiny to Europe, its best forces, its natural, organic leadership. If the Jewish-American leaders refuse, the new leaders of Europe will threaten them with the Russian bogey. By thus playing off Russia against the Jewish-American leadership, Europe can bring about its Liberation, possibly even before the Third World War.*<sup>20</sup>

It was fatuous enough to ask Europe to fight for America, it was silly enough to ask it to “defend itself against Bolshevism” . . . . Is there one European — just one — who would respond to this war-aim? But today, openly, without any possible disguise, this is the *raison d’être* of the coalition against Russia, for Russia has named its chief enemy, its sole enemy, and the sly peasant leadership of pan-Slavs in the Kremlin is not given to frivolity in its foreign policy.

*We repeat our message to Europe: no European must ever fight except for sovereign Europe; no European must ever fight one enemy of Europe on behalf of another enemy.*<sup>21</sup>

With the publication of *The Enemy of Europe* in Germany in 1953, primarily as a manual in foreign policy for the Socialist Reich Party, Yockey talked openly of a “*new Europe-Russia Symbiosis*,” with the occupation of Europe by Russia not resulting in the Russification of Europe, but in the Westernization of Russia.<sup>22</sup>

Of course the world situation turned out radically different from what Yockey and others expected, with the implosion of the USSR and the emergence of a unipolar world under the USA. However, Yockey correctly understood cultural threat of the USA to Western Civilization, and this is his continuing relevance for analyzing the geopolitical situation.

One might say that Yockey underestimated the strength of Western culture distortion *vis-à-vis* Soviet military power. What is crucial to keep in mind that, like individuals, entire states and Civilizations will turn to the soft option, rather than face hard choices. The method used by the culture distorter is what Aldous Huxley describes as control by “pleasure,” an intoxicant that is rotting the soul of the entire world, with militant Islam as a vestige of resistance from a Fellaheen Civilization, and

Great Russia the nearest remainder to an unsullied people that might yet break “the dictatorship of money.”

The US ruling stratum is conscious of its anti-Western world revolutionary mission and deliberately promotes cultural degeneration as part of its agenda. To call the USA the “leader of the West” or any other such term, is not only a misnomer, it is a travesty; the USA is the Anti-West *par excellence*, the Great Satan, as many Muslims refer to it.

That the Soviet bloc, with its Spartan values, its martial and patriotic ethos, its “socialist realism” in the arts, was in ruins several decades after Yockey’s death, while the decadent USA emerged as the unchallenged super-power, attests to the tendency of nations – like individuals – to opt for the soft option, rather than face hard realities, despite the expectations of Yockey and also the staff of *Common Sense*, who closed up shop in the 1970s, convinced that it wouldn’t be long until the Soviets vaporized New York, thus the time for writing articles was past.<sup>23</sup>

However, if we accept Spengler’s theory of the cyclic course of civilizations, one might reasonably expect a renaissance of Russian authority and religiosity that will confront US hegemony and force Russia to face new realities and forge new alliances, especially given the scenarios for conflict that can easily arise *vis-à-vis* China and all Asia.<sup>24</sup>

However, for the moment, the US stands victorious, as the harbinger of cultural death throughout the world, spreading the “ethical syphilis of Hollywood,” the “spiritual leprosy of New York,” and the “Bolshevism of Washington,” which outlasted the “Bolshevism of Moscow.”

### **Yockey and Huxley on “Soft” Totalitarianism**

Understanding Yockey’s views of American “ethical syphilis” and “spiritual leprosy” is aided by a familiarity of Aldous Huxley’s 1932 novel *Brave New World*.<sup>25</sup> Huxley was much more prescient than Orwell and quite precisely described how “world controllers” would impose a global dictatorship not by force of arms, but by

the slavery of “pleasure.” The ready availability of sex and drugs would be used to create a narcotized society where everyone is happy with his servile lot. Appraising *Brave New World* in 1958, Huxley described the regime as:

*. . . a world-state in which war has been eliminated and where the first aim of the rulers is at all cost to keep their subjects from making trouble. This they achieve by (among other methods) legalizing a degree of sexual freedom (made possible by the abolition of family) that practically guarantees the Brave New Worlders against any form of destructive (or creative) emotional tension.*<sup>26</sup>

*In 1984 the lust for power is satisfied by inflicting pain; in Brave New World, by inflicting a hardly less humiliating pleasure.*<sup>27</sup>

A drug called “Soma” maintains social conditioning. Huxley calls this drugged state “not a private vice” but “a political institution.”[28]

*It was the very essence of Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. But this most precious of the subjects’ inalienable privileges was at the same time one of the most powerful instruments of rule in the dictator’s armory. The systematic drugging of the individuals for the benefit of the State . . . was a main plank in the policy of the World Controllers . . .*<sup>29</sup>

In *Brave New World*, population control is enforced and non-reproductive sex, including mass orgies, or “orgy-porgys” where participants go into a frenzy induced by narcotics and repetitive rhythms.<sup>30</sup> These orgies also serve as religious rites or “solidarity” events.

Yockey had a similar understanding of the workings of soft totalitarianism. In *The Proclamation of London*, he writes:

*The degradation of social life did not merely happen, it was planned, deliberately fostered and spread, and the systematic undermining of the entire life of the West continues today.*

*The instruments of this assault and the weapons of propaganda, press, radio, cinema, stage, education. These weapons are controlled at this moment in Europe almost entirely by the forces of Culture-disease and social degeneration.*

*The “chief fount” is Hollywood, which “spews forth an endless series of perverted films to debase and degenerate the youth of Europe” after having successfully destroyed the youth of America.<sup>31</sup>*

Concomitantly “a vicious literature” promotes the “destruction of healthy individual instincts, of normal familial and sexual life, of disintegration of the social organism into a heap of wandering, colliding, grains of human sand.”

*The message of Hollywood is the total, significance of the isolated individual, stateless and rootless, outside of society and family, whose life is the pursuit of money and erotic pleasure. It is not the normal and healthy love of man and wife bound together by many children that Hollywood preaches, but a diseased erotic-for-its-own sake, the sexual love of two grains of human sand, superficial and impermanent. Before this highest of all Hollywood’s values everything else must stand aside: marriage, honor, duty, patriotism, sternness dedication to self to a higher aim. This ghastly distortion of sexual life has created the erotomaia that obsesses millions of victims in America, and which has now been brought to the Mother-soil of Europe by the American invasion.<sup>32</sup>*

Keep in mind that Yockey was writing this in 1948, not last month, or even a decade ago. We now look back on the era Yockey was describing with such misgivings and consider it a time of innocence and purity in comparison to our own. Who can deny that this process of “social degeneration” has multiplied beyond the ability to calculate?

Yockey also wrote of the rise of “feminism” at a time when we would now barely recognize any such thing as “feminism” in comparison to our own day:

*Hollywood-feminism has created a woman who is no longer a woman but cannot be a man, and a man who is devirilized into an indeterminate thing. The name given to this process is “the setting from” of woman and it is done in the name of “happiness,” the magic word of the liberal-communist-democratic doctrine.<sup>33</sup>*

Yockey died on the eve of the 1960s with its manufactured “cultural revolution.” Yet he surely would have regarded the counter culture’s sexual liberation, feminism, and

drug use not as a “revolution” against the US establishment, but merely as a phase of its pursuit of world domination through the destruction of traditional culture and morals.

### **The Cultural Cold War**

The origins and implementation of the strategy can now be historically traced with great precision. The seeds of the 1960s were planted as early as 1949, at the start of the Cold War, when Stalin gave the first indications that he was not going to continue the wartime alliance as a subordinate partner in a United Nations-based World State.

The CIA, with funding from the Rockefellers and the like, gathered a gaggle of old Trotskyites, Mensheviks, and other Leftists disaffected with Stalin’s uncouth Slavic “Bolshevism.” The result was the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) under the direction of “lifelong Menshevik” Prof. Sidney Hook (who would be awarded the Medal of Freedom by Pres. Reagan, for services to US hegemony), along with his old mentor Dr John Dewey,<sup>34</sup> and luminaries such as Bertrand Russell (who once advocated a pre-emptive nuclear strike on the USSR to ensure “world peace”), Stephen Spender, and Arthur Koestler. “Counter-culture rebels” recruited by the US Establishment at the same time included Gloria Steinem<sup>35</sup> and Timothy Leary.<sup>36</sup>

The founding conference of the CCF was held at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in 1949, as a provocation to a Soviet-sponsored peace conference at the Waldorf supported by a number of American literati. The CIA article on this states:

*A handful of liberal and socialist writers, led by philosophy professor Sidney Hook, saw their chance to steal a little of the publicity expected for the [pro-Soviet] Waldorf peace conference. A fierce ex-Communist [should read anti-Stalinist] himself, Hook was then teaching at New York University and editing a socialist magazine called The New Leader. Ten years earlier he and his mentor John Dewey had founded a controversial group called the Committee for Cultural Freedom, which attacked both Communism and Nazism. He now organized a similar committee to harass the peace conference in the Waldorf-*

*Astoria.*<sup>37</sup>

Through the CCF, the CIA was able to control much of the cultural life of the West during the Cold War era, and subsidized influential magazines such as *Encounter*.<sup>[38]</sup>

When the CCF was shut down after the implosion of the Soviet bloc, other institutions were established, this time under private auspices, including in particular the Soros network<sup>39</sup> and the National Endowment for Democracy, the latter another collaboration between neo-Trotskyites,<sup>40</sup> the US Government, and neo-conservatives; both Soros and NED working in tandem to create revolutions, much like the manipulated “youth revolts” of the 1960s, to install regimes favorably disposed to globalization and privatization, especially in the former Soviet bloc.

The cultural front remains pivotal to the expansion of American global hegemony, the spreading of cultural pathology being far more insidious and intrusive than bombs or even debt, as Yockey was among the first to warn, while much of the rest of the “Right” including Rockwell’s American Nazis aligned themselves with the US Establishment *vis-à-vis* the USSR and American hegemony.

While America sought to export its lethal “culture” in the form of jazz and Abstract Expressionism, to cite two primary examples, Stalin condemned “rootless cosmopolitanism” and was thus fully aware of the consequences of America’s cultural exports. Indeed “Abstract Expressionism” became the *de facto* “state art” of the American regime of the “culture distorters,” just as “socialist realism” was the *de jure* state art of the USSR.

Abstract Expressionism was the first specifically so-called “American” art movement. Jackson Pollock, the central figure, was sponsored by the Congress for Cultural Freedom. He had worked in the Federal Artist’s Project, 1938–42, along with other Leftist artists, painting murals under Roosevelt’s New Deal regime, or what Yockey called the second “1933 Revolution.”<sup>41</sup> Abstract Expressionism became the primary artistic strategy of the Cold War offensive against the “socialist realism” sponsored by the USSR from the time of Stalin. As in much else, Stalin reversed the original Bolshevik tendencies in the arts, which had been experimental and, as one would expect from Marxism, anti-traditional.<sup>42</sup> On the other hand, Social Realism,

which had been the popular American art form until the 1930s, was by the late 1940s being displaced as art critics and wealthy patrons began to promote the Abstract Expressionists.<sup>43</sup>

Many of the theorists, patrons, and practitioners of Abstract Expressionism were Trotskyists or other anti-Stalinist Leftists, who were to become the most ardent Cold Warriors. Modernist art during the Cold War became a factor in the USA's world revolution. In 1947 the US State Department organized a modernist exhibition called "Advancing American Art" which was intended for Europe and Latin America, reaching as far as Prague.<sup>44</sup>

The two individuals who did most to promote Abstract Expressionism were art critic Clement Greenberg and wealthy artist and art historian Robert Motherwell<sup>45</sup> who was vigorous in propagandizing on the subject. Greenberg was a New York Trotskyite and a long-time art critic for *The Partisan Review* and *The Nation*. He had first come to the attention of the art world with his article in *The Partisan Review*, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch" in 1939,<sup>46</sup> in which he stated that art was a propaganda medium, and condemned the socialist realism of Stalinist Russia and the *volkisch* art of Hitler's Germany.<sup>47</sup>

Greenberg was a particular enthusiast for Jackson Pollock, and in a 1955 essay "American Type Painting,"<sup>48</sup> he lauded Abstract Expressionism and its proponents as the next stage of modernism. Greenberg considered that after World War II the US had become the guardian of "advanced art," just as others were to regard America as the only genuine vehicle for a "world revolution" as a stage for world socialism, as opposed to the USSR.

Greenberg became a founding member of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom (ACCF)<sup>49</sup> and was involved with "executive policymaking."<sup>50</sup> He continued his support for the CCF even after the 1966 exposé by the *NY Times* and *Ramparts* that the CCF and magazines such as *Encounter* had been sponsored by the CIA. Typical of a good Trotskyite, he continued to work for the US State Department and the US Department of Information.<sup>51</sup>

Another key institution in the service of culture distortion is the Rockefeller

dynasty's Museum of Modern Art. John J. Whitney, formerly of the US Government's Psychological Strategy Board, was a trustee of the Museum, and he supported Pollock and other modernists.<sup>52</sup>

Note the connection with psychological warfare. William Burden, who joined the museum as chairman of its Advisory Committee in 1940, worked with Nelson Rockefeller's Latin American Department during the war. Burden had been president of the CIA's Farfield Foundation which channeled funds to sundry fronts and lackeys; and in 1947 he was appointed chairman of the Committee on Museum Collections, and in 1956 as MoMA's president.<sup>53</sup> Other corporate trustees of MoMA were William Paley of CBS, and Henry Luce of Time-Life Inc. both of whom assisted the CIA.<sup>54</sup> Joseph Reed, Gardner Cowles, Junkie Fleischmann, and Cass Canfield were all simultaneously trustees of MoMA and of the CIA's Farfield Foundation. There were numerous other connections between the CIA and the museum, including that of Tom Braden, who had been executive secretary of the museum through 1947–1949 before joining the CIA.<sup>55</sup>

In 1952 MoMA launched its world revolution of Abstract Expressionism via the International Program which had a five year annual grant of \$125,000 from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, under the direction of Porter McCray, who had also worked with Nelson's Latin American Department, and in 1950 as an attaché of the cultural section of the US Foreign Service.<sup>56</sup> Russell Lynes, writing of this period stated that MoMA now had the entire world to "proselytize" with what he called "the exportable religion" of Abstract Expressionism.<sup>57</sup>

\* \* \*

Communism is gone, but the cultural Cold War continues, now packaged as the "liberation" of states deemed not suitably "democratic." America has its own version of Trotsky's "permanent revolution" which US strategists call "constant conflict." Maj. Ralph Peters, a prominent military strategist, formerly with the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence, appears to have coined the term. Peters has



written of this in an article by that name. Peters' statements definitively show "culture distortion" to be a contrived strategy for global domination; he reminds us that the regime of the culture distorter now has at its disposal technology far more powerful and pervasive than the cinema and literature of Yockey's time:

*We have entered an age of constant conflict. . . .*

*We are entering a new American century, in which we will become still wealthier, culturally more lethal, and increasingly powerful. We will excite hatreds without precedent.*

*Information destroys traditional jobs and traditional cultures; it seduces, betrays, yet remains invulnerable. How can you counterattack the information others have turned upon you? There is no effective option other than competitive performance. For those individuals and cultures that cannot join or compete with our information empire, there is only inevitable failure. . . . The attempt of the Iranian mullahs to secede from modernity has failed, although a turbaned corpse still stumbles about the neighborhood. Information, from the internet to rock videos, will not be contained, and fundamentalism cannot control its children. Our victims volunteer.[58]*

Peters is stating that this "global information empire" led by the USA is "historically inevitable." This "historical inevitability" is classic Marx, just as "constant conflict" is classic Trotsky. This is a "cultural revolution," which is buttressed by American firepower. Peter continues:

*It is fashionable among world intellectual elites to decry "American culture," with our domestic critics among the loudest in complaint. But traditional intellectual elites are of shrinking relevance, replaced by cognitive-practical elites—figures such as Bill Gates, Steven Spielberg, Madonna, or our most successful politicians—human beings who can recognize or create popular appetites, recreating themselves as necessary. **Contemporary American culture is the most powerful in history, and the most destructive of competitor cultures.** While some other cultures, such as those of East Asia, appear strong enough to survive the onslaught by adaptive behaviors, most are not. The*

*genius, the secret weapon, of American culture is the essence that the elites despise: ours is the first genuine people's culture. It stresses comfort and convenience—ease—and it generates pleasure for the masses. We are Karl Marx's dream, and his nightmare. (Emphasis added).*

Peters' zealous messianic prophecies for the "American Century" are reminiscent of Huxley's *Brave New World* where the masses are kept in servitude not by physical force but by mindless narcosis, by addiction to the puerile, everything that is, in a word, "American" since the "Second American Revolution of 1933." Peters continues:

*Secular and religious revolutionaries in our century have made the identical mistake, imagining that the workers of the world or the faithful just can't wait to go home at night to study Marx or the Koran. Well, Joe Sixpack, Ivan Tipichni, and Ali Quat would rather "Baywatch." America has figured it out, and we are brilliant at operationalizing our knowledge, **and our cultural power will hinder even those cultures we do not undermine.** There is no "peer competitor" in the cultural (or military) department. **Our cultural empire has the addicted—men and women everywhere—clamoring for more. And they pay for the privilege of their disillusionment.** (Emphasis added).*

The "constant conflict" is one of world Cultural Revolution, with the armed forces used as backup against any reticent state, as in the cases of Serbia and Iraq. The world is therefore to be kept in a state of flux, with a lack of permanence, which Peters' calls Americas' "strength," as settled traditional modes of life do not accord with the aim of industrial, technical, and economic Darwinian linear historical "progress without end." Peters continues:

*There will be no peace. At any given moment for the rest of our lifetimes, there will be multiple conflicts in mutating forms around the globe. Violent conflict will dominate the headlines, **but cultural and economic struggles will be steadier and ultimately more decisive.** The *de facto* role of the US armed forces will be to keep the world safe for our economy and open to our cultural assault. To those ends, we will do a fair amount of killing. (Emphasis added).*

Peters refers to certain cultures trying to reassert their traditions, and again emphasizes

that this universal culture distortion that is being imposed is one of Huxleyan “infectious pleasure.” The historical inevitability is re-emphasized, as the “rejectionist” (sic) regimes will be consigned to what in Trotsky’s term is the “dustbin of history.” What Yockey called “culture distortion” is even more forcefully described by Peters as an “infection.”

*Yes, foreign cultures are reasserting their threatened identities—usually with marginal, if any, success—and yes, they are attempting to escape our influence. **But American culture is infectious, a plague of pleasure, and you don’t have to die of it to be hindered or crippled in your integrity or competitiveness.** The very struggle of other cultures to resist American cultural intrusion fatefully diverts their energies from the pursuit of the future. We should not fear the advent of fundamentalist or rejectionist regimes. They are simply guaranteeing their peoples’ failure, while further increasing our relative strength. (Emphasis added).*

Michael Ledeen (formerly a consultant with the US National Security Council, State Department and Defense Department, now with the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, another outfit that works for “regime change”) in similar terms to that of Peters, calls on the USA to fulfill its “historic mission” of “exporting the democratic revolution” throughout the world. Like Peters, Ledeen predicates this world revolution as a necessary part of the “war on terrorism,” but emphasizes also that “world revolution” is the “historic mission” of the USA and always has been. Writing in the “neo-conservative” *National Review*, Ledeen states:

*. . . [W]e are the one truly revolutionary country in the world, as we have been for more than 200 years. Creative destruction is our middle name. **We do it automatically,** and that is precisely why the tyrants hate us, and are driven to attack us. (Emphasis added).*

Like Peters, Ledeen is affirming a fundamental principle of cultural morphology as the study of the life of a *culture as an organism*, when he refers to the “destructive mission” of America as being something that it does “automatically” (sic); that is to say, that it is the innate characteristic of the American cultural organism to behave in

such a manner; an inner organic imperative.

Freedom is our most lethal weapon, and the oppressed peoples of the fanatic regimes are our greatest assets. They need to hear and see that we are with them, and that the Western mission is to set them free, under leaders who will respect them and preserve their freedom.

Ledeen refers to a mission, hence it is seen in such quarters as being of a messianic nature, but of course Ledeen like all other apologists for the global hegemony of culture distortion describes this as a “Western mission,”(sic) which is a complete misnomer, and one calculated to deceive, just like the USA was heralded as the leader of the “Western world” in opposing “communism” during the Cold War when in fact its strategy was to spread Bolshevism in its most destructive — Trotskyite — sense.<sup>59</sup> Ledeen refers to the exporting of revolution as one would think an old Trot die-hard would exhort, yet he claims to speak for American “conservatism,” a phenomenon that Yockey would describe as being an element of “Culture retardation,” of a bankrupt “leadership” stratum, in a nominal sense, that becomes the hireling of the culture-distorter. American neo-conservatism, it should be noted, is itself being a metamorphosis of Trotskyism that had undergone an alchemical change in the distillery of Cold War anti-Stalinism.<sup>60</sup>

Ledeen refers hence in Bolshevik terms to exporting a “democratic revolution” and gives credit to the American regime for having toppled both the Soviet bloc and White rule in South Africa, regimes that in their own way were anachronisms in the “new world order” and therefore had to be removed, as in the case of the Islamic states today, in the interests of what crypto-Mason George H. W. Bush overtly termed the “new world order” in direct reference to the first war against Iraq. Note Ledeen mentions America’s “historic mission” and American’s “revolutionary burden,” again messianic expressions reflecting the same mentality as Marx and Trotsky, and as if to confirm the nature of this mission Ledeen pointedly uses the term “*chutzpah*” to describe the outlook of the American neo-messianists.

*. . . [I]t is time once again to export the democratic revolution. To those who say it cannot be done, we need only point to the 1980s, when we led a global*

*democratic revolution that toppled tyrants from Moscow to Johannesburg. Then, too, the smart folks said it could not be done, and they laughed at Ronald Reagan's chutzpah when he said that the Soviet tyrants were done for, and called on the West to think hard about the post-Communist era. We destroyed the Soviet Empire, and then walked away from our great triumph in the Third World War of the Twentieth Century. As I sadly wrote at that time, when America abandons its historic mission, our enemies take heart, grow stronger, and eventually begin to kill us again. And so they have, forcing us to take up our revolutionary burden, and bring down the despotic regimes that have made possible the hateful events of the 11th of September."*<sup>61</sup>

American palaeo-conservative, Joseph Sobran, remarked in 2001 of this world situation that:

*Anti-Americanism is no longer a mere fad of Marxist university students; it's a profound reaction of traditional societies against a **corrupt and corrupting modernization that is being imposed on them, by both violence and seduction.** Confronted with today's America, then, the Christian Arab finds himself in unexpected sympathy with his Muslim enemy."*[62] (Emphasis added).

The "Bolshevism of Washington" can today just as easily be called "neo-conservatism." While this might seem a paradox, even an absurdity, the nature of this can be readily understood by those who have the higher perspective provided by Yockeyan cultural morphology, which refers to the spirit or inner imperative of doctrines, rather than superficialities. "Bolshevism" in such a context might be used to describe anything of an organically destructive nature involving manipulation of the masses. Hence Yockey saw the "democratic" principles of America as fundamentally communistic, both being forms of materialism arising from the same 19th-century *Zeitgeist*:

*The leading values of communism are identical with those of liberal democracy. . . . The sole difference between liberal-democracy and communism in practice was that communism was an intensification of those beliefs where they became political . . .*<sup>63</sup>

The American apologists for global hegemony who now call the same principles that were inaugurated by the “1933 Revolution,”<sup>64</sup> “neo-conservatism,” often indeed come from a Bolshevik or a Menshevik background, as distinct from — indeed antithetical — to what the American philosopher Paul Gottfried has coined “palaeoconservatism.” The “neo-conservative” movement had major input from Trotskyism, often via the Congress for Cultural Freedom, and has remained basically neo-Trotskyite. I have attempted to trace this back from the Trotsky-Stalin split or what Yockey early perceived as a dichotomy of Slavic Bolshevism versus Jewish Bolshevism, through to factions within the American Left led by CIA operative Sidney Hook, and in particular by the Trotskyite factionalist Max Shachtman, these tendencies within the American Left becoming so obsessed with opposing Stalinism that they ended up providing the basis for Cold War ideology and operations, which have been transformed into other methods for the post-Soviet era, continuing to spread what is called the “global democratic revolution.”<sup>65</sup> Indeed not only did Hook and Shachtman end up supporting Cold War US strategy, so did Trotsky’s widow Natalia Sedova, who broke with the Fourth International and commended the USA for its actions in Korea, while positing, like Shachtman, the USSR as being the primary obstacle to world socialism.<sup>66</sup>

From this background emerged the previously mentioned National Endowment for Democracy, taking the place of the redundant Congress for Cultural Freedom in the aftermath of the Cold War, to continue the “Bolshevism of Washington” in new directions. This was founded in 1983 by Shachtmanite Tom Kahn of the AFL-CIO, who had developed a network of contacts with social democrats throughout the Soviet bloc, Africa, and Latin America. Another Shachtmanite, Carl Gershman, became the first president in 1984, and was a founder of the Social Democrats USA. The NED was introduced to Congress by George Agree, and thus gets Congressional funding for its world revolutionary operations.<sup>67</sup>

When Yockey published *Imperium* in 1948 he viewed Russia as alien to and incompatible with the Western cultural organism and thus as an “outer enemy,”<sup>68</sup> a view that persisted in his final essay, “The World in Flames: An Estimate of the World Situation,” written in 1960, the year of his death. Yockey continued to advocate a

neutralist position for Europe in the event of a US-Russian conflict, although had long considered Russian occupation of Europe to be less damaging to the cultural organism than the US occupation, and saw the possibility of Westernising a Russian occupier. He saw the increase in neutralist states as one of the few positive development in the world situation, and in particular the rise of Arab Nationalism, at that time epitomized by “a great and vigorous man,” Nasser.<sup>69</sup> He saw a resurgent Islam as providing a bloc that diminished World Zionism without augmenting “Russian-Chinese power.” Here Yockey was significantly in error in seeing China-Russia as a bloc. There was no Sino-Soviet bloc during Yockey’s time, and there is not one now, despite a temporary pragmatic alliance. The US and China will more likely form a bloc to contain Russia, just as they did during the 1970s. Such a conclusion is within the scope of cultural morphology, although the Russo-Chinese conflict only became apparent shortly after Yockey’s death.<sup>70</sup>

However, as with the emergence of Islam, Yockey also saw that a Latin American bloc would likewise pose a nuisance to plutocracy, and he used the example of Cuba at that time. In recent years Chavez’s Venezuela has actively encouraged the formation of a Bolivarian bloc across Latin America, while repudiating both the USA and Zionism, and significantly has the support of Russia in doing so.<sup>71</sup>

Russia is pregnant with possibilities, and retains the only semblance of a “barbarian horde” with the cleansing power to sweep away the filth of decay that pervades the “West” in its cycle of decline. Russia continues to show itself impervious to “democracy” despite the hapless efforts of the “culture retarders” Gorbechev and Yeltsin. The Russian is eternally a “peasant” as Yockey stated, immune from the decadence of the megalopolis. The way the Russian regime deals with oligarchs is a sign of cultural health. While an organic Russo-Western Civilization may or may not be possible, such a conception is not unheard of, De Gaulle proposing a “united Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals”<sup>72</sup> while another French geopolitical thinker, Olivier Vedrine, considers in contrast to Yockey, Russia to be “European,” calling for a united front.<sup>73</sup> The world situation as it now stands has changed since Yockey’s time, but Yockey’s analytical method remains legitimate, even if it leads to conclusions regarding Russia, China, and the US that differ from Yockey’s own. But, as his

reaction to the 1952 Prague Treason Trial shows, Yockey was above all a realist who was able to radically revise his thinking based on changing circumstances.

## Notes:

- 1 - Francis Parker Yockey, *Proclamation of London of the European Liberation Front* (London: Westropa Press, 1949), 29.
- 2 - Kevin Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day: Francis Parker Yockey and the Post-War Fascist International* (New York: Autonomedia, 1999).
- 3 - Martin Lee, *The Beast Reawakens* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1997).
- 4 - Yockey: *Four Essays 1939–1960*; *Frontfighter* newsletter; *Yockey/Thompson letters to Dean Acheson*, 1952; *America's Two Ways of Waging War*, 1952; *America's Two Political Factions*, 1952; *Yockey FBI Report*, 1953; *Varange — life and thoughts of Yockey*, K. Bolton, Biography of Yockey drawing from FBI and Intelligence files, newspaper accounts of his capture and death, rare typewritten MSS of Yockey; *Imperium; Enemy of Europe; Proclamation of London*. ([www.freewebs.com/renaissancepress](http://www.freewebs.com/renaissancepress)).
- 5 - Yockey, *Il Proclama di Londra*, trans. Alfonso De Filippi (Genoa, 2005).
- 6 - David Duke, *My Awakening* (Louisiana: Free Speech Press, 1999), 474.
- 7 - Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, trans. Charles Francis Atkinson, 2 vols. (London: Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1971).
- 8 - Alfred Rosenberg, *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* (California: Noontide Press, 1982), 247.
- 9 - Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day*, 508–11. Madole published Yockey's "Prague Treason Trial" and other essays, and was under the influence of Fred Weiss, a German World War I veteran living in the USA, who was closely associated with both H. K. Thompson and Yockey. (Thompson to Bolton, personal correspondence; also Coogan, *ibid.*)
- 10 - Yockey, *Imperium*, "Cultural Vitalism: (B) Culture Pathology," 367–439. For a very brief summary of these concepts see: Yockey, *The Proclamation of London*, 12–13.
- 11 - "What the Front is fighting for?," Point 5, *Frontfighter*, #23, April 1952.
- 12 - Oswald Spengler, *The Hour of Decision* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), "The Coloured World Revolution," 204–30. In this chapter many later Yockeyan themes can be found, including even the concept of a "white Imperium," and the repudiation of biological "race purity." Spengler saw "class war" and "race war" as joining together against the West.
- 13 - Yockey, *Proclamation of London*, 30.
- 14 - Yockey, "Prague Treason Trial, What is behind the hanging of eleven Jews in Prague?," (Published in *Yockey: Four Essays*, New Jersey: Nordland Press, 1971) 1952. According to "DTK" in the foreword to *Yockey: Four Essays*, Yockey supporters in the USA circulated the MS as a mimeographed "press release" dated December 20, 1952.
- 15 - K. R. Bolton, "Francis Parker Yockey: Stalin's Fascist Advocate," *International Journal of Russian Studies*, no. 2, 2010, <http://www.radtr.net/dergi/sayi6/bolton6.htm>
- 16 - K. R. Bolton, "Origins of the Cold War: How Stalin Foiled a New World Order: Relevance for the Present," *Foreign Policy Journal*, May 31, 2010, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2010/05/31/origins-of-the-cold-war-how-stalin-foild-a-new-world-order/all/1>
- 17 - K. R. Bolton, *Cold War Axis: The Influence of Soviet Anti-Zionism on the American Extreme Right* (Renaissance Press, 2009).
- 18 - Yockey, "Prague Treason Trial," 3.
- 19 - Martin Lee, *The Beast Reawakens*, 74. The USSR regarded the Socialist Reich Party as a better option



than the Communist Party, and funds were dispensed accordingly.

20 - Ibid., 7–8.

21 - Ibid., 8–9.

22 - Francis Parker Yockey and Revilo P. Oliver, *The Enemy of Europe* [Yockey], *The Enemy of My Enemies* [Oliver] (Reedy, West Virginia: Liberty Bell Publications, 1981), 83.

23 - “The End of the Trail,” *Common Sense*, May 15, 1972. Much insightful political writing was published in *Common Sense*, and numerous articles have been reprinted as booklets available from this writer.

24 - K. R. Bolton, “Russia and China: an approaching conflict?,” *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, vol. 34, no., 2, Summer 2009.

25 - Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1969).

26 - Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World Revisited* (Britain: Harper and Row, 1958), 26–27.

27 - *Brave New World Revisited*, 27.

28 - *Brave New World Revisited*, ch. 8, “Chemical Persuasion.”

29 - *Brave New World Revisited*.

30 - *Brave New World*, ch. 5.

31 - Yockey, “Social Degeneration,” *Proclamation of London*, 14.

32 - *Proclamation of London*

33 - *Proclamation of London*, 14–15.

34 - Hook and Dewey had in 1937 established a so-called commission of inquiry to investigate the Moscow Trials against Trotskyites, for the purpose of white-washing Trotsky under the guise of a neutral judicial inquiry. However, one of the commissioners, Carleton Beals, one of the party that went with Dewey, et al. to Mexico to question Trotsky, resigned in disgust, labeling the inquiry “Trotsky’s pink tea party.” C. Beals, “The Fewer Outsiders the Better: The Pink Tea Party Trials,” *Saturday Evening Post*, June 12, 1937.

35 - On Steinem and the CIA manipulation of the National Students’ Association see Tom Hayden, *Reunion: A Memoir* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1989), 36–39. Gloria Steinem the seminal feminist was an Establishment creation.

36 - Leary was the perfect CIA/Establishment lackey, a mouthpiece for the System-invented psychedelic generation. Journalist Mark Riebling posed the question: “Was the Sixties rebellion a Government Plot?” in Mark Riebling, “Tinker, Tailor, Stoner, Spy: Was Timothy Leary a CIA Agent? Was JFK the ‘Manchurian Candidate’? Was the Sixties Revolution Really a Government Plot?,” <http://home.dti.net/lawserv/leary.html>

37 - Central Intelligence Agency, “Cultural Cold War: Origins of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, 1949–50.

38 - Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: The New Press, 1999).

39 - The Soros networks support the legalization of narcotics and the promotion of feminism, including liberalized abortion, in states that maintain a vestige of tradition and therefore pose a stumbling block to globalization. The former Soviet bloc is a particular target for Soros subversion. One such Soros front is the Drug Policy Alliance Network, which includes Establishment luminaries such as George Schultz, Paul Volcker, Vaclav Havel, and Soros himself. Drug Policy Alliance Network, About DPA Network, <http://www.drugpolicy.org/about/>

40 - The National Endowment for Democracy was the brainchild of Trotskyite Tom Kahn. See below.

41 - Yockey, “The American Revolution of 1933,” *Imperium*, 492–501.

42 - See the wailing about this in Trotsky’s *The Revolution Betrayed*.

43 - K. R. Bolton, “The Art of ‘Rootless Cosmopolitanism’: America’s Offensive Against Civilisation,” in *The Radical Tradition: Philosophy, Metapolitics & Revolution in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Troy Southgate (New Zealand: Primordial Traditions, forthcoming).

- 44 - *The Cultural Cold War*, 256.
- 45 - "Motherwell was a member of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom," the US branch of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, as was Jackson Pollock (*The Cultural Cold War*, 276). Both *Partisan Review* editors Philip Rahv and William Phillips became members of the American committee of the CCF (*The Cultural Cold War*, 158).
- 46 - Clement Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," *Partisan Review* 6, no. 5 (1939): 34–49. The essay can be read at: <http://www.sharecom.ca/greenberg/kitsch.html>
- 47 - Bolton, "The Art of 'Rootless Cosmopolitanism.'"
- 48 - Clement Greenberg, "American Type Painting," *Partisan Review*, Spring 1955.
- 49 - John O'Brien, "Introduction," *The Collected Essays and Criticism of Clement Greenberg* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), vol. 3, xxvii.
- 50 - *The Collected Essays and Criticism of Clement Greenberg*, vol. 3, xxviii.
- 51 - *The Collected Essays and Criticism of Clement Greenberg*, vol. 3, xxviii.
- 52 - *The Cultural Cold War*, 263.
- 53 - *The Cultural Cold War*, 263.
- 54 - *The Cultural Cold War*, 262. Luce's *Life* magazine featured Jackson Pollock in its August 1949 issue, making Pollock a household name (*The Cultural Cold War*, 267).
- 55 - *The Cultural Cold War*, 263.
- 56 - *The Cultural Cold War*, 267.
- 57 - Russell Lynes, *Good Old Modern Art: An Intimidate Portrait of the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Atheneum, 1973), cited by Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War*, 267.
- 58 - Ralph Peters, "Constant Conflict," *Parameters*, Summer 1997, 4–14. <http://www.usamhi.army.mil/USAWC/Parameters/97summer/peters.htm>
- 59 - K. R. Bolton, "America's 'World Revolution:' Neo-Trotskyite Foundations of US Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy Journal*, May 3, 2010. <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2010/05/03/americas-world-revolution-neo-trotskyist-foundations-of-u-s-foreign-policy/>
- 60 - K. R. Bolton, "America's 'World Revolution.'"
- 61 - Michael Ledeen, "Creative Destruction: How to Wage a Revolutionary War," *National Review* online, September 20, 2001. <http://old.nationalreview.com/contributors/ledeen092001.shtml>
- 62 - Joe Sobran, conservative Catholic columnist, "Why?," *SOBRAN'S — The Real News of the Month*, vol. 8, no. 11 (November 2001).
- 63 - Yockey, "Proclamation of London," 13.
- 64 - Couldn't it be considered that it was with Woodrow Wilson that the "American Revolution" was inaugurated?
- 65 - As President Bush referred to it in 1983 before a conference of the NED, when stating that just as the Soviet bloc had been "liberated" under Reagan, he would inaugurate the "liberation" of the Muslim world. Fred Barbash, "Bush: Iraq Part of 'Global Democratic Revolution': Liberation of Middle East Portrayed as Continuation of Reagan's Policies," *Washington Post*, November 6, 2003.
- 66 - Natalia Sedova Trotsky, May 9, 1951, Mexico City, letter to the leadership of the Fourth International and the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, Labor Action of June 17, 1951. <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/socialistvoice/natalia38.html>
- 67 - Bolton, "America's 'World Revolution.'"
- 68 - *Imperium*, 586.
- 69 - Yockey, "The World in Flames: An Estimate of the World Situation," VI.
- 70 - Bolton, "Russian and China: An Approaching Conflict."
- 71 - Bolton, "An ANZAC-Indo-Russian Alliance? Geopolitical Alternatives for Australia and New Zealand,"

*India Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 2 (August 2010), 188.

72 - Yockey regarded De Gaulle as a “cretin” yet saw him as embodying the European desire for neutrality, and stated that “an idiot might save Europe,” having “accidentally alighted” upon this “spiritual force.” Yockey, “The World In Flames,” VI.

73 - Olivier Vedrine, “Russia is indeed a European country,” September 2009. Cited by Bolton, *India Quarterly*, 188–89.

## 15.

# **GERMAN NATIONALIST JEWS DURING THE WEIMAR AND EARLY THIRD REICH ERAS**

The presence of many Germans of Jewish descent in the German armed forces of the Third Reich comes as a revelation to many. The recent book *Hitler's Jewish Soldiers: The Untold Story of Nazi Racial Laws and Men of Jewish Descent in the German Military*,<sup>1</sup> by Bryan Mark Rigg, shows that up to 150,000 part-Jews fought for the Third Reich, including some of high rank.

These part-Jews or *Mischlinge* were part of a graduated classification of those of Jewish descent under the Reich Citizenship Law, which determined to what extent Jewish heritage affected one's rights under the National Socialist regime. The designation of several types of *Mischlinge* was proclaimed in 1935. Half-Jews who did not follow Judaism or who were not married to a Jewish person on September 15, 1935, were classified as *Mischlinge* of the first degree. One-quarter-Jews were *Mischlinge* of the second degree. While the Yellow Star of David was required to be worn by Jews after September 14, 1941, *Mischlinge* were exempt.<sup>2</sup>

However, less recognized than the *Mischlinge* and Hitler's so-called "Jewish soldiers" were the Jews, including many World War I Jewish veterans, who were

German nationalists.

### **Marxists and Zionists Were Aberrations among German Jews**

German Jews were the most assimilated of Europe's Jewish populations. Most identified themselves entirely with the German nation, people, and culture.<sup>3</sup> Jews who were Marxists and subversives of other types, disparaging not only Germany, but also traditional morality, were among the most conspicuous and vocal of Germany's Jews. Hence, they were ready subjects for the anti-Semitic writers and agitators in Germany who could point to Jews being in the forefront of a myriad of anti-German movements and ideologies that proliferated especially in the aftermath of World War I.

Many Jews fought with distinction during World War I. Of the 96,000 Jews who fought in the Germany army, 10,000 were volunteers. 35,000 Jews were decorated, and 23,000 were promoted. Among the 168 Jews who volunteered as flyers, Lieutenant D R Frankl received the Pour le mérite. Twelve thousand Jewish soldiers died in combat.<sup>4</sup> It is from among such Jews that a new seldom-recognized German-Jewish nationalist movement emerged.

The prominent Jewish businessman and foreign minister (1922) Walther Rathenau urged German Jews to become German and "not to follow the flag of their philo-Semitic protectors any longer." There should be "the conscious self-education and adaptation of the Jews to the expectations of the gentiles." He further repudiated "mimicry" and sought rather "the shedding of tribal attitudes which, whether they be good or bad in themselves, are known to be odious to our countrymen, and the replacement of these attributes by more appropriate ones." The result should not be "Germans by imitation" but "Jews of German character and education." Furthermore, he advocated a willed change in the Jewish physiognomy and way of bearing, to physically renew the Jews over the course of several generations, away from the "unathletic build, narrow shoulders, clumsy feet, and sloppy roundish shape." In character the German Jews, noted Rathenau, rarely steered a middle course between "wheedling subservience and vile arrogance."<sup>5</sup>

Rathenau was also hostile to the influx of Jews from the East after World War I,

a hostility that was widespread among the old established German Jewish population, and forcefully expressed by the German-nationalist Jews. To them the Eastern Jews were the living stereotypes of anti-Semitic propaganda. Unlike the German Jews they maintained their separatism, spoke Yiddish, the older Jews dressing in their conspicuous garb, while the younger ones were susceptible to Zionism and revolutionary movements. Their tendency to congregate in urban areas gave the impression of more numbers than there were, living a ghetto existence of their own making. These were the *Ostjuden*; beggars and peddlers. A Jewish exhibition on the *Ostjuden* states of the German-Jewish attitude that “most regarded the *Ostjuden* as a hindrance to German-Jewish integration, and many aid organizations therefore encouraged their settlement abroad.... Whether contemptuous or compassionate, responses to the plight of East European Jewry demonstrate the extent to which German Jews had eroded Jewish national moorings.”<sup>6</sup>

From conservative opinion, Oswald Spengler regarded Rathenau with esteem, a regard that Rathenau returned.<sup>7</sup> Rathenau’s assassination by members of the Rightist paramilitary *Freikorps* in 1922 represents perhaps the first shot in the tragedy of German Jews who regarded themselves above all as Germans during the Weimar and Third Reich eras. Jews being widely associated with Communism and the new Soviet Union, it was assumed that Rathenau’s signing of the Treaty of Rapallo with the Soviet Union was a conspiracy between Jewish capitalists (represented by Rathenau) and Jewish Bolsheviks. Rather, this was a measure of *realpolitik* that was designed to make gains for Germany in bypassing the Versailles *diktat*, and was a formative move in what became a pro-Soviet orientation among much of the German Nationalist Right, especially with the rise of Stalin, a course that Spengler had himself suggested the possibility of: an Eastern orientation for Germany.<sup>8</sup> As for the Treaty of Rapallo, Trotsky was so aggravated by what he saw as concessions to Germany that he resigned as commissar for foreign affairs, rather than continue with negotiations with “German imperialists.”

The Jews of anti-Semitic stereotype were conspicuous. They were guilty of playing into the hands of uncompromising anti-Semites, which also suited the agenda of the then-insignificant Zionist movement in Germany. Indeed, from the birth of the

Zionist movement, there has always been a symbiosis between anti-Semitism and Zionism to the point where Zionist agencies have provided the mainstay for neo-Nazi groups.<sup>9</sup> As will be seen here, briefly, the same symbiosis existed between the National Socialist party and the Zionists in Germany while both repudiated the German nationalists of Jewish descent. Until then, Zionism had received such opposition from Jews in Germany that Herzl's original plans to hold the First Zionist Congress in Munich had to be changed to Basel.<sup>10</sup>

### **Weimar Jewish Influences**

What then were the grievances of Germans against Jewish influences on the German political and cultural body? While the "philo-Semites" mentioned by Rathenau insisted then, as now, that Jews are eternally guiltless, the anti-Semitic movement that had been building in Germany, and was marked by a cultural basis that was most famously articulated by Richard Wagner,<sup>11</sup> objected to the Jewish over-representation in movements that were subversive to traditional morality, which also included the economic realm.<sup>12</sup> Weimar seemed to be the regime of the Jews.

A publication of the German League of Anti-Communist Associations, which appears to have been a National Socialist organization, is instructive as to the period. According to this, Jewish doctors were in the forefront of campaigns and legal defenses in favour of abortion, heralded by the abortion case of two Jewish doctors, Friedrich Wolf and Kienle-Jakubowitz, which was defended by a support committee including many Jews, including Dr Magnus Hirschfeld, founder of the Institute for Sexual Science, and therefore one of the pioneers of sexology.<sup>13</sup> Much of what was deemed indecent then, behind the façade of "science", was also linked with Communist groups. Jews were prominent in all manner of Leftist parties,<sup>14</sup> and in the press, where they ridiculed the war veterans and any notion of patriotism.<sup>15</sup>

### **Nationalist German Jews**

Max Naumann, chairman of the *Verband Nationaldeutscher Juden* (League of

Nationalist German Jews), said of the Jewish influence in the press in 1926:

*Anyone who is condemned to read every day a number of Jewish papers and periodicals, written by Jews for Jews, must on occasion feel an increased distaste, amounting to physical nausea, for this incredible amount of self-complacency, of slimy stuff about “honour”, and exaggeration of the duty to “combat anti-Semitism” which is understood in these circles in the sense that, at the slightest reference, the sword should be drawn if any Jew whatever is meant.*<sup>16</sup>

Disingenuously, the German League of Anti-Communist Associations, quoting Dr Naumann, states of his League of Nationalist German Jews that “unfortunately this association did not succeed in acquiring any influence.” They then state, “It has not occurred at all to the majority of the Jews to adapt themselves to the forms of their German hosts...”<sup>17</sup>

Most German Jews were acculturated. What soon transpired is that the National Socialists were as avid as the hitherto inconsequential Zionists in Germany that German Jews should not become “good Germans.” Dr Naumann’s association of German Jewish nationalists was banned while the Zionist agencies in Germany were not only permitted to continue operating but enjoyed close relations with the new regime.

Naumann, a lawyer, had served as a captain in the Bavarian Reserve during World War I,<sup>18</sup> and was awarded the Iron Cross First and Second Class. The League of Nationalist German Jews, *Verband Nationaldeutscher Juden (VNJ)* was founded in 1921.

Naumann and his followers held that the *Ostjuden* immigrants were responsible for anti-Semitism. It was a widely held opinion. Furthermore, he stated that when the authorities did not act against such Jewish agitators and subversives, loyal German Jews were duty-bound to do so, in their interests and in German interests, which were one.

In 1920 Naumann and three other colleagues called on Ludwig Holländer, head of the primary German-Jewish organization, *Centralverein*, of which Naumann was a



member, to express concern that the organization encouraged Jews to make political decisions based on Jewish rather than German interests. Naumann was a member of the right-of-center German People's Party, and considered the *Centralverein* to be favoring other parties. It is notable that the *Centralverein*, like Naumann, was opposed to Zionism, and Holländer appealed to these common sentiments, however an invitation from Holländer for Naumann to write an article on his concerns fell through, as the article was regarded as too partisan in favor of the German People's Party.<sup>19</sup>

Naumann regarded this rebuff as proof that the *Centralverein* supported the Democratic Party, and he began to oppose the organization for what he considered its party political partisanship. An article written by Naumann for the People's Party Rhineland newspaper, *Kölnische Zeitung*, entitled "Concerning German Nationalist Jews" and reprinted as a pamphlet late in 1920, laid out Naumann's doctrine. Here Naumann explained three types of German Jews: (1) The Zionists, whose proselytising among the youth demoralised the German-Jewish community and whose international connections seemed to justify claims of an international Jewish conspiracy; (2) The great majority of German nationalist Jews whose standpoint in politics was always German and never Jewish; and (3) an amorphous group whose loyalties were divided between German and Jewish interests.<sup>20</sup>

Of the German nationalist Jews, the doctrine that Naumann claimed for them has its roots in the German romanticism of Fichte, Herder, et al, in defining a nation as a matter of common consciousness rather than common blood. In this respect the National Socialists were a nationalist departure from the roots of German nationalism, more akin to the racial theosophy that arose in Austria-Hungary prior to World War I, while Naumann's concept of nationalism seems to have been more in accord with the German national tradition.

The third group, which Naumann referred to as the "in-betweeners" (*Zwischenschichtler*) he regarded as being the real support base of the *Centralverein*, and the outlook included a hypersensitivity to "anti-Semitism", including justifiable criticism of Jews.<sup>21</sup> The reaction of the *Centralverein* was dismissive and they claimed also to represent "German nationalist Jews." Naumann responded that the *Centralverein* after twenty-seven years had been a failure both in negating the causes

anti-Semitism and in forming a German identity among Jews. They had failed to respond to the challenge of the influx of *Ostjuden*, whom Naumann described as “the dangerous guest.”<sup>22</sup>

In response to the failure of Naumann and the *Centralverein* to reach agreement, Naumann and eighty-eight others founded the League of German Nationalist Jews, *Verband nationaldeutscher Juden* (VNJ) on March 20, 1921.<sup>23</sup> The League was vehemently opposed to Marxists and other subversive, anti-patriotic and pacifistic tendencies among Jews, to Zionism and to extending support to the *Ostjuden*, whose presence fostered anti-Semitism. To the VNJ, the Eastern Jews gravitated to communism and Zionism and other organizations and doctrines that “stand in opposition to everything German.” These foreign Jews were also involved in speculative capitalism.<sup>24</sup> Their actions had brought reaction against all Jews in Germany, and it was the duty of German nationalist Jews to fight these interlopers when the police would not or could not.<sup>25</sup>

The German Nationalist Jews actively opposed Zionist propaganda, and organized a boycott of a film on Palestine in 1924. In Breslau they persuaded the owner of the movie house to cancel the second screening of the film, stating that the money it raised was destined for an English-held land, and was therefore unpatriotic. In 1926 the “Naumannites”, as they were called, sponsored a lecture tour by an ex-Zionist, Robert Peiper, on the theme “The Truth about Palestine.”<sup>26</sup> Naumann urged Zionists in Germany to forswear German citizenship, and declare themselves a “national minority,” as the claims of “anti-Semites” that Germany was being taken over by Jews would seem justified, and there might come a time when they would have that status forced upon them under less favourable circumstances.<sup>27</sup>

Naumann advocated that Jews support patriotic parties regardless of the anti-Semitism of those parties, and that the example of Jewish German patriotism was the best way of combating anti-Semitism: i.e. by countering the source within the Jews themselves, rather than defending Jews regardless of their actions. As seen previously, it is a view that seems akin to that advocated by Walther Rathenau. Therefore the VNJ, without endorsing any party, prompted Jews to vote according to German interests.<sup>28</sup>

In 1925 the youth wing of the League's Munich branch came to the defense of General Ludendorff, implicated as a leader of the Munich putsch with Hitler, when the General had been criticized by the *Centralverein*, although the League leadership was not supportive of Ludendorff.<sup>29</sup> The League also combated "anti-Semitism" within the German People's Party, but the crucial difference between these German Nationalist Jews and other Jewish organizations was that it recognized that Jews were not invariably guiltless of the charges levelled against them for disloyalty and subversion, and advocated working with these "anti-Semitic" parties, rather than confronting them.

Although at least two League members remained members of the *Centralverein* committee, the *Centralverein* and the *VNJ* were increasingly antagonistic towards each other, and "the liberal Jewish press in Germany was virtually unanimous in concluding that the Naumannites were 'Jewish anti-Semites'", states Niewyk, who remarks that the Jewish leadership were fearful of alienating the socialist movement. The *Centralverein* went on the offensive in opposing Naumann, who responded by libel suits against leaders of the organization.<sup>30</sup> The *Centralverein* was largely successful in preventing Naumann from advocating among German Jews. In 1930 the *VNJ*'s "German List" of candidates for the Berlin Jewish community's representative assembly drew less than 2% of the vote. The circulation of the *VNJ*'s newspaper never exceeded 6,000 according to Niewyk.<sup>31</sup>

From 1932 the Naumannites gained renewed attention by focusing on the anti-Semitism of the National Socialist party, and the illegitimacy of the National Socialists as German patriots. The Naumannites saw an "idealistic essence" in National Socialism that was obscured by racism, and considered that Hitler would outgrow Judaeophobia. The Naumannites advocated that Jews should join non-Nazi nationalist organizations, which could nonetheless aid the Nazis, and perhaps diminish the influence of the more vitriolic of the anti-Semites. Naumann supported the "German socialism" that had been a feature of the Right, and not only among the National Socialists. Oswald Spengler for example had advocated a type of "ethical socialism" that would place the German state above class and other factional divisions.<sup>32</sup> Like Spengler, Naumann opposed German Social Democracy and Marxism, and was

concerned at the number of Jews involved with the Left.<sup>33</sup>

In 1933 Naumann endorsed the German National People's Party, now allied with the National Socialists, hoping that such an alliance would moderate some of the National Socialist views.<sup>34</sup>

It is here relevant to note that in the 1932 presidential election the National People's Party candidate, standing against Hitler, was Lieutenant Colonel Theodor Duesterberg, second in command of the monarchist-nationalist veterans' organization, the *Stahlhelm*. Duesterberg was attacked by Goebbels's newspaper *Der Angriff* because of his Jewish background. Officers of the *Stahlhelm* responded that "if Duesterberg is of Jewish origin, the absurdity of racial discrimination is proved inasmuch as Duesterberg was an outstanding officer on the war front and was delegated by true Germans as their candidate for president of the German Republic."<sup>35</sup>

While Duesterberg claims he was unaware of his Jewish background it is the supportive reaction of his fellow veterans that is of interest, while Ludendorff, like the Nazis, denounced him, which resulted in his withdrawal from the second run-off of the presidential race. Duesterberg resigned from his position in the *Stahlhelm* following his defeat in the presidential elections, and the revelations as to his Jewish background, but his resignation was rejected. The *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* reported at the time:

*Leaders of the Stahlhelm have labelled as absurd that racial descent should be regarded as in any way inimical to Duesterberg's continuation in office and have not hesitated to denounce the Nazi campaign against him on this score as deliberate provocation. For this reason, the praesidium of the Stahlhelm did not accept the proffered resignation of Duesterberg and prevailed upon him to remain in office. Leaders of the Steel Helmet are not desirous of acknowledging that the Nazi campaign against Duesterberg has had any repercussions in the Steel Helmet camp. This is said to explain the silence which is being maintained on what transpired at the meeting of the praesidium.*<sup>36</sup>

The *Stahlhelm* further stated of Duesterberg:

*We are aware that Duesterberg's father in 1813 volunteered as a soldier for the*

*liberation of Germany and was awarded the Iron Cross. Duesterberg himself was wounded in the Expedition to China.<sup>37</sup> Subsequently he fought in the World War in the most dangerous places.<sup>38</sup>*

Although being offered, and declining, a position in Hitler's first Cabinet, Duesterberg was arrested during the Night of the Long Knives in 1934 and interned at Dachau, but was released, dying in 1950.

### **German Jewish Nationalist Youth Organizations**

In 1932 a three-way split between Leftist and Rightist factions in the German Jewish youth organization *Kameraden* resulted in the formation of the Black Squad (*Schwarzes Fähnlein*) by 400 conservative-nationalist members. The Black Squad sought to revive the medieval Teutonic martial ethos.

In 1933 a young Jewish theologian, Dr Hans-Joachim Schoeps, established a 150-member "German Vanguard – German Jewish Followers" also devoted to martial values. In April 1933 the Black Squad and the German Vanguard aligned with the *VNJ* and the National League of Jewish Frontline Veterans into an Action Committee of Jewish Germans that hoped to negotiate with the National Socialist regime on a new dispensation for German Jews. This organization, like the *VNJ* and the other German Jewish nationalist groups, was outlawed by the National Socialist regime in 1935.<sup>39</sup>

Schoeps adhered to the German Conservative Revolution movement that emerged in the aftermath of World War I. Among the influences on Schoeps from this milieu were Stefan George, Ernst Jünger, Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, Ernst Niekisch, Carl Schmitt, Oswald Spengler, Otto Strasser, and others. Schoeps never repudiated his Rightist sentiments in the post-1945 era, writing in 1960 that Spengler's "Prussian socialism" remained valid.<sup>40</sup>

Schoeps sought an accord between patriotic German Jews and National Socialism, writing in his newspaper *The Vanguard* that National Socialism can renew Germany, and that German Jews should be brought under a new organization representing them as German patriots.<sup>41</sup>

## German Jewish Nationalist War Veterans

The German Jewish World War veterans had their own association, *Reichsbund juedischer Frontsoldaten (RjF)*, that was, like the League of German Nationalist Jews, opposed to Zionism, Marxism and all other manifestations of subversion. From 1930 until 1934 Ludwig Freund, general secretary of the *RjF*, “gave lectures all over Germany with titles such as ‘Community of the Frontlines – Community of the *Volk*’ to audiences of non-Jewish veterans.” They also opposed the influx of *Ostjuden*.<sup>42</sup>

*RjF* was founded in 1919 to counter claims that German Jews had shirked their military duty during the World War. Despite its repudiation of this basic National Socialist allegation, the *RjF*, like the Naumannites, hoped for an accommodation with the Hitler regime for German Jews. Generally, fascism had arisen throughout Europe in the aftermath of the World War primarily from war veterans. It should be no surprise that fascism also emerged from Jewish war veterans, and that Jewish veterans also joined fascist movements, especially in Italy where by the mid-1930s one-third of the adult Jewish population were members of the National Fascist Party, and 230 Jews participated in the March on Rome.<sup>43</sup> Ettore Ovazza, scion of a wealthy family who, with his two brothers and fifty-year-old father had enlisted with the Italian army to fight the world war, founded a “stridently pro-fascist journal” and physically led an attack on Zionist Jews.<sup>44</sup>

While there is nothing inherent in fascist ideology that prohibits Jewish support, the anti-Semitic element of German National Socialism was a common feature of German romanticism, which as noted, had reached its most cogent expression from Richard Wagner. The Hitlerites were heirs to that legacy, as well as to pre-war anti-Semitic and racial doctrines in Central Europe.<sup>45</sup>

The *RjF*, states Caplan in his study of the subject, “claimed to be models of the tough, self-confident, and disciplined ethos they believed to be necessary for the survival of German Jewry. As the first ever German-Jewish military elite, they sought to transmit their military masculinity to the rest of the German-Jewish community through youth and sports programs, the commemoration of the Jewish war dead, and the promotion of Jewish cultivation of German soil.”<sup>46</sup> Unlike the Naumannites and

other German-Jewish nationalists, the *RjF* cannot be dismissed as marginal. By the mid-1920s the *RjF* had 35,000 members and was the third-largest organization of German Jews.<sup>47</sup>

Caplan writes of the generically fascist character of the Jewish war veterans (as with other war veterans in Germany who joined the Hitlerites, the *Stahlhelm* and the *Freikorps*), that they “offered a popular platform for the battle against the pitfalls of big-city life at a time of rapid social transformation. Falling birth rates, alcoholism, and the spread of nervous disorders had already been diagnosed by the turn of the century as indicators of social and cultural degeneration. The German military defeat and its revolutionary aftermath exacerbated this sense of crisis and added to the list of perceived symptoms.”<sup>48</sup>

### **Relations with the Third Reich**

As indicated by the vehemence of the National Socialist campaign against the esteemed head of the *Stahlhelm*, Lieutenant Colonel Duesterberg, there was not much room for optimism that the regime would accommodate even the most loyal of German Jews, other than that Germans of partial Jewish descent were categorized and some categories were granted a tolerable status under the 1935 Reich Citizenship Law.

Caplan states that although the Hitlerites remained an enemy, “nevertheless, the leaders of the *RjF* also subscribed to a political ideology that incorporated all of the elements generally associated with fascism - militarism, extreme nationalism, anti-bolshevism, and middle-class desires for a strong state that would transcend divisive parliamentary structures.”<sup>49</sup> That German Jewry ended up choosing Zionism rests squarely on the shoulders of the National Socialist regime, which favoured Zionism as a doctrine that likewise opposed assimilation of Jews into the national community.

With the accession to Office of the National Socialists, the *RjF* believed that it was essential that they assume leadership of German Jewry. Despite their opposition to the Nazis from the start due to the Nazi propaganda that sought to deny the Jewish role in the World War, the values the *RjF* espoused for German Jews, and especially for the young, were in accord with the doctrines the National Socialists expounded to

“Aryan” Germans. As long “as the state seemed to honor the link between military service and German citizenship - and even longer - the *RjF* sought to cooperate with the Hitler regime in the construction of a viable Jewish community in the Third Reich.... the ideology, language, and tactics of the *RjF* reflected a fascist, anti-Zionist agenda that transcended rhetorical pandering of the oppressed to the oppressor.”<sup>50</sup>

The *RjF* now proclaimed itself specifically against Zionism, dropping its hitherto neutral stance. The *RjF* become more active than ever in the first years of the regime, and its popularity increased at the expense of the oldest and largest of the Jewish organizations, the *Centralverein*. Jews were increasingly antagonistic towards the *Centralverein*’s “passivity in response to Zionism”<sup>51</sup> in a Jewish population where Zionism had never taken root. Liberalism was diminishing drastically among the German Jews also in line with the decline of Liberalism in Germany generally in the aftermath of the world war. With the demise of Liberal hegemony among German Jews, the choice was between Zionism and the fascism of the *RjF*.

While Ludwig Freund left Germany in 1934, Dr Leo Loewenstein, chairman of the *RjF*, a scientist by profession, who had served as a captain in the Bavarian Army Reserve, attempted from 1933 to 1935 to “persuade Hitler by mail to allow patriotic Jews, and the young generation in particular, to be absorbed into the German *Volksgemeinschaft*,” to allow Jewish youth to participate with German youth in athletic contests and to allow Jews to serve in the German armed forces.<sup>52</sup> While there was no reply from Hitler, Loewenstein did succeed in April 1933, by appealing to President von Hindenburg, “in having Jewish civil servants with frontline service during wartime exempted from losing their jobs.” However the exemption was revoked with Hindenburg’s death later that year.<sup>53</sup>

When world Jewish organizations declared a boycott of German goods in 1934,<sup>54</sup> and established the World Jewish Economic Federation to deprive Germany of foreign capital, the *RjF* reacted swiftly, condemning the actions of Jewish leaders far-removed from Germany, writing to the US Embassy in Berlin denying, “as German patriots,” allegations that Jews in Germany were being subjected to “cruelties.” While acknowledging that excesses had occurred that are unavoidable in any kind of revolution, they commented that where able, the authorities have sought to prevent



these. The *RjF* also condemned the “irresponsible agitations on the part of the so-called Jewish intellectuals living abroad.” These had “never considered themselves German nationals,” but had abandoned those of their own “faith” at a “critical time” while claiming to be their champions.<sup>55</sup> The same day the *RjF* issued a worldwide address to frontline veterans, stating that the propaganda against Germany was politically and economically motivated. They pointed out that the Jewish writers used as propagandists had hitherto been the same propagandists who had “scoffed at us veterans in earlier years,” and called on “honourable soldiers” to repudiate the “unchivalrous and degrading treatment meted out to Germany...”<sup>56</sup>

The choice of Germany’s Jews between German nationalism and Zionism was decided by the regime for the Jews, in favor of Zionism. While approximately 600 newspapers were officially banned by the National Socialist regime during 1933, and others were pressured out of existence, *Jüdische Rundschau*, the weekly newspaper of the Zionist Federation of Germany (*ZvFD*) was permitted to flourish, and by the end of 1933 had a circulation of 38,000, four to five times more than in 1932. *Jüdische Rundschau* was even exempted from newsprint restrictions until 1937. The Zionist newspaper was not subjected to the same censorship as other German newspapers. They were the only newspaper in the Third Reich permitted to advocate an independent political doctrine. In 1935 the Zionist youth corps was the only non-Nazi body permitted to wear uniforms. With the 1935 Nuremberg Laws, German Jews were prohibited from raising the German flag, but could raise the Zionist flag.<sup>57</sup> German-Jewish nationalists were not wanted in the Reich, including the Jewish war veterans’ organization, whose German nationalist doctrine could have won over at least a significant proportion of German Jews who had rejected Liberalism and had not been inclined towards Zionism.

Both the German Vanguard and the League of German Nationalist Jews were dissolved in late 1935, while the *RjF* endured until the end of 1938.

Schoeps’s prior contacts with the anti-Hitler National Socialist Otto Strasser, and the “National Bolshevik” Ernst Niekisch made him suspect and he emigrated to Sweden in 1938. After the war he established a celebrated career as a theological scholar. He also remained an active monarchist, and as a leader of the National

Association for the Monarchy (*Volksbund für die Monarchie*), called for the restoration of the State of Prussia in 1951, and was involved in forming subsequent conservative movements and periodicals. He died in 1980 in Germany.

Freund, of the *RjF*, emigrated to the USA in 1934 and returned to Germany in 1961. Far from having repudiated his Germanness like the many Jews who turned to Zionism, he was one of the first three men to be awarded the Adenauer Prize in 1961 by the German Foundation for his work in the “revival of a healthy national feeling on the basis of necessary self-respect” and for the “protection of the rights of the German *Volk*, in spite of the wrongs done him in his own Fatherland,”<sup>58</sup> such nationalistic sentiments and awards being condemned by *Der Spiegel*.

## **Conclusion**

German Jews had rejected liberalism for the same reasons as other Germans had turned to the Right, hoping for a national renewal of the Fatherland. Zionists had not made significant inroads, and while German-Jewish nationalist organizations such as those of Naumann remained small, they maintained a challenge to the mainstream Jewish organizations. The *RjF* was not marginal, however, and was gaining support for its form of fascism that sought to fully identify Jews with Germany. They were undertaking in particular a program among the Jewish youth of the type that had been sought by Rathenau, to recreate a Jewish youth that was robust, martial and patriotic. The German Zionists undertook a similar program in the interests of creating vigorous youth pioneers for Palestine.

If the *RjF* had been permitted to proselytize among German Jews they would have captured the majority of that community for Germany, despite the anti-Semitism that existed to varying degrees among the National Socialists. Jews had for centuries undertaken a process of acculturation reflected in the many Jews who fought for Germany during the world war. Unfortunately, the most conspicuous Jews, promoted no less by the anti-Semitic press than by their own followers, were the likes of Rosa Luxemburg, Willi Münzenberg, the wealthy publisher of the Communist press Karl Radek, Kurt Eisner, et al., until Communism became synonymous in Germany,<sup>59</sup> as in

much of the rest of the world, with Jews. However, only 4% voted for the Communist Party, and 28% for the Social Democrats. Most were moderate liberal-democrats.<sup>60</sup> There was also a widespread, vigorous dislike, one might say even hatred, for the “Eastern Jews” that were coming into Germany, especially after the war, whom Rathenau condemned with such vehemence. The “liberal” Jews were just as offended by the manners of the *Ostjuden* as anyone else.

The Jewish German nationalists sought acculturation, the continuation of a process that had been taking place for centuries. In the Zionists, the National Socialists had allies as opposed to assimilation as themselves. While the Zionists continued collaborating with the Third Reich even during the war, German-Jewish nationalists were suppressed, although a significant number of *Mischlinge* maintained their patriotism and were able to serve Germany, including Hitler’s original bodyguard and SS commander Emile Maurice, first commander of what became the SS who, over Himmler's objections and due to Hitler's insistence, remained an honored officer of the SS, as did his brothers.<sup>61</sup>

The National Socialists maintained a type of Manichean outlook that saw the Aryan in mortal combat with the Jew as a conflict between God and the Devil, a synthesis of biology and theology that had since the late 19th century portrayed the Jews as less than human, or bestial spawn, expressed in the New Templar theosophy of Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels.

Where most German Jews saw the *Ostjuden* as a danger to Germany, or at best an embarrassment to themselves, the National Socialists did not distinguish between them. While only a minority of Jews supported the Left, the National Socialists focused on the conspicuous Jewish presence in the Communist movement, and in other anti-German movements. Most particularly, the Third Reich did not accord status to Jewish war veterans, and the regime chose Zionism over German-Jewish nationalism.

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## 16.

# **THE MYTH OF THE BIG BUSINESS - NAZI AXIS**

The party-line of the Left is that Fascism and Nazism were the last resort of Capitalism.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the orthodox Marxist critique does not go beyond that. In recent decades there has been serious scholarship within orthodox academe to understand Fascism as a doctrine. Among these we can include Roger Griffin,<sup>2</sup> Roger Eatwell,<sup>3</sup> and particularly Zeev Sternhell.<sup>4</sup> The last in particular shows that Fascism derived at least as much from the Left as from the Right, emerging from Italy but also in particular from Francophone Marxists as an effort to transcend the inadequacies of Marxism as an analysis of historical forces.

Among the National Socialists in Germany, opposition to international capital figured prominently from the start. The National Socialists, even prior to adopting that name, within the small group, the German Workers' Party, saw capital as intrinsically anti-national. The earliest party program, in 1919, stated that the party was fighting "against usury... against all those who make high profits without any mental or physical work," the "drones" who "control and rule us with their money." It is notable that even then the party did not advocate "socialization" of industry but profit-sharing

and unity among all classes other than “drones.”<sup>5</sup> As the conservative spokesman Oswald Spengler pointed out, Marxism did not wish to transcend capital but to expropriate it. Hence the spirit of the Left remained capitalist or money-centered.<sup>6</sup> The subordination of money to state policy was something understood in Germany even among the business elite, and large sections of the menial class; quite different to the concept of economics understood among the Anglophone world, where economics dominates state policy.

Hitler was continuing the tradition of the German economic school, which the German Workers’ Party of Anton Drexler and Karl Harrer had already incorporated since the party’s founding in 1919. Hitler wrote in 1924 in *Mein Kampf* that the state would ensure that “capital remained subservient to the State and did not allocate to itself the right to dominate national interests. Thus it could confine its activities within the two following limits: on the one side, to ensure a vital and independent system of national economy and, on the other, to safeguard the social rights of the workers.” Hitler now realized the distinction between productive capital and speculative capital, from Feder who had been part of a political lecture series organized by the army. Hitler then understood that the dual nature of capital would have to be a primary factor addressed by any party for reform.<sup>7</sup> The lecture had been entitled “The Abolition of Interest-Servitude.”<sup>8</sup> A “truth of transcendental importance for the future of the German people” was that “the absolute separation of stock-exchange capital from the economic life of the nation would make it possible to oppose the process of internationalization in German business without at the same time attacking capital as such...”<sup>9</sup> While Everette Lemons, apparently a libertarian, quotes this passage from *Mein Kampf*, he claims that Hitler loathed capitalism, whether national or international. As illustrated by the passage above, Hitler drew a distinction between creative and speculative capital, as did the German Workers’ Party before he was a member.



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-R98364  
Foto: o. Ang. | 1936

Adolf Hitler in discussion with Reich Minister of Economics and Reichsbank President Dr. Hjalmar Schacht in 1936 Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-R98364 / CC-BY-SA [CC BY-SA 3.0 de (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/deed.en>)], via Wikimedia Commons

National economy was a widely held legacy of the German school of economics founded by Friedrich List in the 19th century, the aim being national autarchy as distinct from the English school of international free trade.<sup>10</sup> National economy governed German thinking like Free Trade governed British thinking. At a glance, List stated: “I would indicate, as the distinguishing characteristic of my system, NATIONALITY. On the nature of nationality, as the intermediate interest between those of individualism and of entire humanity, my whole structure is based.”<sup>11</sup> It was an aim that German businessmen readily embraced.

Because the Hitler regime would not or could not fulfill the entirety of the NSDAP program, and because Feder was given a humble role as an under-secretary in the economics ministry, there is a widespread assumption that the regime was a tool of big capital. The Marxist interpretation of the Third Reich as a tool of monopoly capital has been adopted and adapted by their opposite number, libertarians, particularly aided by the book of the Stanford research specialist Dr. Antony Sutton. Sutton followed up



his *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution*,<sup>12</sup> detailing dealings between U.S. and other business interests and the Bolshevik regime, with *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*.<sup>13</sup> Many libertarians welcome the second book as showing that Hitler was just as much a “socialist” as the Bolsheviks and that both had the backing of the same big-business interests that pursue a “collectivist” state. Lemons, for example, argues that Hitler’s anti-capitalism was an implementation of many of the ideas in Marx’s *Communist Manifesto*, thereby indicating an ignorance of German economic theory.<sup>14</sup> Lemons refers to Hitler’s “communist style” economy.<sup>15</sup>

### **Henry Ford – an Early Nazi Party Sponsor?**

If there was any wealthy American who should or could have funded Hitler it was Henry Ford Sr. Indeed, Ford features prominently in allegations that Hitler received financial backing from wealthy elites. But Ford was not part of the financial elite. He was an industrialist who challenged Wall Street. If he had backed Hitler that would have been an example of a conflict between “industrial capital” and “financial capital” that Ford had himself recognized, and that Hitler had alluded to in *Mein Kampf*. Not only did his newspaper the *Dearborn Independent*, under the editorship of W. J. Cameron, run a series of ninety-one articles on the “Jewish question,” but that series was issued as a compendium called *The International Jew*, which was translated into German. Such was the pressure from Jewish Wall Street interests on the Ford Motor Company that Ford recanted, and falsely claimed that he had not authorized the series in his company newspaper.<sup>16</sup> Yet Ford never funded the Hitlerites, despite several direct, personal appeals for aid on the basis of “international solidarity” against Jewish influence.

Sutton did an admirable job of tracing direct and definitive links between Wall Street and the Bolsheviks. However, perhaps in his eagerness to show the common factor of “socialism” between National Socialists and Bolsheviks, and the way Wall Street backed opposing movements as part of a Hegelian dialectical strategy,<sup>17</sup> Sutton seems to have grasped at straws in trying to show a link between plutocrats and Nazis. Sutton repeats the myth of Ford backing of the Hitlerite party that had been in

circulation since the 1920s. As early as 1922 *The New York Times* reported that Ford was funding the embryonic National Socialist party, and the *Berliner Tageblatt* called on the U.S. ambassador to investigate Ford's supposed interference in German affairs.<sup>18</sup> The article in its entirety turns out to be nothing but the vaguest of rumor-mongering, of making something out of nothing at all, but it is still found to be useful by those perpetrating the myth of big-money backing for Hitler.<sup>19</sup> Dr. Sutton quotes the vice president of the Bavarian Diet, Auer, testifying at the trial of Hitler after the Munich *Putsch* in February 1923, that the Diet long had had information that Hitler was being financed by Ford. Auer alluded to a Ford agent seeking to sell tractors having been in contact with Dietrich Eckart in 1922, and that shortly after Ford money began going to Munich.<sup>20</sup> Having provided no evidence whatsoever, Sutton states that "these Ford funds were used by Hitler to foment the Bavarian rebellion."<sup>21</sup>



Portrait of Henry Ford (ca. 1919) By Hartsook, photographer.  
[Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

Scott Nehmer, who had his dream of an academic career aborted because he would not write his doctoral thesis according to the preconceptions of his supervisor, undertook a convincing examination of the allegations regarding the supposed link during World War II between the Third Reich, Ford, and General Motors.<sup>22</sup> His would-be dissertation was published as a book. However, it is indicative of the poor shape of scholarship in tertiary education, and not only in the USA. Mr. Nehmer writes of his recent predicament:

*I intended to write my book solely concentrating on the patriotism of Ford and General Motors during World War II but my plans were altered causing me to emphasize how Marxist ideology combined with sensationalism has smeared Ford and GM. The book was conceived as a PhD in history dissertation for Central Michigan University. Almost from its inception my advisor, Eric Johnson,<sup>23</sup> attempted to force me to libel the Ford Motor Company. He ordered me to accuse Ford of betraying the United States during World War II using falsehoods based on the faulty implications of sensationalist journalists.<sup>24</sup>*

What these accounts of the funding of the Nazi party and even of the Third Reich war machine amount to are descriptions of interlocking directorships and the character of what is today called globalization. Hence, if Ford, General Electric, ITT, General Motors, and Standard Oil are somehow linked to AEG, I. G. Farben, Krupp, etc., it is then alleged that Rockefeller, Ford, and even Jewish financiers such as James Warburg, were directly involved in a conspiracy to aid Nazi Germany. To prove the connections, Sutton has a convenient table which supposedly shows “Financial links between U.S. industrialists and Adolf Hitler.” For example Edsel Ford, Paul M. Warburg and two others in the USA are listed as directors of American I.G. while in Germany I.G. Farben reportedly donated 400,000 R.M. to Hitler via the Nationale Treuhand; *ipso facto* Edsel Ford and Paul Warburg were involved in funding Hitler.<sup>25</sup> The connections do not seem convincing. They are of an altogether different character than the connections Sutton previously documented between Wall Street and the Bolsheviks.

The story behind the Henry Ford-Nazi legend has been publicly available since 1938. Kurt Ludecke had been responsible for attempting to garner funds for the

fledgling Nazi party since joining in 1922. In 1934 he had fallen out with Hitler, had been incarcerated, and then left Germany for the USA, where he wrote his memoirs, *I Knew Hitler*.<sup>26</sup> He sought out possible funding especially in the USA, met Hiram Wesley Evans, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, the organization, then 5,000,000 strong, impressing him as a good money-making racket for its recruiters, who got 20% commission on membership fees.<sup>27</sup> He met Czarist supporters of Grand Duke Cyril, claimant to the Russian throne, in Paris,<sup>28</sup> and in Britain several aristocrats suspicious of Jewish influence: the Duke of Northumberland, and Lord Sydenham.<sup>29</sup> Money was not forthcoming from any of them. Indeed, Ludecke traveled about perpetually broke.

Ludecke met Ford in 1922. He attempted to persuade Ford that international solidarity was needed to face the Jewish issue, and that the Hitler movement had the best chance of success. Ford could not relate to the political requirements and while listening had no interest in providing funds. It is evident from Ludecke that all of the party's hopes had been pegged on Ford's financial backing. Ford's series on *The International Jew* was much admired in Nazi circles. Hitler also greatly admired Ford as an industrial innovator, a picture of the industrialist hanging up in Hitler's office; something that is seen as of great significance to those seeking a Nazi connection.<sup>30</sup>

James Pool, on the subject of the funding of Hitler, spends thirty pages attempting to show that Ford *might* have given money to the NSDAP on the sole basis that he was anti-Jewish. He frequently cites Ludecke, but decides to ignore what Ludecke stated on Ford. Pool states that Frau Winifred Wagner had told him in an interview that she had arranged for Ludecke to meet Ford, which is correct, but it is evident that her claim that Ford gave Hitler money is pure assumption. Pool conjectures that the money was given by Ford to Hitler via Boris Brasol, an anti-Semitic Czarist jurist, who in 1918 had worked for U.S. Military Intelligence, and had who maintained contact with both the Nazi party and was U.S. representative for Grand Duke Cyril. Again Pool is making assumptions, on the basis that Brasol was employed by Ford. Pool's "evidence" is the same as that used by Sutton; contemporary newspaper accounts of rumors and allegations.<sup>31</sup>

Had Ludecke succeeded in gaining funds from Ford that would not only have not been an example of funding from Wall Street and international finance, but it

would have been an example of how not all wealthy individuals are part of the world's banking nexus. Ford definitely was not, and drew a distinction between creative and destructive capital. Despite his ignominious surrender and groveling to Jewish interests when the pressure mounted due to his publication of *The International Jew*, in 1938 Ford described to *The New York Times* the dichotomy that existed between the two forms of capital:

*Somebody once said that sixty families have directed the destinies of the nation. It might well be said that if somebody would focus the spotlight on twenty-five persons who handle the nation's finances, the world's real war makers would be brought into bold relief. There is a creative and a destructive Wall Street... [I]f these financiers had their way we'd be in a war now. They want war because they make money out of such conflicts – out of the human misery such wars bring.*<sup>32</sup>

Sutton dismissed this, writing: “On the other hand, when we probe behind these public statements we find that Henry Ford and son Edsel Ford have been in the forefront of American businessmen who try to walk both sides of every ideological fence in search of profit. Using Ford's own criteria, the Fords are among the ‘destructive’ elements.”<sup>33</sup> Contrary to Sutton, however, Pool states that Ford executives had been strongly opposed to their boss's anti-Jewish campaign, and they persuaded him to drop the campaign in the late 1920s. In the forefront of this was his son, Edsel who owned 41% of the stock.<sup>34</sup>

Ford's actions show that he was opposed to the forces of war. He did not do himself any favors by opposing the “destructive Wall Street.” In 1915 Ford chartered the *Oscar II*, otherwise known as the Ford “Peace Ship,” in the hope of persuading the belligerents of the world war to attend a peace conference. The mission received mostly ridicule. Those aboard, including Ford, were wracked with influenza. Ford continued to fund the “Peace Ship” as it traveled around Europe for two years, and despite the ridicule was widely regarded as a sincere, if naïve, pacifist. Dr. Sutton does not mention Ford's “Peace Ship” or his peace campaign during World War I. Therefore, when he was an early supporter of the America First Committee,<sup>35</sup> founded in 1940 to oppose Roosevelt's efforts to entangle the USA in a war against Germany,

he was too easily dismissed as pro-Nazi, as was America First.<sup>36</sup> Very prominent Americans joined from a variety of backgrounds, including General Robert A. Wood, president of Sears Roebuck, and among the most active, aviation hero Charles Lindbergh. Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas was a regular speaker at rallies. Many Congressmen and Senators resisted the Roosevelt war machine. They included pacifists, liberals, Republicans, Democrats, conservatives. Of Henry Ford, George Eggleston, an editor of *Reader's Digest*, *Scribner's Commentator*, and formerly of *Life*, and a major figure in America First, recalled that so far from being a "Nazi," Ford expressed the hope that there would be a "parliament of man," "a world-wide spirit of brotherhood, and an end to armed conflict."<sup>37</sup>

### **J. P. Morgan & Co. - Thomas Lamont**

Thomas W. Lamont, senior partner in J. P. Morgan, was in the forefront of Wall Street agitation for war. Lamont, a supporter of Roosevelt's New Deal, was a keen protagonist of internationalism. Speaking to the Academy of Political Sciences at the Astor Hotel in New York on 15 November 1939, he stated that the war against Germany was the consequence of the failure of the Versailles treaty and the rise of economic nationalism. In contrast to Old Guard Republicans such as ex-president Herbert Hoover, Lamont did not believe that it was possible to negotiate with Hitler. However, the military defeat of Hitler would not suffice. The USA must abandon isolationism and embrace "internationalism."<sup>38</sup>

Lamont indeed had it right: international capital versus economic nationalism. The latter now included imperialism, and all autarchic trading blocs and empires. International finance could no longer be constrained by empires and trading blocs. But the world order that Woodrow Wilson had tried to inaugurate after World War I with his "Fourteen Points" and the League of Nations, based around international free trade, had been repudiated even by his own country.<sup>39</sup> The Axis states were building autarchic economic blocs, and had been instituting barter among states, including those that they had occupied. Roosevelt was to candidly state to Churchill during the discussions on the "Atlantic Charter" that the post-war world would not tolerate any

empires including the British, and would be based on free trade. He stated unequivocally that the war was being fought over the premise of free trade.<sup>40</sup> Roosevelt stated to Churchill, as related by the president's son, Elliott Roosevelt: "Will anyone suggest that Germany's attempt to dominate trade in central Europe was not a major contributing factor to war?"<sup>41</sup> Apparently the cause of the war was not Pearl Harbor, nor the invasion of Poland. Roosevelt made it clear that international free trade would be the foundation of the post-war world, and empires would be passé.

### **General Motors - James D. Mooney**

Another alleged enthusiast for Nazi Germany was James D. Mooney, vice president of General Motors, in charge of European operations. General Motors plays a large role in the alleged nexus between the Nazis and Big Business because of its European affiliates operating in German-occupied countries during the war. Such was Mooney's supposed enthusiasm for Nazism that he allegedly regarded himself as a future "Quisling" in the USA in the event of a German victory.<sup>42</sup> The most extraordinary nonsense has been widely repeated that Mooney practiced how to technically achieve a Nazi salute and "Sieg Heil" in front of his hotel mirror prior to meeting Hitler in 1934. How Edwin Black knows this is not stated.<sup>43</sup>

It is evident that, utilizing his world-wide connections, Mooney embarked on private diplomacy with the intent of avoiding war. However, already in 1938 a G.M. executive, likely to have been Mooney, approached the British War Office to discuss British requirements in the event of war with Germany. From what is indicated by Mooney's unpublished autobiography, it seems that, unsurprisingly, a major concern was the German method of trade. A biographer states of this:

*Mooney took the opportunity at the dinner to deliver his own "blockbuster": if the Germans could negotiate some form of gold loan, would they be willing to stop their subsidized exports and special exchange practices which were so annoying to foreign traders, particularly the U.K. and the U.S? Whilst Mooney clearly honestly believed that this might ensure peace, in truth the practices had had a deleterious effect on General Motor's extraction of*

*profit out of Germany. . .*<sup>44</sup>

Mooney formulated a list of recommendations to ease tensions. Significantly, most of the list involves the return of Germany to the world trading and banking system:

1. *Limitation of armaments.*
2. *Non-aggression pacts.*
3. *Move into trade practices of western nations:*
  - a) *Free exchange*
  - b) *Discontinue subsidized exports*
  - c) *Move into most-favored-nation practices.*
  - d) *Discharge foreign obligations (pay debts).*<sup>45</sup>

It seems evident that Mooney was acting as an emissary for international capital, if not also as an intelligence agent for the U.S.A. and/or Britain. Some efforts were made by Walther Funk of the Reichsbank to compromise on terms of trade and finance, but war intervened. On February 4, 1939 Mooney stated before an annual banquet of the American Institute of Banking that an accommodation with Hitler could not be reached.<sup>46</sup>

### **Reich Commissioner for the Handling of Enemy Property**

Allied-affiliated corporations such as Opel, affiliated with General Motors, operating in German-occupied Europe during the war did so under control of the Reich Commissioner for the Handling of Enemy Property.

German state decrees of June 24 and 28, 1941 blocked the assets of American companies, following the blocking of German assets in the USA on June 14, 1941.

In a review for the U.S. National Archives. Dr. Greg Bradsher states that American company and bank assets were seized by a December 11, 1941 amendment to the “Decree Concerning the Treatment of Enemy Property of January 15, 1940.” U.S. corporate and bank assets were controlled by the Reichskommissar für die



Behandlung Feindlichen Vermoegens, which was part of the Ministry of Justice. Such trusteeship was part of international law. The *Reichskommissar* acted as trustee for the property of enemy aliens, in accordance with the German war effort until the end of hostilities, after which they would be returned to the owners with proper accounting. A custodian was appointed for each enterprise, who rendered financial accounts to the *Reichskommissar* every six months. However, other enterprises were confiscated outright by the Reich Ministry of Economics.<sup>47</sup>

By March 1, 1945, the Reichskommissar Office had taken under administration property in excess of RM 3.5 billion. On that date, the approximately RM 945 million of US property was administered by the Reichskommissar's Office and another RM 267 million of US property was not administered by the Reichskommissar's Office.<sup>48</sup>

Therefore, foreign corporations were hardly free to pursue their profits during war-time. Communication with the home office of the corporation was discontinued. Nonetheless, the argument persists that such corporations as Ford and General Motors were in league with the enemy during the war.<sup>49</sup> On the basis that the same German directors of Opel in Germany prior to the war were approved by the Reich office during the war, and that Alfred P. Sloan and Mooney remained theoretically on the Opel board, this is deemed sufficient to show collusion.<sup>50</sup> While Dr. Bradsher is unsure as to what happened to the profits, according to the Dividend Law of 1934, corporations were restricted on the amount of profits and dividends payable to shareholders to 6%. The remainder of profits had to be reinvested into the enterprise or used to buy Government bonds.<sup>51</sup> In short, the foreign-affiliated corporations were run by and for Germany as one would expect, and according to the aim of national autarchy.

Dr. Sutton tries to resolve many contradictions and paradoxes by stating that they are part of a Hegelian dialectical process learned in Germany during the early 19th century by scions of Puritan finance who founded the Yale-based Skull and Bones Lodge 322.<sup>52</sup> Hence, the reason why sections of Big Business dealt with both National Socialist Germany and the USSR; they were promoting controlled conflict that would result in a dialectical globalist synthesis.<sup>53</sup>

## **Fritz Thyssen**

Sutton quotes Fritz Thyssen as to why he supported Hitler, but does not see that the motives are different from Wall Street's. Thyssen, and other industrialists such as Krupp, who funded Hitler, did so openly and for patriotic reasons. Thyssen wrote, as cited by Sutton: "I turned to the National Socialist party only after I became convinced that the fight against the Young Plan was unavoidable if complete collapse of Germany was to be prevented."<sup>54</sup> The Young Plan for the payment of World War I reparations was regarded as the means of controlling Germany with American capital.<sup>55</sup> Thyssen is hardly an example of a nexus between Nazism and international capitalism; to the contrary, it shows that German business was motivated by patriotic sentiment to an extent that American business was not then and is today lesser still.

Thyssen was a Catholic motivated by the Church's social doctrine that sought an alternative to both Marxism and monopoly capitalism. Like many others throughout the world of all classes, Thyssen found the corporatist doctrines of Fascism and National Socialism to reflect Church doctrine on social justice. Thyssen was a member of the conservative National People's Party. While one of the few industrialists who donated to the NSDAP, at a late date, even this was meagre. The denazification trials in 1948 found that Thyssen donated about 650,000 Reichsmarks to various right-wing parties and groups, of which there were many, including the NSDAP, between 1923 and 1932. He was an adherent of the corporatist theories of Austrian philosopher Othmar Spann. In 1933 Thyssen was asked by the NSDAP to set up an Institute for Corporatism in Düsseldorf.<sup>56</sup> However, this was regarded as rivalling the Labor Front and was closed in 1936. In 1940, after having emigrated from Germany, Thyssen and his wife were captured in France and incarcerated in Germany for the duration of the war.

## **Prescott Bush**

A figure that is associated with Thyssen is Prescott Bush. Because he was, like his sons Presidents George H. W. and George W. Bush, initiated into Lodge 322, vastly nonsensical theories has been woven around the Yale secret society, a.k.a. The

Order of the Skull and Bones, as a pro-Nazi death cult, and the scions of influential families as part of an international Nazi conspiracy for world domination.

Prescott Bush was partner with W. Averell Harriman in Brown Brothers Harriman & Co., and the Union Banking Corporation. UBC acted as a clearinghouse for Thyssen interests. Because of this UBC's assets were seized by the U.S government during the war. That Thyssen languished in Nazi concentration camps for the duration of the war is disregarded by those who seek a Wall Street connection with Hitler via Thyssen. Hence, *The Guardian* claimed to have new revelations in 2004 which turn out as nothing, with the focus on Thyssen being the businessman who "financed Hitler to power." However, again more is said of the character of international capital than of big business backing for Hitler. *The Guardian* article states:

*Erwin May, a treasury attaché and officer for the department of investigation in the APC,<sup>57</sup> was assigned to look into UBC's business. The first fact to emerge was that Roland Harriman, Prescott Bush and the other directors didn't actually own their shares in UBC but merely held them on behalf of Bank voor Handel. Strangely, no one seemed to know who owned the Rotterdam-based bank, including UBC's president.*

*May wrote in his report of August 16 1941: "Union Banking Corporation, incorporated August 4 1924, is wholly owned by the Bank voor Handel en Scheepvaart NV of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. My investigation has produced no evidence as to the ownership of the Dutch bank. Mr. Cornelis [sic] Lievense, president of UBC, claims no knowledge as to the ownership of the Bank voor Handel but believes it possible that Baron Heinrich Thyssen, brother of Fritz Thyssen, may own a substantial interest."*

*May cleared the bank of holding a golden nest egg for the Nazi leaders but went on to describe a network of companies spreading out from UBC across Europe, America and Canada, and how money from voor Handel traveled to these companies through UBC.*

*By September May had traced the origins of the non-American board members*

*and found that Dutchman H. J. Kouwenhoven - who met with Harriman in 1924 to set up UBC - had several other jobs: in addition to being the managing director of voor Handel he was also the director of the August Thyssen bank in Berlin and a director of Fritz Thyssen's Union Steel Works, the holding company that controlled Thyssen's steel and coal mine empire in Germany.<sup>58</sup>*

The connections are tenuous at best, but of the same character as the other supposed associations between transnational corporations and the Third Reich.

### **Who Paid the Nazi Party?**

Like the assumption that Ford could have funded Hitler because they had similar views about Jews, Pool also makes the same assumption about Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, Schacht's friend, because Norman was also antagonistic towards Jews (and the French). He deplored the economic chaos wrought on Germany by the Versailles *diktat* and the adverse impact that was having on world trade. On that score, *he* could have funded the Nazi party, but there is no evidence for it. Pool's book is useful however insofar as he shows, despite himself, that the Nazi party was *not* a tool of big business.

I. G. Farben, for example, often depicted as one of the plutocratic wirepullers of the Nazi regime, and as the center of a Third Reich industrial death machine, was headed by liberals. Pool states that from its formation in 1925 I.G. Farben gave funding to all parties *except* the Nazis and the Communists. Not until 1932, with the NSDAP as the biggest party in parliament, did two representatives of the firm meet Hitler to get his views on the production of synthetic fuel.<sup>59</sup> Not surprisingly, Hitler was in favor, given that it was an important factor in an autarchic economy. However, the matter of funds for the party was not raised.

The upshot that we learn from Pool in regard to Nazi party funding is that, quoting economist Paul Drucker:

*The really decisive backing came from sections of the lower middle classes, the farmers, and working class... As far as the Nazi Party is concerned there is*

*good reason to believe that at least three-quarters of its funds, even after 1930, came from the weekly dues.... And from the entrance fees to the mass meetings from which members of the upper classes were always conspicuously absent.*<sup>60</sup>

Ludecke, despite his repudiation of Hitler, nonetheless cogently pointed out the difference in world-views between National Socialism and liberal capitalism. He wrote that the “newly legalized concept of property rights in Germany differs radically from the ideas of orthodox capitalism, though Marxian groups in particular persist in the erroneous contention that the Hitler system is a phase of the reaction designed to enforce the stabilization of capitalism.” He pointed out that “this planned economy signifies complete State control of production, agriculture, and commerce; of exports, imports, and foreign markets; of prices, foreign exchange, credit, rates of interest, profits, capital investments, and merchandizing of all kinds...”<sup>61</sup> Ludecke quotes from an article in the Council of Foreign Relations journal *Foreign Affairs* (July 1937) that “the German conception of capitalism was always essentially different from the Anglo-Saxon, because it was developed under an entirely different conception of the state and government...” Interestingly, the *Foreign Affairs* writer pointed out that what Hitler enacted was the consolidation of what had already been put in place by Social Democracy.<sup>62</sup> There were Social Democratic governments that had undertaken similar measures. Anyone familiar with New Zealand’s first Labor Government, assuming power about the same time as Hitler, could easily assume that what the *Foreign Affairs* writer is describing is the Labor Government’s economic policies.

### **Hjalmar Schacht**

A *direct* link between international capital and the Hitler regime was Hjalmar Schacht. He is instructive as to how the global banking nexus sought to co-opt the Nazi state, and how it failed. While researchers have focused on the first, they have neglected the implications of the latter. Sutton states that “Schacht was a member of the international financial elite that wields its power behind the scenes through the political apparatus of a nation. He is a key link between the Wall Street elite and Hitler’s inner circle.”<sup>63</sup> Schacht was a major figure in the creation of the Bank for

International Settlements. The presence of German delegates to that institution during World War II is a primary element of this alleged Nazi-Wall Street nexus. One could say, and some do, the same about the International Committee of the Red Cross<sup>64</sup> and Interpol<sup>65</sup> during the war.

It is tempting to speculate as to whether Schacht was planted in the National Socialist regime to derail the more-strident aspects of the NSDAP ideology on international capitalism. It is unreasonable to claim that Hitler betrayed the National Socialist fight against international capital, because the full economic program of the NSDAP was not fulfilled. There is always going to be a difference in perspective as to what can be achieved when one is not in government. Schacht was obliged to work within National Socialist parameters and could not help but achieve some remarkable results. Like Montagu Norman and others, he was also concerned that the economic chaos in Germany engendered by the post-war Versailles *diktat* was having an adverse impact on world trade. Sutton does not mention that he ended up in a concentration camp because of his commitment to international capital. At least Higham states early in his book that “Hjalmar Schacht spent much of the war in Geneva and Basle pulling strings behind the scenes. However, Hitler correctly suspected him of intriguing for the overthrow of the present regime in favor of The Fraternity<sup>66</sup> and imprisoned him late in the war.”<sup>67</sup>

Next page: Hjalmar Schacht testifying for the defendant Friedrich Flick, said the industrialist contributed to the Nazi Party's campaign fund in 1933 because Hitler promised to protect private industry and to eliminate all strikes. Date: 21 July 1947



Hitler re-appointed Hjalmar Schacht as president of the Reichsbank in 1933, and in 1934 as minister of economics. Schacht wrote after the war:

*National Socialist agitators led by Gottfried Feder had carried on a vicious campaign against private banking and against our entire currency system. Nationalization of banks, abolition of bondage to interest payments and introduction of state Giro 'Feder' money, those were the high-sounding phrases of a pressure group which aimed at the overthrow of our money and banking system. To keep this nonsense in check, [I] called a bankers' council, which made suggestions for tighter supervision and control over the banks. These suggestions were codified in the law of 1934... by increasing the powers of the bank supervisory authority. In the course of several discussions, I succeeded in dissuading Hitler from putting into practice the most foolish and dangerous of the ideas on banking and currency harbored by his party colleagues.<sup>68</sup>*

What Schacht did introduce was the MEFO bill. Between 1934 and 1938 12,000,000 bills had been issued at 3,000,000 bills per year. MEFO bills were used specifically to facilitate the exchange of goods.<sup>69</sup> However, once full employment had been achieved, Schacht wanted to return to orthodox finance. Hitler objected, and it was agreed that Schacht would continue as president of the Reichsbank until 1939, on the assurance that the MEFO issue would be halted when 12,000,000 bills had been reached.<sup>70</sup> After the war Schacht assured readers that fiat money such as the MEFO,<sup>71</sup> like barter, should not become the norm for the world, despite their successes in Germany.

Likewise, Schacht opposed the autarchic aims of National Socialism. Schacht was, in short, ideologically inimical to the *raison d'être* of National Socialism. Today he would be a zealous exponent of globalization along with David Rockefeller and George Soros. He wrote after the war:

*Exaggerated autarchy is the greatest obstacle to a world-wide culture. It is only culture which can bring people closer to one another, and world trade is the most powerful carrier of culture. For this reason I was unable to support those who advocated the autarchistic seclusion of a hermitage as a solution to Germany's problems.*<sup>72</sup>

Yet Schacht was also responsible during six years for re-establishing Germany's economy, and among the achievements which were in accord with National Socialism was the creation of bi-lateral trade agreements based on reciprocal credits. Schacht wrote of this:

*In September 1934 I introduced a new foreign trade programme which made use of offset accounts, and book entry credit...*

*My plan was to some extent a reversion to the primitive barter economy, only the technique was modern. The equivalent value of imported goods was credited to the foreign supplier in a German banking account, and vice versa foreign buyers of German goods could make payment by means of these accounts. No movement of money in marks or foreign currency took place. All was done through credits and debits in a bank account. Thus no foreign exchange problem came into being.*<sup>73</sup>



Schacht then hints at what would result in a clash of systems, and world war:

*Those interested in the exchange of goods came into conflict with those interested solely in money. There was soon a battle royal between the exporters who sold goods to Germany, and the creditors who wanted their interest. Both parties demanded to be given preference, but the decision always went in favor of foreign trade.*

*I concluded special agreements with a number of states which were our principal sources of raw materials and foodstuffs. Anyone who wished to sell raw materials to Germany had to purchase German industrial products. Germany could pay for goods from abroad only by means of home-produced goods, and was thus able to trade only with countries prepared to participate in this bilateral programme. There were many such countries. The whole of South America, and the Balkans were glad to avail themselves of the idea, since it favoured their raw materials production. By the spring of 1938 there were no less than 25 such offset account agreements with foreign countries, so that more than one half of Germany's foreign trade was conducted by means of this system. This trade agreement system in which two countries - Germany and one foreign country - were always involved, has entered economic history under the name of 'bilateral' trading policy.<sup>74</sup>*

It created much ill-feeling in countries which were not part of the system. These were precisely those countries who were Germany's main competitors in world markets, and who had hitherto attempted to effect repayment of their loans by imposing special charges on their imports from Germany. The countries participating in bilateral trade were not amongst those which had granted Germany loans. They were primary producers or predominantly agrarian, and had hitherto scarcely been touched by industrialisation. They utilised the bilateral trading system to accelerate their own industrial development by means of machines and factory installations imported from Germany.<sup>75</sup>

However, Schacht was not even in favor of the permanence of this great alternative method of world trade that allowed for the peaceful development of

backward economies. Imagine the difference to the world today had this system been allowed to live and grow. Schacht remained a member of The Fraternity, to use Higham's term, and he worried that

*The bilateral trading system kept the German balance of payments under control for many years, but it was not a satisfactory solution, nor was it a permanent one. It is true that it enabled Germany to preserve its industry and to feed its populace, but the system could not provide a surplus of foreign exchange. No more was ever imported than was exported. Import and export balanced out exactly in monetary terms. Thus this system achieved the very opposite of what I, in agreement with the foreign creditors, had deemed to be necessary.*<sup>76</sup>

As if to emphasize that he had never intended to renege on his loyalty to The Fraternity, Schacht lamented apologetically:

*Already at the time when I introduced the bilateral trading system I made it known that I regarded it as a most inadequate and unpleasant system, and expressed the hope that it would soon be replaced by an all-round, free, multilateral trading policy. In fact the system did have some considerable influence on the trading policies of Germany's competitors.*<sup>77</sup>

It seems that Schacht had unleashed forces of economic justice and equity upon the world in spite of his intentions and it could only be stopped by war. Again: "For my part I would not say that the bilateral trading system, ranks among those of my measures which are worth copying."<sup>78</sup> Introducing barter in world trade seems to have been the source of great shame to Schacht.

Schacht criticizes Hitler for having financed the war neither with taxation nor with the raising of loans. "Instead he chose to print banknotes,"<sup>79</sup> which of course is anathema to a banker such as Schacht, claiming the looming prospect of "inflation." True enough, the "inflation" did not occur because of the other state controls, but Schacht stated that it did happen - in 1945.<sup>80</sup> At the end of the war the bills in circulation amounted to between 40 and 60 billion marks. Schacht comments that it did not result in hyperinflation, and that the aim was to keep the level at that amount.<sup>81</sup>

Might one conclude then that the fiat money that had been issued by the Third Reich had not been the cause of inflation, but rather the destruction of German production by the end of the war? At any rate it was not until 1948 that the Allied occupation attempted currency reform, based on the recommendations of U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau Jr., by a massive devaluation of the mark. This is what had devastating consequences upon middle- and working-class Germans, and Schacht states that “malevolent intent was involved.”<sup>82</sup> Fiat money has long been the great bugaboo among orthodox economists. Amusingly, Schacht spent two days during the Nuremberg proceedings trying to explain the MEFO bills, and when asked for a third time, gave up and refused.<sup>83</sup>

The Bank for International Settlements reports show that up to the end of the war the Reich Government used a variety of methods of finance, including what Schacht had ridiculed as “state Giro ‘Feder’ money.”

Another interesting point made by Schacht is that, contrary to the widespread assumption, German economic recovery was not based on war expenditure. Schacht even criticizes Hitler with the assumption that he did not understand the requirements of war preparation. During 1935-1938 armaments expenditure was 21 billion RM.<sup>84</sup> Schacht assumes that this was due to Hitler’s ignorance. The other alternative is that there was no long-term plan to wage a major war or prolonged aggression. There was no buildup of raw materials and no real war economy until 1939.

In 1939 Schacht was replaced by Dr. Walther Funk, who had served in 1932 as deputy chairman of the NSDAP’s economic council under the chairmanship of Feder. The replacement of Schacht by Funk working under the direction of Göring the head of the Four Year Plan, seems to be an indication that a transitional phase had been completed and that the Government was well aware of Schacht’s role as an agent for international capital. Otto D. Tolischus, writing from Berlin for *The New York Times*, commented:

*Dr. Schacht was ousted because he believed that Germany had reached the limit in debt-making and currency-expansion, that any further expansion spelled danger to the economic system, for which he still considered himself*

*responsible, and that the government would have to curtail its ambitions and confine itself to the nation's means...*

*No authoritative explanation of the new financial policy is available so far, but judging from hints in the highest quarters, the policy is likely to proceed about as follows:*

*1. Expand the currency circulation only for current exchange demands and not for special purposes.*

*2. Open the capital market for private industry and make private industry finance many tasks hitherto financed by the state, either directly or by prices on public orders, which have enabled industry to finance the expansion of new Four-Year Plan factories out of accumulated profits and reserves.*

*3. Create a non-interest bearing credit instrument with which the state, now having to share the capital market with private enterprise, will finance its own further orders in anticipation of increasing tax receipts from the resulting expansion of production.*

*In one respect therefore, Herr Funk presumably will continue 'pre-financing' the state's orders as did Dr. Schacht, but whereas Dr. Schacht did it with bills, loans, delivery certificates and other credit instruments, all of which cost between 4½ and 5 per cent interest per year, Herr Funk proposes doing it with non-interest-bearing instruments.*

*How that is to be done is his secret, but the mere mention of interest-free credit instruments inevitably recalls the plan of Gottfried Feder which at one time fascinated Chancellor Hitler, but which Dr Schacht vetoed.<sup>85</sup>*

What had taken place was an ultimatum from the Reichsbank, which in January 1939 refused to grant the state any further credits.<sup>86</sup> This amounted to a mutiny by orthodox banking. On January 19 Schacht was removed a president of the Reichsbank, and his position was assumed by Economics Minister Funk. Hitler issued as edict that obliged the Reichsbank to provide credit to the state.

Funk commented on Germany's monetary policy a year later:

*Turning from the external to the internal sector, the question, "How is this war being financed in Germany?" is one in which the world shows a lively interest. The war is financed by work, for we are spending no money which has not been earned by our work. Bills based on labour – drawn by the Reich and discounted by the Reichsbank – are the basis of money...<sup>87</sup>*

Broadly, it seems that Feder's ideas were being implemented. The NSDAP broke the bondage of the international gold merchants, and this was being openly discussed as the way of the future. Germany created an autarchic trading bloc both before and during the war, based on barter through a Reich clearing center. Pegging national currencies to the Reichsmark resulted in immediate wage increases in the occupied states. The Bank for International Settlements Annual Report for 1940-1941 quoted finance spokesmen from Fascist Italy and the Third Reich:

*The development of clearings in Europe has given rise to certain fears with regard to the future position of gold as an element in the monetary structure. It has since been noted that Germany has been able to finance rearmament and war with very slight gold reserves and that the foreign trade of Germany and Italy has been carried on largely on a clearing basis. Hence the question is being asked whether a new monetary system is being developed which will altogether dispense with the services of gold.*

*In authoritative statements made on this subject in Germany and Italy a distinction is drawn between different functions of gold. The president of the German Reichsbank said in a speech on 26 July 1940 that "in any case in the future gold will play no role as a basis of European currencies, for a currency is not dependent upon its cover but on the value which is given to it by the state, i.e. by the economic order as regulated by the state." "It is," he added, "another matter whether gold should be regarded as a suitable medium for the settlement of debit balances between countries, but we shall never pursue a monetary policy which makes us in any way dependent upon gold, for it is impossible to tie oneself to a medium the value of which one cannot determine*

*oneself.*”<sup>88</sup>

After the war Schacht, while acquitted of charges at Nuremberg, did not escape the vindictiveness of the Allies, despite the testimonials of those who stated that he was from the start an enemy of Hitler. In 1959 Donald R. Heath, American ambassador to Saudi Arabia, who had been director of political affairs for the American military government during the time of the Nuremberg trials, wrote to Schacht telling him that he had tried to intervene for Schacht with U.S. prosecutor Robert Jackson:

*After consultation with Robert Murphy, now Under Secretary of State, and with the permission of General Clay, I went to Nürnberg to see Jackson. I told Jackson not only should you never have been brought before that tribunal but that you had consistently been working for the downfall of the Nazi regime. I told him that I had been in touch with you consistently during the first part of the war and Under Secretary of State Wells through me, and that you had passed on to me information adverse to the Nazi cause...*<sup>89</sup>

In 1952 Schacht applied to establish a bank in Hamburg but was refused on the basis that the MEFO bills had offended banking morality. Notably, it was the Socialists who found the MEFO objectionable.<sup>90</sup>

### **Who Wanted War?**

If some industrialists and businessmen such as Henry Ford Sr. did not want war and supported the America First Committee, others, including those supposedly pro-Nazi, were clamoring for aid to Britain and antagonism towards Germany well before Pearl Harbor. Senator Rush D. Holt, a liberal pacifist, during the last session of the 76th Congress, exposed the oligarchs promoting belligerence against Germany. Commenting on an influential committee, Defend America by Aiding the Allies, headed by newspaperman William Allen White, to agitate for war against Germany, or at least “all aid short of war” to Britain, Senator Holt said the founders included “eighteen prominent bankers.” Among those present at its April 1940 founding were Henry L. Stimson, who had served as counsel for J. P. Morgan and senior Morgan partner Thomas W. Lamont.<sup>91</sup> The campaign began on June 10, 1940, with

advertisements entitled “Stop Hitler Now” appearing in newspapers throughout the USA. There was an allusion to the advertisements being paid for by “a number of patriotic American citizens.” On July 11 Senator Holt spoke to the Senate on the advertisement:

*You find it is not the little fellows who paid for this advertisement, “Stop Hitler Now!” ... Listen to these banks. The directors of these banks, or the families of directors, paid for this advertisement. Who are they? No wonder they want Hitler stopped. Director of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co.; Director of Drexel & Co.; Director of Kuhn, Loeb Co., - Senators have heard that name before – Kuhn, Loeb & Co. international banking. No wonder Kuhn, Loeb & Co. helped finance such an advertisement. A Director of Lehman Bros., another international banking firm, helped pay for this “Stop Hitler” advisement, and a number of others.<sup>92</sup>*

Holt, referring to a list of names of the advertisement sponsors, stated that they are not the types who die in battle, or the fathers of those who die in battle. He named the wives of international financiers W. Averell Harriman,<sup>93</sup> H. P. Davison,<sup>94</sup> the late Daniel Guggenheim,<sup>95</sup> and John Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. Other sponsors included Frederick M. Warburg,<sup>96</sup> a partner of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.; Cornelius V. Whitney, mining magnate associated with Rockefeller and Morgan interests; and Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan Co. In communications, there was Henry Luce, publisher of *Time*, and Samuel Goldman, the Hollywood mogul. Holt described these sponsors not as “patriots,” but as “paytriots.”

In his farewell speech to the Senate, Holt nailed exactly what was behind the agitation for war against Germany, and the different attitude towards the USSR: “Germany is a factor in world trade against England, Russia is not.” “American boys are going to be sent once again to Europe, in the next session of Congress, not to destroy dictatorship or to preserve democracy but to preserve the balance of power and protect world trade.” It is interesting to read now that in reply Senator Josh Lee reminded Holt that Roosevelt had promised that “no American expeditionary force would be sent to Europe.” Holt replied that Roosevelt had broken many promises.<sup>97</sup>

A survey of the newspaper headlines also indicates those most avid in calling for U.S. war against Germany, from as early as 1938; and indeed the war hysteria that was being pushed against Germany from an early date. Apart from President Franklin D. Roosevelt promising that he would not involve the USA in another European war, out of one side one his mouth while out of the other demanding an urgent military buildup, the two individuals who stand out most prominently in war-mongering are presidential confidant and Wall Street financier Bernard M. Baruch and New York Governor Herbert H. Lehman of Lehman Brothers. In October 1938 Baruch and Roosevelt were both calling for increased military spending by the USA. In January 1939 Baruch offered \$3,300,000 of his own fortune to help equip the U.S. army. In February 1939 Roosevelt was saying that U.S. involvement in helping Britain and France was “inevitable,” although hostilities were not declared until September. In May 1940, amidst war-mongering by “rabbis” and Roosevelt, “Baruch exhorts U.S. to re-arm.” In June “Lehman tells Roosevelt to send all arms asked.” A few days later James P. Warburg, of the famous banking dynasty, “says only force will stop Hitler.” In July Lehman called for compulsory military service. In January 1941 James P. Warburg “asks for speed” in rearming the USA. A few days previously Rabbi Stephen S. Wise urged “all aid short of war” to Britain, as Roosevelt asked “billions in loans to fight Axis,” and Lehman “urges speedy passage of aid measure.” In February “Jewish Institute to Plan Role in New World Order,” and “Lehman Urges Speed in Voting British Aid Bill.”<sup>98</sup> Lehman, U.S. diplomat Bullitt, and others of the pro-war party were pitching to the American public, overwhelmingly opposed to war, that if Britain is defeated, the USA faced impending invasion.<sup>99</sup> Those such as Colonel Charles Lindbergh, who showed that such alarmist claims were utter nonsense, were pilloried as “pro-Nazi.”

## **Conclusion**

Some Wall Street luminaries who are supposed to have been “pro-Nazi” on the basis of business affiliations in Germany were among those agitating for war against Germany. Foreign business holdings were held in trust throughout the war by Germany in accordance with international law. The one individual who had



convincing links with international capital, Hjalmar Schacht, was relieved of all positions by 1939 and ended up in a concentration camp. Those German businessmen who did provide funds to the Nazi party did so at a comparatively late date, and were of nationalistic sentiments in a German tradition that was alien to that of the self-interest of the English free-trade school. Even those foreign businessmen who might reasonably have been expected to fund the NSDAP on ideological grounds, primarily Henry Ford, did not do so, persistent allegations to the contrary.

The Third Reich was a command economy, and corporate executives became “trustees” of their firms, subject to state supervision. The NSDAP premise: “the common interest before self-interest” was upheld throughout the regime. Dividends and profits were limited to a large extent. While it is a widespread assumption that Hitler reneged on the “socialist” principles of the NSDAP program, what the regime did carry out was extensive in terms of bilateral trade, and the use of unorthodox methods of finance. The machinations of international capital, including those who were supposedly pro-German, were for war, especially if Germany could not be persuaded to return to orthodox methods of trade and finance. War came the same year as Schacht was dismissed from office.

## Notes:

1 - See for example: “Fascism” in *ABC of Political Terms* (Moscow: Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1982), pp. 29-30; cited in Roger Griffin, *Fascism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 282-283.

2 - Ibid.

3 - Roger Eatwell, *Fascism: A History* (London: Vintage, 1995).

4 - Zeev Sternhell, *The Birth of Fascist Ideology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); *Neither Left nor Right: Fascist Ideology in France* (Princeton, 1986).

5 - “Guidelines of the German Workers’ Party,” January 5, 1919, in Barbara M. Lane and Leila J. Rupp, *Nazi Ideology Before 1933* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978), pp. 9-11.

6 - Oswald Spengler [1926], *The Decline of the West* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971), Vol. 2, p. 402.

7 - Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (London; Hurst and Blackett, 1939), pp. 180-181.

8 - Ibid., p. 183.

9 - Ibid.

10 - Friedrich List, *The National System of Political Economy* (1841) online at: <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/315>

11 - Ibid., “Author’s Preface.”

12 - Antony Sutton, *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution* (New Rochelle, New York: Arlington House

Publishers, 1974).

13 - Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler* (Suffolk: Broomfield Books, 1976).

14 - Everette O. Lemons, *A Revolution in Ideological Inhumanity* (Lulu Press, 2013), Vol. 1 pp. 339-340.

15 - Ibid. , p. 389.

16 - Kurt G. W. Ludecke, *I Knew Hitler* (London: Jarrolds Publishers, 1938), pp. 287-288.

17 - Sutton, *How The Order Creates War and Revolution* (Bullsbrook, W. Australia: Veritas Publishing (1985). Sutton's evidence for Wall Street funding of Hitler comprises nothing other than the supposed links with Fritz Thyssen (pp. 58-63), which will be considered below.

18 - "Berlin hears Ford is backing Hitler," *New York Times*, December 20, 1922, cited by Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*, pp. 90-92.

19 - See for example: " The Constantine Report," <http://www.constantinereport.com/new-york-times-dec-20-1922-berlin-hears-ford-backing-hitler/>

Also the citing of the article in a university thesis: Daniel Walsh, "The Silent Partner: how the Ford Motor Company Became an Arsenal of Nazism," p. 4, University of Pennsylvania, [http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1018&context=hist\\_honors](http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1018&context=hist_honors)

20 - Antony Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler* (Suffolk: Broomfield Books, 1976), p. 92.

21 - Ibid.

22 - Scott Nehmer, *Ford, General Motors and the Nazis: Marxist Myths About Production, Patriotism and Philosophies* (Bloomington, Indiana: Author House LLC, 2013).

23 - Professor Eric Johnson seems to be particularly close to Jewish interests, which might explain his outrage at Mr. Nehmer's lack of subservience. See: Central Michigan University, *History Department Newsletter*, "Faculty Publications and Activities," June 2010, p. 2, <https://www.cmich.edu/colleges/chsbs/history/about/documents/historynewsletter2010.pdf>

24 - Scott Nehmer, "Ford General Motors, and the Nazis," <http://scottneher.weebly.com/>

25 - Antony Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*, pp. 104-105. *Trading with the Enemy* (London: Robert Hale, 1983), by Charles Higham, is along the same lines.

26 - Kurt G. W. Ludecke, *I Knew Hitler* (London: Jarrolds Publishers, 1938).

27 - Ibid., p. 196.

28 - Ibid., p. 203.

29 - Ibid., p. 201.

30 - Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*, p. 92.

31 - James Pool, *Who Financed Hitler* (New York: Pocket Books, 1997), pp. 65-96.

32 - *New York Times*, June 4, 1938; quoted by Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*, pp. 90-91.

33 - Ibid., p. 90.

34 - Pool, p. 84.

35 - George T. Eggleston, *Roosevelt, Churchill and the World War II Opposition* (Old Greenwich, Conn.: The Devin-Adair Co., 1979), pp. 96-97.

36 - Ibid., pp. 101, 146, 147, 164, 165.

37 - Ibid., p. 101.

38 - Thomas Lamont, " American Business in War and Peace: Economic Peace Essential to Political Peace," speech before the Academy of Political Sciences, November 15, 1939, quoted by Peter Luddington, *Why the Good War was Good: Franklin D. Roosevelt's New World Order*, doctoral thesis, UCLA (Ann Arbor: ProQuest LLC, 2008), pp. 112-113.

39 - K. R. Bolton, "The Geopolitics of White Dispossession" in *Radix*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2012, pp. 108-110.

40 - Ibid., pp. 112-114.

41 - Elliott Roosevelt, *As He Saw It* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), p. 35.

- 42 - Charles Higham, *Trading with the Enemy: How the Allied Multinationals supplied Nazi Germany throughout World War Two* (London: Robert Hale, 1983), pp. 166-177.
- 43 - Edwin Black, "Hitler's Car Maker: The Inside Story of How General Motors Helped Mobilize the Third Reich," History News Network, <http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/37935>
- 44 - James D. Mooney, *Always the Unexpected*, unpublished autobiography, ed. Louis P. Lochner, (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1948), p. 24; cited by David Hayward, *Automotive History*, "Mr. James D. Mooney: A Man of Missions," [http://www.gmhistory.chevytalk.org/James\\_D\\_Mooney\\_by\\_David\\_Hayward.html](http://www.gmhistory.chevytalk.org/James_D_Mooney_by_David_Hayward.html)
- 45 - Mooney, *ibid.*, p. 27.
- 46 - Luddington, p. 113.
- 47 - Dr. Greg Bradsher, "German Administration of American Companies 1940-1945: A Very Brief Review," U.S. National Archives, June 6, 2001, <http://www.archives.gov/research/holocaust/articles-and-papers/german-administration-of-american-companies.html>
- 48 - *Ibid.*
- 49 - Rinehold Billstein, et al *Working for the Enemy: Ford, General Motors and Forced Labor in Germany During the Second World War* (Berghahn Books, 2004), p. 141.
- 50 - Anita Kugler, *Working for the Enemy*, *ibid.*, p. 36.
- 51 - Richard Overy, *The Dictators* (London: Allen Lane, 2004), p.p. 438-439.
- 52 - Antony Sutton, *How The Order Creates War and Revolution*, pp. 3-9.
- 53 - *Ibid*, *inter alia*.
- 54 - Fritz Thyssen, *I Paid Hitler* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart Inc., n.d.) p. 88, cited by Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*, p. 25.
- 55 - Sutton, *ibid.*, p. 25.
- 56 - "Fritz Thyssen," ThyssenKrupp, [http://www.thyssenkrupp.com/en/konzern/geschichte\\_grfam\\_t2.html](http://www.thyssenkrupp.com/en/konzern/geschichte_grfam_t2.html)
- 57 - Alien Property Commission.
- 58 - "How Bush's Grandfather Helped Hitler's Rise to Power," *The Guardian*, September 25, 2004, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/sep/25/usa.secondworldwar>
- 59 - Pool, pp. 336-337.
- 60 - Paul Drucker, *The End of Economic Man* (London: 1939), p. 105; quoted by Pool, p. 272.
- 61 - Ludecke, p. 692.
- 62 - *Ibid.*, p. 693.
- 63 - Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*, p. 18.
- 64 - Arthur Spiegelman, "WWII Documents Bolster Nazi-Red Cross Connection," *Detroit Free Press*, August 30, 1996, p. 6A.
- 65 - Gerald L. Posner, "Interpol's Nazi Affiliations Continued after War," *New York Times*, March 6, 1990, <http://www.nytimes.com/1990/03/06/opinion/l-interpol-s-nazi-affiliations-continued-after-war-137690.html>
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- 68 - Hjalmar Schacht, *The Magic of Money* (London: Oldbourne, 1967), p. 49; [http://www.autentopia.se/blogg/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/schacht\\_the\\_magic\\_of\\_money.pdf](http://www.autentopia.se/blogg/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/schacht_the_magic_of_money.pdf)
- 69 - *Ibid.*, p. 117.
- 70 - *Ibid.*, p. 114.
- 71 - *Ibid.*, p. 116.
- 72 - *Ibid.*, p. 85.
- 73 - *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

- 74 - Ibid., p. 86.
- 75 - Ibid., p. 87.
- 76 - Ibid., p. 87.
- 77 - Ibid., p. 87.
- 78 - Ibid., p. 89.
- 79 - Ibid., p. 98.
- 80 - Ibid., p. 143.
- 81 - Ibid., p. 109.
- 82 - Ibid., p. 121.
- 83 - bid., p. 118.
- 84 -Ibid., p. 101.
- 85 - "The Abolition of Debt-Bonds Is the Story behind the Removal of Dr. Schacht," *Social Justice*, February 13, 1939, p. 11
- 86 - Schacht, p. 117.
- 87 - Walther Funk, "The Economic Re-Organisation of Europe," Speech: July 25, 1940.
- 88 - *The Bank for International Settlements Annual Report for 1940-1941*, Eleventh Annual Report, June 9, 1941, p. 96.
- 89 - Hjalmar Schacht, p. 107.
- 90 - Ibid., p. 118.
- 91 - "Rabid Tory Propagandists are Worst War Profiteers," *Weekly Roll-Call*, January 25, 1941, p. 6; citing *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 12, 1940.
- 92 - "Aid to Britain Screech comes from Wall Street Profiteers facing loss," *Weekly Roll-Call*, February 3, 1941, p. 5.
- 93 - An elder statesman of American diplomacy under several presidents, he was a founder of Brown Brothers Harriman international bank, one of whose partners was fellow Lodge 322 initiate Prescott Bush. On account of business affiliations with German corporations such as those of Fritz Thyssen, Harriman is assumed to have been a Wall Street backer of Hitler, along with Prescott Bush. His sponsorship of war agitation shows this is not the case.
- 94 - Associated with J.P Morgan interests, he was a Lodge 322 initiate in 1920.
- 95 - Guggenheim, the copper magnate, had been a member of the National Security League, headed by J. P. Morgan, which had agitated for war against Germany during World War I.
- 96 - A director in Harriman railway interests.
- 97 - "Senator Holt in Farewell Speech calls Pro-War agitators 'Traitors'," *Weekly Roll-Call*, January 11, 1941, p. 9.
- 98 - "The Chronology of the Devil who wants War," *Weekly Roll-Call*, February 17, 1941, p. 2.
- 99 - "Prompt passage of aid bill urged," *The Pittsburgh Press*, January 26, 1941, pp. 1, 12. "U.S. envoys who saw Nazis in action fear invasion, back Lend-Lease Bill," *Pittsburgh Press*, p. 12.

## 17.

# RELIGION, MYSTICISM AND THE MYTH OF THE "OCCULT REICH"

There's nothing quite like the sensationalism of combining Nazism with black magic to ensure attention for an author. Since Hitler's National Socialism has been regarded as "the ultimate in evil," linking Hitlerism with black magic and Satanism is a logical development. It could be contended that the sensationalism of the dime novel, pop history, and Hollywood in portraying Hitler as having sold his soul to Mephistopheles, Faustus-style, is a piece of historical grotesquerie for which supposedly serious scholars must be ultimately held responsible.

Much of this can be traced to a piece of wartime propaganda, *Hitler Speaks*, by Hermann Rauschning, who claimed to be one of Hitler's "inner circle." In this book there are many references to Hitler's dealing with black magic and dark powers, and to the presence of an early NSDAP member, Marthe Kuntzel, who was also both a theosophist and a leading German follower of the British occultist Aleister Crowley.<sup>1</sup> Rauschning was taken seriously by historians until quite recently. Mark Weber writes that in 1983 a Swiss historian exposed the hoax:

Haenel was able to conclusively establish that Rauschning's claim to have met

with Hitler “more than a hundred times” is a lie. The two actually met only four times, and never alone. The words attributed to Hitler, he showed, were simply invented or lifted from many different sources, including writings by Juenger and Friedrich Nietzsche. An account of Hitler hearing voices, waking at night with convulsive shrieks and pointing in terror at an empty corner while shouting “There, there, in the corner!” was taken from a short story by French writer Guy de Maupassant.<sup>2</sup>

Hence, the proliferation of pop-history works trying to prove a link between the Third Reich and the occult, such as *The Morning of the Magicians*,<sup>3</sup> *The Occult Reich*,<sup>4</sup> *Satan and Swastika*,<sup>5</sup> and *The Spear of Destiny*.<sup>6</sup> One can generally make any allegations about “Nazism,” “Fascism” or the “Right” without being challenged. Entertainment has also increasingly drawn on this imaginative pop-history in television series such as “True Blood”<sup>7</sup>, where the German post-war underground, the “Werwolves,”<sup>8</sup> are depicted as being actual lycanthropes. There is also something of a self-fulfilling prophesy about it insofar as there have been post-war attempts to portray National Socialism and the Third Reich as manifestations of some type of occult force.<sup>9</sup> Included in this is the more sober attempt by the Chilean diplomat Miguel Serrano, whose “esoteric Hitlerism” included the worship of Lucifer, as a god of light, and of Shiva as the equivalent of Wotan,<sup>10</sup> and of the “esoteric Hitlerism” of the Greek convert to Hinduism, Savitri Devi.<sup>11</sup> Somewhat comic-opera attempts at a Nazi-Gothic-Satanist synthesis focus mainly on Radio Werewolf/Werewolf Order and elements of the Church of Satan, on the assumption that National Socialism and Satanism share a common doctrine of misanthropy and elitism.<sup>12</sup>

One of the few scholarly efforts to trace connections between the occult and the National Socialist party is the late Dr. Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke’s *Occult Roots of Nazism*.<sup>13</sup> Goodrick-Clarke, while establishing a very indirect link between pre-World War I “Ariosophy” and the National Socialist party, rejects the exaggerations that have linked Ariosophy, the Thule Society, the *Vril* Society, et al to the rise of Hitler. For example he states that Dietrich Eckart, Hitler’s early mentor, and Alfred Rosenberg, were “never more than guests of Thule during its heyday,” while the geopolitical theorist Karl Haushofer, did not have any link to the society, despite much fantasy being woven around these individuals and their alleged occult links.<sup>14</sup> The influence of

Lanz von Liebenfels and his Ordo Novi Templi in pre-World War I Austro-Hungary on the young Hitler and subsequently on the Third Reich is also put into context, Goodrick-Clarke pointing out that the Order was dissolved by the Nazis and Lanz was prohibited from publishing with the advent of the Third Reich.<sup>15</sup>

It should be kept in mind that Hitler's views were rather prevalent in Central Europe in his youth and his ideas in *Mein Kampf* are not original but came from a widespread intellectual milieu, of which the Lanz movement was one manifestation.

Another was the Wotenist and runic mysticism of Guido Von List, likewise without influence on Hitler. While Rudolf von Sebottendorff, founder of the Thule Society, was influenced by both Lanz and von List, the influence of Thule on the foundation of the NSDAP has been exaggerated. Sebottendorff was gone from the scene by 1919. "There no evidence Hitler ever attended the Thule Society," states Goodrick-Clarke, "and such theorists were increasingly marginalized well before the party assumed power." Furthermore, occult societies were prohibited in the Third Reich, including those with a racial foundation.<sup>16</sup>



Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler (1938) Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-R99621 / CC-BY-SA 3.0 [CC BY-SA 3.0 de (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/deed.en>)], via Wikimedia Commons

## **Karl Maria Wiligut: The Secret King**

As far as the English language goes, apart from Goodrick-Clarke's *Occult Roots of Nazism*, the only other credible book on the subject seems to be *The Secret King: Karl Maria Wiligut: Himmler's Lord of the Runes*.<sup>17</sup> The advantage of this book is that it is a collection of what is by-lined as "the real documents of Nazi occultism," and lets those documents largely speak for themselves.

Michael Moynihan, the editor, in the preface comments:

*A veritable cottage industry exists for lurid books on "Nazi Occultism," but few people have had the opportunity to assess real source documents of this nature – and it is clear that most of the authors of the pulp histories certainly made no effort to do so!*

*Along with the fantastical tales of Nazis and the Occult, claims are often made regarding the "pagan" agenda of the Third Reich, especially in regard to Himmler's SS organization. If one investigates the writings of prominent National Socialist ideologues such as Alfred Rosenberg, however, a far more ambiguous picture emerges of the state-sanctioned religiosity of the time.*<sup>18</sup>

Moynihan alludes to the neo-pagan festivals of the SS compiled into a book by Friz Weitzl in 1939, *Die Gestaltung der Feste im Jahres- und Lebenslauf in der SS-Familie* (*The Structuring of Festivals during the Year and Life of the SS-Family*).<sup>19</sup> Moynihan states that this was issued as a small print run and can therefore be assumed to have reflected the view of a "minority" within the SS.<sup>20</sup>

Himmler was one of those who promoted a neo-pagan outlook. Under his patronage the most enduring occult influence on an aspect of the Third Reich was Karl Maria Wiligut, the runic mystic who advised Himmler on the redesign of Wewelsburg Castle as the SS "center of the world."<sup>21</sup> If Wiligut had a certain influence within the SS, he was also met with influential opposition, meaning that the SS, like all other departments and divisions of the NSDAP and the Third Reich administration, were not as monolithic as popularly supposed. Wiligut and other esoteric runologists were opposed in particular by the *Ahnenerbe*, a scholarly research division of the SS,<sup>22</sup> itself often the center of pop-history fantasies about occultism.



Dr. Stephen Flowers provides an introductory biography on Wiligut without ideologically driven interpretations. Born in 1866, Wiligut wrote his first book, *Seyfrieds Runen* in 1903 when he was a captain in the Austrian army. The book is an epic poem on the legend of King Seyfried of Rabenstein. In 1908 Wiligut wrote “The Nine Commandments of Gôt’ for the first time since the book-burnings of Ludwig the Pious.” He was also at the time associated with several initiates of Lanz von Liebenfels’ Ordo Novi Templi. However Wiligut’s active interest in the occult can be traced to 1889 when he joined what Flowers calls the “quasi-Masonic lodge” *Schlarraffia*, which did not have a *völkische* connection. Wiligut resigned from the lodge in 1909, perhaps as a result of the rivalry existing between Masonry and the *völkische* occult.<sup>23</sup>

This was a time when there was much interest in the occult revival in Europe and Britain. The Theosophical Society was founded during the 1870s, with the catchcry of “universal brotherhood,”<sup>24</sup> despite the way its doctrine on “root traces” has been claimed as an inspiration for National Socialist and other *völkische* movements. The neo-Rosicrucian “Order of the Golden Dawn” in Britain was an influential organization in the occult revival that included W.B. Yeats and his antagonist Aleister Crowley. The Ordo Templi Orientis was founded in Germany by Theodor Reuss, who appeared to have been a German intelligence agent, and reached England, where Aleister Crowley, who appears to have been a British intelligence operative when in the USA,<sup>25</sup> had assumed leadership. There was also Fraternis Saturni, which followed Crowley’s religion of “Thelema” without following Crowley the person, whose doctrine Flowers has also documented.<sup>26</sup> Guido von List’s rune-mysticism in Austria was an important element in the *völkische* movement, and was allied with Von Liebenfels. There is no evidence that Hitler had any association with any of these orders beyond reading von Liebenfels’s journal *Ostara*, the focus of which was a dualistic battle between the Satanic Jews and the Godly Aryans.<sup>27</sup>

Wiligut, serving on the Russian front with distinction during World War I, rose to the rank of colonel. With his retirement from the army, he was cultivated for support by the New Templars. Von Liebenfels’s agent, Theodor Czepl, reported that Wiligut considered himself the “secret King of Germany,” from a family tradition as heir of

the *Ueiskuning*, or “holy clan.” He believed that the Bible had originated in Germany and had been intentionally distorted. Wiligut gave to Czepl a poem entitled *Deutscher Gottes-glaube* (“German Faith in God”), which was said to contain the “whole essence and doctrine of Irminic Christianity.”<sup>28</sup> In the 1920s Wiligut edited a journal, *Der eiserne Besen* (“The Iron Broom”) attacking Jews, Freemasons and Catholics.<sup>29</sup> In 1924, with hard times and strain between himself and his wife after the death of their infant son, Wiligut was forcibly taken by ambulance to an insane asylum while sitting at a cafe with friends, having been committed by his wife. Interestingly, after a year, his continued confinement was noted by the asylum authorities as being due to his religious ideas, and his tracing his descent back to Wodan. (It seems however that he merely claimed descent from a chieftain named Wodan). He was nonetheless able to maintain contact with friends in the New Templars and the Edda Society.<sup>30</sup> Wiligut’s religious beliefs were not that out of kilter with large sections of Austrian and German society at the time, including those of many prominent individuals, as Goodrick-Clarke shows.

In 1932 Frieda Dorenberg, a member of the German Workers’ Party prior to Hitler and a member of the Edda Society, visited Wiligut. She and other Edda members “smuggled” Wiligut into Munich, where he taught for an esoteric group, Free Sons of the North and Baltic Seas, and under the pseudonym Jarl Widar, wrote for the journal *Hagal*. Wiligut’s friend Richard Anders, a member of the SS, introduced him to Himmler in 1933, at a conference of the Nordic Society, after the assumption of Hitler to government.<sup>31</sup> Flowers does not mention any other association between Wiligut and the NSDAP prior to this and the Dorenberg association. In September 1933 Wiligut joined the SS under the name Karl Maria Wiligut-Weisthor. In November he was appointed head of the Department for Pre- and Early History at the Reich Office for Race and Settlement. In 1934 he was promoted to colonel in the *Allgemeine SS*. Flowers states that Wiligut worked as Himmler’s personal adviser, and was not part of the *Ahnenerbe* (concerned with the study of ancient and ancestral history).<sup>32</sup> It might here be surmised that this was because Wiligut’s studies were intuitive (or imaginary) and those of the *Ahnenerbe* empirical, or what Flowers calls “more objective academic standards.” Wiligut’s contributions to Himmler included the

conceptualization of Wewelsburg Castle, where a chivalric order of SS elite would be founded as the “center of the world;” the designs for the SS *Totenkopfring*; formulation of SS ceremonies; design of ceremonial objects such as a wedding bowl, and reports on history and cosmology for Himmler.<sup>33</sup>



Karl Maria Wiligut was inducted into the SS (under the pseudonym "Karl Maria Weisthor") to head a Department for Pre- and Early History which was created for him within the SS Race and Settlement Main Office (RuSHA). Photo is in Public Domain.

One of the most important aspects of Wiligut’s work, states Flowers, was his composition of a series of mantras (Halgarita-Sayings) designed to open the ancestral, astral memory.<sup>34</sup> The efficacy of such things from an esoteric point of view is to use the conscious to evoke the unconscious memory, and beyond this, the astral or collective memory. The imagery and ideas that flow forth into the conscious beyond with such techniques would then be used to reconstruct the “Irminist” faith. Whatever one thinks of such matters, they had their counterpart not just in esoterica, but also in Jungian analytical psychology. The Jungians developed a counterpart with the concept of “active imagination,” whereby one meditates on a single dream image, and allows

associated images to arise spontaneously. The Jungians are also in accord with the esotericists in stating that the individual mind can tap into the collective unconscious, and here Jungians also referred to the “racial memory.” It is not surprising then that Jung’s “Aryan psychology” as distinct from Jewish versions such as that of Freud in particular, attracted German race-mystics. In particular there was an association between Jungianism and the German Faith Movement.<sup>35</sup> Jung believed that Hitler was the embodiment of Wotan as an archetype and that National Socialism unleashed the repressed atavism of the Germanic folk that had been repressed near the surface of civilization by Christianity. Jungian psychology contends that repressed traits will re-emerge somehow, and that the longer they are pent up, the more violently they will burst forth like a torrent through a broken dam. Jung hoped that Hitlerism could release the repressed atavisms in an orderly rather than in a destructive manner. That is the theme of his famous 1936 essay on “Wotan” that got him into so much trouble. Jung regarded the neo-heathen “German Faith Movement” as a preferable religion to a Germanized Christianity.<sup>36</sup>

Among the colleagues of Wiligut was Otto Rahn, around whom there has been much mythologizing due to his esoteric expeditions ranging from southern France to Iceland. In particular it is because Rahn was a “Luciferian,” insofar as he believed that Lucifer, the “Light-Bringer” was a good spirit in opposition to the Jewish God Jehovah. His main book was entitled *Lucifer’s Retinue: A Journey to the Good Spirits of Europe*.<sup>37</sup> Not surprisingly, such a topic provides plenty of scope for writers of pop-history in attempting to portray the Third Reich as a “satanic” conspiracy or as evoking “satanic” forces. However it is a Gnostic heresy rather than Satanism, such heresies regarding Jehovah as “Satan” and Lucifer not as Satan but as an enlightened antagonist. One can see something of the doctrine in the Anthroposophy of Rudolf Steiner, whose rather positive movement was unfortunately also banned in the Third Reich, despite Steiner’s antagonism to the same Masonic secret societies as the National Socialists.<sup>38</sup> These heresies provided a fanciful basis for post-war Hitlerites such as the Chilean diplomat Miguel Serrano to develop a cosmological view of National Socialism that is “Luciferian” and Gnostic.<sup>39</sup>

While those eager to see an occult influence, whether for good or evil, within

the Third Reich, and in particular the SS, have uncommonly reliable information to draw from in *The Secret King*, Flowers also points out that Wiligut had important enemies within the SS, and in particular within the scholarly *Ahnenerbe*. Himmler's chief of staff, Karl Wolff, dissolved Wiligut's department, and he retired into oblivion in 1939. He died in 1946.<sup>40</sup>

Flowers explains that Wiligut's theology was not "Wotanism," but what he regarded as the original religion of the Germanics, "Irmin-Kristianity." This is similar to the theology of the most well known of the Austro-German runologists of the time, Guido von List, who also believed that "Armanism" predated the more exotic Wuotanism." However List saw Armanism and Wuotanism as working in historical tandem, whereas Wiligut regarded Irminism and Wotanism as being engaged in an "ancestral feud." Flowers writes that this attempt to Aryanize Christianity was quite popular among National Socialists.<sup>41</sup> However, that is not to say that Wiligut was the primary or most influential proponent of Germanic Christianity. Indeed, as Steigmann-Gall points out in *The Holy Reich*, a Germanic Christianity was the primary religious influence among the National Socialists from the start of the NSDAP,<sup>42</sup> not paganism, luciferianism, thelema, theosophy, or satanism. Indeed, such Orders were banned in the Third Reich as inimical to National Socialism of which the fight against Freemasonry was an aspect.

Next page: The Black Sun floor ornament in "Obergruppenfuhrer hall" of Wewelsburg in Buren. The term Black Sun (*Schwarze Sonne*), also referred to as the Sun Wheel (*Sonnenrad*), is a symbol of esoteric and occult significance. By *Schwarze\_sonne.jpg*: Sunnydog derivative work: Saibo (Δ) (*Schwarze\_sonne.jpg*) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons



Flowers concludes that Wiligut is the most important person in trying to establish a link between the esoteric and National Socialism. However, Flowers also states that similarities between occultists and National Socialists are more ascribable to them both being part of the same “common cultural matrix and were part of the same *Zeitgeist*.”<sup>43</sup> Wiligut had an enduring influence primarily as the designer of the SS death’s-head ring, SS rituals and aspects of Wewelsburg castle as Himmler’s visualised center of a Germanic world empire. It depends as to whether one regards the influence in these matters as of notable significance. The value of most of *The Secret King* is the translation of Wiligut’s texts. The first is “The Nine Commandments of Gôt,” explaining Wiligut’s fundamental cosmology that Gôt is a “dyad” of spirit and matter, acting as a triad of Spirit, Energy and Matter in his “circulating current.” Gôt is eternal, is “cause and effect,” out of which flows “right, might, duty and happiness,” eternally generating through matter, energy and light; “beyond concepts of

good and evil,” carrying the “seven epochs” of human history.<sup>44</sup> Much of the rest of the Wiligut documents are esoteric explanations of the runes, the evolution of the races and cosmic cycles.

### **Third Reich and the Occult**

At a very fundamental level, much of the occult revival of the latter part of the 19th century were emanations of Freemasonry. These are universalistic and therefore antithetical to the Right. To make the situation more ambiguous, however, not all esoteric bodies emanating from Freemasonry are universalistic, and indeed some such as Crowley’s Thelema, are conservative.<sup>45</sup> Crowley was critical towards the Theosophical Society for example, and scathing of its attempt to foist an Indian “messiah,” Krishnamurti, on the world, calling on whites to unite against this travesty in imperialistic terms typical of the times.<sup>46</sup> However, Thelema fared no better under National Socialism than other occult societies.

Much has been made by some authors of an early NSDAP member, Marthe Kuntzel being a leading Thelemite in Germany. Kuntzel had indeed sought to convert Hitler, on the basis that Crowley had said that any state that adopts Thelema will master the world. Even Francis King, writing on “Nazi occultism,” rejects the idea that Kuntzel or Crowley had any influence on Hitler.<sup>47</sup>

It is convincingly stated that Crowley served British interests in the USA during World War I, and worked with British Intelligence during World War II.<sup>48</sup> With the looming advent of Hitler to office, Crowley quickly left Berlin.<sup>49</sup> Karl Germer, the OTO head in Germany, was arrested by the Gestapo in 1935 for disseminating the teachings of “High grade Freemason Crowley,”<sup>50</sup> and ended up in the USA. In 1937 all Masonic and quasi-Masonic associations were banned, including the *völkisch* followers of von List and Liebenfels.<sup>51</sup>

In May 1939 Crowley wrote to Kuntzel stating that Germans were well below Jews, and stood on the same level vis-à-vis monkeys to men, although he did not wish to insult monkeys. He ended: “the Hun will be wiped out.”<sup>52</sup> Crowley had worked with German propagandists, in particular the literary figure George Viereck in the USA

during World War I for British Intelligence,<sup>53</sup> and was keen to offer his services against Hitler, especially since Hitler had not shown any interest in Thelema despite the efforts of Kuntzel. Crowley had also worked for Britain's Special Branch in Berlin reporting on Communists. He worked on British propaganda during World War II, and is credited with the famous "V" for Victory sign, an occult symbol waved about merrily by Churchill et al.<sup>54</sup>

### **Christian Heresies**

Professor James B. Whisker found an altogether different inspiration for elements in the Third Reich, Gnostic Christian heresies. In his *Philosophy of Alfred Rosenberg*, subtitled "Origins of the National Socialist Myth," Whisker focuses on Rosenberg's interest in the Cathar heresy as the means by which Christianity could be de-Judaized of what was regarded as Jewish elements introduced by the apostle Paul. For Rosenberg however what was also required was de-Romanization. Whisker comments that both the Roman and the Jewish minds had made religion into "legal formalities," whereas for the Germanic mind none of this was required. Martin Luther, although a folk hero, had maintained a Jewish outlook through the influence of Paul.<sup>55</sup> There had been a growing movement during the 18th and 19th centuries among German Protestant theologians to remove the Old Testament from Christian theology, and Rosenberg maintained this legacy.<sup>56</sup> One of the precursors of National Socialism, Richard Wagner's English son-in-law, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, racial theorist and Germanophile already well-known in Wilhelmine Germany, was among those who expounded the notion of the "Aryan Jesus," as a Galilean, not a Jew.<sup>57</sup> Chamberlain was a seminal influence on Rosenberg's thinking. Although Rosenberg's influence on Hitler and the Third Reich as the "philosopher of National Socialism," is debatable, his aim of creating a "German national religion" based on Protestantism was in accord with Hitler's aim of a unified German national church, as shown by Steigmann-Gall in *The Holy Reich*.

Whisker states that in gnosticism Rosenberg found a religious opposition to the Jewish god Jehovah, regarded by Gnostics as the "demiurge" who had created a



corrupt world to trap humanity's spirit in the material, while the true God was remote.<sup>58</sup> Such sects included the Marcionites (ca. 2nd century A.D.), and for Rosenberg in particular the Cathars, aka Albigensians or Manichaeans (ca. 1000 A.D.)<sup>59</sup> Whisker comments that again much has been spun around the Cathars in relation to the Third Reich and in particular the SS (especially through the interests of Otto Rahn) in claiming that this was a type of Gnostic "satanism."<sup>60</sup> However, for their part, the Gnostics regarded Jehovah as the "devil."<sup>61</sup>

### **Dietrich Eckart – "Satanic" mentor?**

Dietrich Eckart, celebrated poet and playwright since the Wilhelmine era, was the mentor of both Alfred Rosenberg and Hitler from the start of their political activism. He has been a particular focus of those who try to portray the NSDAP as driven by dark forces. According to Trevor Ravenscroft, Eckart said on his death bed that he had initiated Hitler into the "Secret Doctrine," opened his powers of astral communication and given him the means to communicate with "the Powers." Ravenscroft does not cite a reference for this quote.<sup>62</sup> Ravenscroft states that few suspected that this jovial bohemian was "a dedicated Satanist, the supreme adept of the arts and ritual of Black Magic and the central figure in a powerful and widespread circle of occultists – the Thule Group."<sup>63</sup> With Rosenberg and several White Russian émigrés Eckart was supposedly the "master of ceremonies" at seances that evoked dark spirits.<sup>64</sup> In a chapter discussing "The Modern Mythology of Nazi Occultism," Goodrick-Clarke shows that the legends about Eckart and the occult, and communication with dark powers, that were revived by Ravenscroft, had been previously perpetrated by Pauwels and Bergier.<sup>65</sup> Despite persistent claims, Goodrick-Clarke alludes to supposed Thulists such as Eckart, Hess and Rosenberg as being nothing other than "guests" of the society, which included many other political activists from a broad range of the "Right," such as the National Liberal Party.<sup>66</sup>



Hitler dedicated the second volume of *Mein Kampf* to Dietrich Eckart, and also named the arena near the Olympic Stadium in Berlin, now known as the *Waldbühne* (Forest Stage), the "Dietrich-Eckart-Bühne" when it was opened for the 1936 Summer Olympics. By Karl Bauer [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

Ironically Eckart, the high-ranking "Satanic adept," based his world-view on a heroic interpretation of Jesus and Germany's Christian world mission. In an essay *Bolshevism from Moses to Lenin*, published posthumously in 1923, Luther is criticized for his having been influenced by Jews in his interpretation of the Old Testament and its importance in Lutheran theology.<sup>67</sup> Christ was never anything other than frank with Jews, taking up the theme of Houston Stewart Chamberlain et al that Jesus was a Galilean, "from the land of the gentiles."<sup>68</sup> Jesus was not tolerant towards the Jews, striking them with His whip and sharply condemning the Pharisees (the rabbinate of his day) as nothing less than the sons of the devil. The NSDAP was "defending the Christian foundations of our nation without mental reservations... But we want Germanism, we want genuine Christianity, we want order and propriety..."<sup>69</sup> It was Paul who had distorted Christianity and brought it to the Gentiles as a subversive,

weakening influence.<sup>70</sup> These are themes that had become increasingly widespread among German theologians and scholars during the 19th century.

Written as a dialogue between Eckart and Hitler, *Bolshevism from Moses to Lenin* refers to Hitler and himself as both being Catholics, and it is because they were that they must speak out against the Judaic spirit that infects their Church. There remained an incorruptible Catholic faith, whatever the corrupt influences that might hold sway in the Church at times. Giordano Bruno, burned at the stake, was one of those who had spoken out against Jewish influence, calling the Jews a “pestilential, leprous and publicly dangerous race.” Of the many critics of the Church in Italy at the time, why was Bruno singled out for death? Hitler responds to Eckart in this dialogue: “Rome will pull herself together, but only if we pull ourselves together first. And one day it can be said that the Church is whole again.” Eckart retorts that this will happen when the Jewish influences, which have set Christians against each other, have been purged from the Christian community. As for Protestantism, it was more heavily infiltrated than Catholicism. Eckart saw the division of the Catholic Church by Luther as a misfortune to Christendom, and a wreaking of bloody conflict among Germanic folk while the battle against the perennial Jewish influence had been deflected. Luther should have focused on the Jews subverting Catholicism, not on attacking the Church *per se*.<sup>71</sup>

Steigmann-Gall quoted a passage from Eckart that I have been unable to find in the Pierce translation, in describing Christ as a leader to be emulated: “In Christ, the embodiment of all manliness, we find all that we need. And if we occasionally speak of Baldur, our words always contain some joy, some satisfaction, that our pagan ancestors were already so Christian as to have indications of Christ in this ideal figure.”<sup>72</sup> That was Eckart’s final work, and was unfinished at the time of his death. Steigmann-Gall states that Eckart’s Christianity was the basis of his worldview. He saw the world war in which he had fought in dualistic terms as a fight between “Christ and Antichrist.” The post-war conflict was one between “Germandom and Jewry,” the conflict between light and darkness.<sup>73</sup>

## Conclusion

Whatever might be alleged or repudiated regarding the murderous character of the Third Reich, Hitler's outlook was not that of a nihilistic, satanic apocalypse. While armaments minister Albert Speer was after the war at pains to distance himself from his ex-Führer, he noted that Hitler never encouraged a nuclear program. Hitler had no intention of setting off a course of events that might engulf the world. His scientists were not able to answer the question as to whether nuclear fission could be controlled or would set up a chain reaction. "Hitler was plainly not delighted with the possibility that the earth under his rule might be transformed into a glowing star. Occasionally, however, he joked that the scientists in their unworldly urge to lay bare all the secrets under heaven might some day set the globe on fire."<sup>74</sup> The attitude seems distinctly un-Faustian. There were limits, and from what Speer states, it seems that Hitler was not so hubristic as to wish to be another Faustus or Prometheus. From what Speer records of Hitler's sentiments these can be seen as antithetical to that claimed by Rauschning for example. There was no will-to-destruction, nor a Faustian/Promethean will to deny the Gods or God.

Hitler ridiculed "superstition" but recognized the role it played on the psyche, and rejected the efficacy of prophecies and of astrology.<sup>75</sup> The National Socialist party, so far from being neo-heathen, as is often contended, while reviving many old Germanic customs and festivals, from the start had a wide Christian base, particularly of Lutherans, and many Lutheran pastors were officers of the SA. They held early party meetings in their parsonages. Hitler became disillusioned with the failure of the Christian denominations to unite as a German national church, however he also remained dismissive of attempts at reviving paganism.<sup>76</sup> The latter remained a peripheral influence within an inner core of the SS.

Himmler sought to create the SS as a neo-heathen order with its own marriage, birth and death ceremonies outside the Christian churches, and with SS officers serving as the priests.<sup>77</sup> The Feast of Midsummer was substituted for Christmas. However, these measures that Himmler attempted to impose were so unpopular and disregarded among the SS that by November 1940 he was obliged to abrogate previous punishments for disobeying regulations on religion. Himmler was also

unsuccessful in weaning his SS away from Christianity. “Two thirds of the *Allgemeine-SS* remained in the Church – 54.2 percent Evangelicals and 23.7 percent Catholics.”<sup>78</sup>

## Notes:

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- 33 - Ibid, p. 23.
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- 75 - *Hitler's Secret Conversations* (Signet Books), 19 July 1942, pp. 544-545.
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## 18.

# **THE YOCKEY-THOMPSON CAMPAIGN AGAINST POST-WAR VENGEANCE**

The American neo-Spenglerian philosopher Francis Parker Yockey has over the past decade enjoyed a revival of interest among the far Right.<sup>1</sup> Now that the Right is less encumbered by the dominant political-financial system's Cold War rhetoric which saw a range of movements from conservatives to the American Nazi Party<sup>2</sup> lining up to beat the war drums against the U.S.S.R. as ostensibly the major threat to "Western Civilization," Yockey's views can be considered in a less-partisan light. Yockey and his followers adopted a pro-Soviet position<sup>3</sup> *vis-à-vis* the occupation of Europe by the U.S.A., especially after the 1952 Prague Treason Trial,<sup>4</sup> which Yockey regarded as Russia's declaration of war against Zionism and Judaization under the auspices of U.S. machinations.<sup>5</sup> Likewise, we can now look back on the position of Yockey and his American colleague H. Keith Thompson in regard to the "war-crimes trials" in Germany, and might see the present-day "war-crimes trials" against Serbs and others as being founded on that precedent.

Briefly, in regard to Yockey's background, he was of Irish-American descent, born in Chicago in 1918, a pianist to concert-performance level, whose education was



directed towards law, in which he had exceptional ability. Already as a young man he had turned his attention towards the Right, one of his first articles being “The Tragedy of Youth,” written for Father Charles Coughlin’s popular Depression-era magazine *Social Justice*.<sup>6</sup>

### **Among the Hangmen of Europe**

In the aftermath of the war Yockey obtained a position as an investigator for the War Crimes Tribunal in order to subvert from within the lynching regime that was being imposed upon Europe and to seek out European Rightists who might be able to revive a European resistance movement.

Reaching Germany in January 1946, Yockey was assigned to the 7708 War Crimes Group at Wiesbaden, Frankfurt as a civilian employee of the U.S. War Department. This unit investigated “lower-level accused war criminals.” Yockey served as a post-trial review attorney evaluating petitions for clemency. He does not seem to have been particularly discreet as, according to Coogan, he obtained a piano and played German anthems in his room.<sup>7</sup>

The head of the post-trial section was Samuel Sonenfield,<sup>8</sup> whose name could only have confirmed Yockey’s suspicions as to the character of the Nuremberg judicial regime.

Yockey was noted for his “absenteeism,” for which he ultimately was dismissed. He spent much of his time searching out German veterans and urging resistance to the Occupation, and writing pamphlets such as “Why the Americans Did Not Go to Berlin.”<sup>9</sup> This was at a time when the *Werwölfe* underground that had been set up by Goebbels in the final months of the war was still functioning, and scoring some significant hits on the Occupation authorities and their German collaborators.<sup>10</sup> On December 27, 1946 Yockey was fired from his position for “abandonment of position.”<sup>11</sup> Willis Carto, in the “Introduction” to his Noontide Press edition of *Imperium*, states that when Yockey was called before his superior, presumably Sonenfield, he was told: “We don’t want this type of report. This has entirely the wrong slant. You’ll have to rewrite these reports to conform to the official viewpoint.”

Yockey is said to have responded that he was “a lawyer, not a journalist. You’ll have to write your own propaganda.”<sup>12</sup> While there is a discrepancy between the accounts of Yockey’s departure from the War Crimes Commission, Sonenfield might well have left out certain aspects of his recollections of Yockey. Sonenfield was writing to the neo-conservative publication *National Review* in 1971, which was attacking Carto and his then-relatively effective Liberty Lobby.<sup>13</sup>

\* \* \*

Yockey then travelled through Europe, went to England to seek out Mosleyites and others of like mind, returned briefly to the U.S.A., and left for Ireland in late 1947 to write *Imperium*.<sup>14</sup>

Yockey spent the next twelve years travelling on numerous passports over Europe, working for the Red Cross, writing anti-Zionist material in Egypt for Nasser’s government, and going back and forth to the U.S.A. despite being tracked by Interpol and the F.B.I..

His first significant action after writing *Imperium* was to return to England where he sought out Sir Oswald Mosley, who had revived his organization under the name Union Movement in 1947, advocating a post-Fascist united Europe. Yockey hoped that he could persuade Mosley to adopt *Imperium* as his philosophical basis, even suggesting to Mosley that his name be attached as the author. Mosley was impressed by Yockey’s intelligence, and Yockey was employed briefly as the movement’s liaison officer with other European movements, but Mosley regarded Yockey as eccentric and Yockey did not mince words when it came to the Jewish question. Mosley was in fact dismissive of Yockey’s efforts and did not even read *Imperium*.<sup>15</sup>

However, during his time with Union Movement, employed by the European Contact Section, Yockey had the opportunity to cultivate further contacts in Britain and Europe. He provided dossiers he had lifted from the Wiesbaden office to Maurice Bardèche, the French literary critic, defender of “collaborationism,” and early critic of

the “war crimes” proceedings. Bardèche recalled that the documents were “extremely valuable.” He made use of them in his book *Nuremberg 2 or the Counterfeiters*.<sup>16</sup> Yockey also sent Bardèche documents to assist with the defense of other accused “war criminals,” including SS Lt. Gen. Otto Ohlendorf, who had commanded an Action Group in the Ukraine<sup>17</sup> mopping up partisans and commissars. Yockey was also “particularly active” in the defense of SS Lt. Col. Fritz Knoechlein, who had executed British soldiers in France after they had raised a white flag but then proceeded to shoot at his men. Yockey had sufficient contacts to secure British Barrister and Labour Member of Parliament Reginald Paget for Knoechlein’s defense. Although Paget successfully defended Gen. Erich von Manstein on “war crimes” charges, he was unsuccessful with Knoechlein, who was hanged in January 1949.<sup>18</sup>

Fast-forward to 2005, and it emerged that Knoechlein was one of many German prisoners tortured under British captivity, at Kensington Palace Gardens. Three plush houses, during 1940 to 1948, served as the London office of the Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Centre, known colloquially as the London Cage. This was run by MI19, responsible for extracting testimony from prisoners of war. A recent report in *The Guardian*, drawing on the National Archives, found that 3,573 P.O.W.s went through The Cage, of whom “1,000 were persuaded to give statements about war crimes. ... The brutality did not end with the war, moreover: a number of German civilians joined the servicemen who were interrogated there up to 1948.”<sup>19</sup> When the commander of The Cage, Lt. Col. Alexander Scotland, intended to publish his memoirs in 1950 he was threatened with prosecution under the Official Secrets Act, and Special Branch raided his retirement home. Cobain comments:

*An assessment by MI5 pointed out that Scotland had detailed repeated breaches of the Geneva Convention, with his admissions that prisoners had been forced to kneel while being beaten about the head; forced to stand to attention for up to 26 hours; threatened with execution; or threatened with “an unnecessary operation.”*<sup>20</sup>

Scotland’s memoirs were published in 1957,<sup>21</sup> after much had been expunged. Of Knoechlein, *The Guardian’s* Cobain found in the National Archives, “a long and detailed letter of complaint from one SS captain [sic], Fritz Knoechlein, who describes

his treatment after being taken to The Cage in October 1946.”

Knoechlein alleges that because he was “unable to make the desired confession” he was stripped, given only a pair of pyjama trousers, deprived of sleep for four days and nights, and starved.

The guards kicked him each time he passed, he alleges, while his interrogators boasted that they were “much better” than the “Gestapo in Alexanderplatz”. After being forced to perform rigorous exercises until he collapsed, he says he was compelled to walk in a tight circle for four hours. On complaining to Scotland that he was being kicked even “by ordinary soldiers without a rank”, Knoechlein alleges that he was doused in cold water, pushed down stairs, and beaten with a cudgel. Later, he says, he was forced to stand beside a large gas stove with all its rings lit before being confined in a shower which sprayed extremely cold water from the sides as well as from above. Finally, the SS man says, he and another prisoner were taken into the gardens behind the mansions, where they were forced to run in circles while carrying heavy logs.

“Since these tortures were the consequences of my personal complaint, any further complaint would have been senseless,” Knoechlein wrote. “One of the guards who had a somewhat humane feeling advised me not to make any more complaints, otherwise things would turn worse for me.” Other prisoners, he alleged, were beaten until they begged to be killed, while some were told that they could be made to disappear.<sup>22</sup>

While the War Office took the allegations seriously, they considered that an investigation would delay Knoechlein’s execution. After The Cage had been mistakenly identified to the Red Cross and its cover exposed, with a Red Cross representative unsuccessfully trying several times to inspect the houses, its work was moved to internment camps in Germany, where conditions were even worse. A 27-year-old German journalist who had been held by the Gestapo said that his treatment as an inmate at one British internment camp was far worse.<sup>23</sup>

## **From the Belly of the Beast**

Yockey was among the first to question the judicial methodology and “atrocious propaganda” being used against the German defendants. While his bias was predisposed to be in their favor, what his detractors discount is that he was also a lawyer of brilliance who had been an assistant prosecutor, and a *cum laude* Notre Dame Law School graduate, who had also studied at the prestigious School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University.<sup>24</sup>

Prof. Deborah Lipstadt in her critically acclaimed book on “Holocaust denial” refers to Yockey as having “laid the essential elements of Holocaust denial,” twenty years prior to the formation of the Institute for Historical Review.<sup>25</sup> What Lipstadt cites is a paragraph from *Imperium*, which we can safely assume was based on Yockey’s first-hand observations and study of primary sources; an inconvenience that Lipstadt prefers to address by means of *ad hominem*. Indeed, while Lipstadt proceeds over several pages to critique Yockey and *Imperium* she does not appear to have actually read *Imperium*, but apparently relied on a magazine article.<sup>26</sup>

Yockey alludes in *Imperium* to what he presumably saw, and the reports he had read as a reviewer at the war crimes office at Wiesbaden. Yockey therefore might be considered a primary witness to events, regardless of quips about him as an “American Hitler” put about under the guise of “scholarship.” Hence as early as 1948 Yockey wrote in a chapter entitled “Propaganda,” that the propaganda used to push the USA into war against Germany was nothing compared to “the massive, post-war, ‘concentration camp’ propaganda of the Culture-distorting regime based in Washington.”<sup>27</sup> He continues:

*This propaganda announced that 6,000,000 members of the Jewish Culture-Nation-State-People-Race had been killed in European camps, as well as an indeterminate number of other people. The propaganda was on a world-wide scale, and was of a mendacity that was perhaps adapted to a uniformized mass, but was simply disgusting to discriminating Europeans. The propaganda was technically quite complete. “Photographs” were supplied by the millions of copies. Thousands of the people who had been killed published accounts of*

*their experiences in these camps. Hundreds of thousands more made fortunes in post-war black markets. "Gas-chambers" that did not exist were photographed, as a "gasmobile" was invented to titillate the mechanically-minded."*<sup>28</sup>

Yockey then stated that the purpose of this propaganda was to "create a total war in the spiritual sense," in order to accustom the masses to the next phase in the annihilation of Western Civilization, adding with emphasis: "it was designed to support a war after the Second World War, a war of looting, hanging, and starvation against defenseless Europe."<sup>29</sup>

What Yockey was referring to was the policy that became known as the "Morgenthau Plan," named after the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury and drafted by Treasury officials Harry Dexter White, Harold Glasser and Frank Coe, all of whom would be classifiable in Yockeyan parlance as "culture-distorters."

Ironically, Lipstadt, who seems to have coined the term "Holocaust denial," indulges in "denial" herself when she alludes to the Morgenthau Plan as "never put into effect," the claims of "Holocaust deniers" to the contrary.<sup>30</sup> According to Lipstadt, the Morgenthau Plan is of such interest to "Holocaust deniers" because they are anti-Semites, and Morgenthau was Jewish. She rationalizes the wholesale barbarity inflicted upon Germany after World War Two as "shortcomings in Allied policies," and that "there was no starvation program in Germany."<sup>31</sup> Interestingly, Lipstadt chose not to cite any references for her "denial" in regard to the Morgenthau Plan.<sup>32</sup>

Yockey was writing about what he saw, and he was in a better position than most of those from the Allied states to comment on the situation in Germany in the aftermath of the war, and the manner in which the judicial proceedings were planned and enacted. He commented on the mentality of the Allied Occupation that vengeance is something taken by the victors of an alien culture upon their defeated foes, and does not occur between belligerent nations of the same High Culture.<sup>33</sup> The latter attitude we might readily call "Chivalry." Defeated leaders had generally been treated with honor,<sup>34</sup> not tortured and hanged. The treatment meted out in Europe after World War Two by the Allies indicated to Yockey that alien interests were dominant in post-war policies, which seem more akin to the Old Testament than to the ethos of the Medieval

Knight. Yockey wrote of this:

*“Thus when, after the Second World War, a huge and inclusive program of physical extermination and politico-legal-socio-economic persecution was instituted against the defenseless body of Europe, it was quite clear that this was no intra-Cultural phenomenon, but one more, and the most transparent and admonitory, manifestation of Culture-distortion.”*<sup>35</sup>

\* \* \*

Yockey and over a hundred supporters left the Mosley movement and founded the European Liberation Front, issuing a periodical called *Frontfighter* and a manifesto, *The Proclamation of London*.

The activities of Yockey were of a more covert than an agitational character; not surprising considering he was working to “liberate Europe.” F.B.I. reports state of Yockey’s time in Mosley’s movement that he and his circle of friends seem to have functioned already as a separate group. He worked with Union Movement’s German adviser Lt. Col. Alfred Franke-Gricksch, head of the *Bruderschaft, Waffen SS* veteran’s organisation.”<sup>36</sup> F.B.I. Agent Bogstat commented that Yockey in his work in 1946 for the War Department “had created unfavorable attentions in Germany when interceding on behalf of the German war criminals who had been sentenced to death.”<sup>37</sup>

Yockey was arrested in San Francisco and held on excessive bond for “passport fraud” in 1960.<sup>38</sup> Yockey feared that he would be subjected to psychiatric torture, which would destroy his brain. A news report states that a psychiatric examination had been ordered by the court. Yockey told a fellow inmate that he feared he would be forced to divulge information about the people he cared about. Consequently, he committed suicide with cyanide from an unknown source.<sup>39</sup>

We now know that this was not a worry to be scoffed at as a paranoid delusion. At the time the C.I.A. was funding psychological experiments that reduced subjects to

vegetative and suicidal states.<sup>40</sup> Psychiatry was also being used against political dissidents, most notably Ezra Pound, who rotted for many years in St. Elizabeth's Hospital without being diagnosed, and the segregationist leader Gen. Edwin Walker.<sup>41</sup> Given what was taking place around that time, and for many years after, it would be surprising had there *not* been an intention to destroy Yockey's brain.

### **Harold Keith Thompson Jr.**

Yockey's primary colleague in the U.S.A. was H. Keith Thompson Jr. a Yale graduate in naval science and history, he had been a publisher and a literary agent for an interesting array of personalities. His varied career had included participation in Admiral Richard E. Byrd's Antarctic Expedition. He represented Lee Harvey Oswald's mother, Marguerite, in the sale of her son's letters; and was in communication with Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, naval commander at Pearl Harbor; and many notable people such as Otto Strasser, Luigi Vilari, Goebbels's Deputy Wilfred von Oven; Cuban president Batista (to whom he facilitated the supply of weapons, and acted as literary agent); Charles Tansill, Harry Elmer Barnes; H. L. Mencken, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, Franz von Papen, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, leftist artist Rockwell Kent, and leftist publisher Lyle Stuart, et al. Thompson served as U.S. correspondent for the German émigré periodical in Argentina, *Der Weg*; and was particularly associated with Hans Rudel and the marketing of his book *Stuka Pilot*. In the U.S.A. Thompson was closely associated with George S. Viereck, the German-descended American poet and novelist, who served as publicist on behalf of Germany in the U.S.A. during World War One, and was jailed during World War Two.<sup>42</sup>

In particular Thompson worked in the U.S.A. with Frederick C. Weiss, who had served on the Kaiser's staff during World War One, and had established Le Blanc Publications in the U.S.A. Weiss adopted a pro-Soviet position during the Cold War, which was noted by the U.S. authorities, particularly because of Weiss's contacts in Occupied Germany. Thompson and Yockey were introduced via Weiss, and Thompson was one of the main funders of Yockey's projects.<sup>43</sup>

In an article intended as a condemnation of Thompson, which Thompson stated



was nonetheless mostly accurate, David McCalden, a disaffected former director of the Institute for Historical Review, states that Thompson was a cousin of the last German charge d'affaires in Washington, Dr. Hans Thomsen, and both worked together to keep the U.S.A. out of the war.<sup>44</sup>

In 1952 Thompson registered as the U.S. agent for the Socialist Reich Party in Germany, the most well-known leader of whom was Major General Otto E. Remer. Thompson relates that he “also represented the leadership cadres of ‘survivors’ of the Third Reich scattered throughout the world... a great deal of that data will die with me...”<sup>45</sup>

Thompson will be remembered among revisionists particularly as co-author of *Doenitz at Nuremberg*.<sup>46</sup> The preface was written by William L. Hart, Supreme Court Justice of Ohio. The book is comprised of a remarkable collection of comments repudiating as a travesty the concept of “war-crimes trials” contrived to jail or hang the defeated leaders and soldiers of Germany after World War Two. The comments were obtained from “400 leading personalities in the military, the law, arts, diplomacy, philosophy, history and religion.”<sup>47</sup> The scope of the book indicates the influential contacts Thompson was able to maintain.

When Grand Admiral Doenitz was released from Spandau in 1957, Thompson initiated a campaign in defense of his reputation. The campaign was successful in that it forced the West German government to pay Doenitz his full pension rights.<sup>48</sup> After Doenitz was released from Spandau he thanked Thompson for his support.<sup>49</sup> The letters of support garnered from eminent people later formed the basis of the book *Doenitz at Nuremberg*.

Thompson served as a mercenary in Rhodesia during the 1970s, gaining the ire of Black militants in the U.S.A. During the 1960s “at least one Mossad agent is said to have met with a sticky end after confronting HKT.”<sup>50</sup>

### **Yockey and Thompson’s Campaign on Behalf of European Veterans**

Yockey and Thompson therefore made a formidable team after the two met in

New York.

When the Socialist Reich Party (SRP) was founded in 1952 Yockey sought out the leadership and became a political adviser. Yockey wrote a sequel to *Imperium* in 1953 specifically for the instruction of the leadership, *Der Feind Europas (The Enemy of Europe)* which was funded by Thompson.<sup>51</sup> However the German edition was quickly seized by the authorities and destroyed. An English translation by Walther von der Vogelweide was serialised in the Yockeyan journal *Trud* in 1969 by John Sullivan, also a columnist for the paper *Common Sense*, and Douglas T. Kaye, from a German manuscript provided by Frederick Weiss's widow Maria.<sup>52</sup> The English translation was finally published as a single volume in 1981.<sup>53</sup>

In 1952 Thompson, Yockey and Viereck founded the Committee for International Justice, and with the jailing of Otto Remer, the Committee for the Freedom of Major General Remer, to campaign for the legal and civic rights of Germans prosecuted under the Nuremberg regime and for political prisoners such as Remer.

As early as 1947 Thompson and his "friends in the [Mosley] Union Movement in England" were working for the release of Field Marshall Albert Kesselring, top German commander in Italy during World War Two, who had been arrested in 1945 as a "war criminal" and held in Werl Prison, Germany "on vague charges." Thompson's Committee for International Justice established contact with Kesselring in 1952 while he was a patient at a private hospital in Bochum, Germany. Kesselring "warmly" endorsed Thompson's Committee.<sup>54</sup>

After Kesselring's release he was pressured into repudiating Thompson. The Bonn government sent Baron von Lilienfeld of the West German Foreign Office to New York to lobby the press into not publicizing the Committee's work.<sup>55</sup>

We now know from Coogan's biography, and from the release of Military Intelligence reports, that Yockey and his colleagues were cultivating contacts throughout Europe with the view to European resistance against the Occupation, including collaboration with the U.S.S.R. to throw out the more virulent regime of Culture-distortion.

This latter point of guerrilla resistance to U.S. occupation of Europe with possible assistance from the U.S.S.R. was the factor that particularly worried the Occupation authorities and the Washington regime, at a time when the Occupiers of the Western zones were trying to “re-educate” Germany to accept its role as part of the Western Alliance against the Soviet Union. It is for that reason that the Morgenthau Plan was not put into full effect and was reversed after several years of imposed misery upon the Germans. There was a less-than-enthusiastic reaction among the nationalist Right and even among relatively mainline German conservatives to becoming a U.S. cat’s-paw against the U.S.S.R..

Traditional conservatives did not see the U.S.A. as a paragon of Western Civilization, and regarded U.S. occupation as having a more pervasive impact on European culture than the brute force of the Russians. Professor Paul Gottfried points out in a current essay that “Anti-Americanism has had a long-standing tradition in European society and has appealed to the traditional Right even before it became a staple of far leftist propaganda.” Professor Gottfried states that in Germany while the Christian Democrats based their ideology on a rejection of Communism and Nazism as “twin totalitarian movements” and were committed to the U.S. cause during the Cold War, “This however was not a rightwing or nationalist argument.” The “real German Right,” represented by figures such as Carl Schmitt and Hans Zehrer” hated the Americans for imposing their will upon a prostrate Europe for what they thought was vulgarising German society. Many German nationalists were calling for “a less pro-American foreign policy and for playing off the Americans against the Soviets.” The famous German legal theorist Carl Schmitt stressed the advantage of playing the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. off against each other.<sup>56</sup> The term for such a line during the Cold War was “neutralist,” and caused the U.S. regime particular worries.

Apologists and collaborators for the Occupation attempted to portray the “neutralist” line of the German Right as serving the interests of “Communism.” However, an anti-Communist campaign had certain inherent dangers for the Washington regime lest it encourage the re-emergence of American nationalism and isolationism. That is why there was a focus on opposing the U.S.S.R. and Stalinism, but not on opposing Communism per se. When Senator Joseph McCarthy undertook a

more pointed crusade against Communism he found himself, to his eventual ruin, not so much against Communists as against the Washington regime and Big Business.<sup>57</sup> Hence when the pro-McCarthy publicist Freda Uitley went to Germany in 1954, warning that the Occupation was infested with Reds, and that most of the “Red Morgenthau boys” who had been fired by General Lucius Clay had been reinstated, her anti-Communist rhetoric was being condemned together with the “neutralist” position of the German Right.<sup>58</sup> Only certain types of “anti-Communism” were ever acceptable to the Washington regime during the Cold War, specifically anti-Stalinism, while the U.S.A. cultivated the support of Trotskyites and other Leftists.<sup>59</sup>

An influential circle of German conservatives formed around Miss Uitley’s friend, the lawyer Dr. Ernst Achenbach, a leader of the Free Democratic Party (F.D.P.) who, according to Taylor, had contact with Sen. McCarthy via Miss Uitley.<sup>60</sup> Achenbach was associated with former Goebbels functionary Dr. Werner Naumann, head of the so-called “Naumann Circle” which was alleged to have conspired to overthrow the Adenauer Government.<sup>61</sup> Naumann and others were arrested in the British Zone and alleged to have planned to take over the F.D.P., of which Naumann had been foreign-policy spokesman, with the aim of establishing a liberated Western Germany, “oriented toward the Soviet Union.”<sup>62</sup> In a new slant on conspiracy theories, Taylor described influential contacts cultivated by Achenbach as a leading corporate lawyer, in what was called “a world-wide fascist-communist conspiracy,” which was in the U.S.A. centered on Frederick Weiss,<sup>63</sup> the mentor of Yockey and Thompson. Taylor commented that the Bonn authorities kept close tabs on Weiss’s writing, the old German veteran having been an early advocate of “neutralism” for Germany during the Cold War. Taylor states that Weiss adopted a vigorous line against anti-Soviet propaganda in the USA, despite his support for Sen. McCarthy.<sup>64</sup> Weiss saw the Prague treason trial against mainly Jewish functionaries of the Communist Party, who were hanged for being agents of Zionism and Israel, as a declaration of war by the U.S.S.R. against Jewish-run America, and predicted that anti-Soviet propaganda would intensify.<sup>65</sup> This was the line also of Yockey, who wrote a seminal article on the subject.<sup>66</sup>

Within this world-wide conspiracy explained by Taylor, Yockey (a.k.a. Ulick

Varange, a.k.a. Frank Healy) was an important figure in “international fascism.” Taylor pointed out that Yockey was advocating “anti-Americanism” and “the avoidance of any anti-Soviet policy.”<sup>67</sup>

What Taylor neglected to state in his 1954 article was that in 1953 Dr. Nuamann had been released by a Federal Court on the grounds that “no suspicion of criminal intent” had been proven against him, despite British High Commissioner Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick having commented to the *New York Herald Tribune* that British agents had found evidence that the “Naumann Circle” “were plotting to seize power,” although he was “not completely certain what they were up to.”<sup>68</sup> However, the proceedings did prevent Naumann from entering the Bundestag, and he lost his position in the F.D.P.

The “neutralist” position among the radical Right was represented in the Socialist Reich Party, for which H. Keith Thompson acted as the registered American agent, at the same time registering with the U.S. State Department as personal agent for S.R.P. leader Dr. Rudolf Aschenauer.<sup>69</sup> Despite the close association of the S.R.P. with National Socialism, the fact that the party gained two seats in the Bundestag indicated that “re-education” had a long way to go, and where persuasion was ineffective more forceful means would have to be continued. This resulted in the banning of the S.R.P. and the jailing of its most widely known figure, Maj. Gen. Remer.

### **Thompson-Yockey Correspondence with U.S. State Department**

Thompson had founded two committees in regard to the prosecution of Germans, one of which dealt specifically with the Remer case. They had an exchange of letters with the U.S. State Department on the trials of “war criminals” and on the imprisonment of Remer. For four months during 1951-1952 Remer had been jailed for his criticism of the Bonn regime and for insulting Chancellor Adenauer. While in jail Remer was also tried and convicted for making “defamatory remarks about the Twentieth of July Conspirators”<sup>70</sup> whose *coup* against Hitler in 1944 had been stymied due to the actions of Remer and the Berlin garrison under his command. On October 23, 1952, the S.R.P. was outlawed, and Remer was denied the right to vote and hold

public office.<sup>71</sup>

In his interview with Keith Stimley, Thompson spoke of the circumstances of the correspondence with the State Department:

*"Well, at the time I was a registered foreign agent, representing Generalmajor Otto-Ernst Remer and his party, the Sozialistische Reichspartei (SRP), a very strong post-war German political party. And as a registered agent I was at the time drafting a letter to Acheson on behalf of the prisoners incarcerated at Spandau, and I was in Yockey's presence at the time as I recall, and he made some amends and suggestions as to wording, and things that might be added, all of which I incorporated into the final draft. Yockey knew that I was required by law to mention anyone who assisted me in the furtherance of my activities as a registered foreign agent. So I did so in my foreign agent's registration reports: reported that I had been assisted by one "Frank Healey," which was the name that Yockey was using in New York at the time."*<sup>72</sup>

Thompson wrote to Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, in regard to Remer's arrest, in a letter dated June 16, 1952. Henry B. Cox, Officer-in-Charge, Division of German Information, Office of German Public Affairs, wrote back briefly and stated that this was a German domestic matter outside the jurisdiction of both the U.S.A. and the U.N.O.<sup>73</sup>

Given that West Germany was overseen by an allied High Commission until 1955, and did not achieve full sovereignty until 1991<sup>74</sup>, the State Department reply to Thompson was disingenuous.

Thompson again addressed himself to Acheson, this time appealing to him as a fellow Yale graduate, who was presumably as such well-versed in international affairs and history, commenting that an honest exchange between Yale alumni is "never out of order." At the time there were 1,045 Germans being held as "war criminals," not only in Germany but elsewhere in Europe. In addition there were the seven highest-ranking officials being held at Spandau and "countless German 'prisoners of war' held by the Soviet Union." Thompson stated that German soldiers cannot be expected to support a Western alliance when their officers and fellow soldiers are being incarcerated for

“war crimes.” It was a move designed to play on the very real fears of the U.S.A. that Germany would not be a reliable ally in the Cold War. Thompson wrote:

*I respectfully submit to you, Mr Secretary, the following considerations: that the position of the future German military officer is made exceptionally difficult by the war crimes convictions; that a German cannot justifiably be asked to fight for or with an alliance of which other members are holding Germans as prisoners for war-time acts (World War Two) which the Germans believe the Allies also have committed; that the presence of Soviet “judges” at the Nuremberg proceedings tend to render such proceedings invalid in view of subsequent disclosure concerning the Soviets (particular reference is made to the matter of the Katyn Forest Massacre); that when men act as agents of a Government representing the collective will of a nation, there is a definite incongruity involved in later convicting such men as individual “war criminals.”<sup>75</sup>*

Thompson stated that many young people in both Germany and the U.S.A. had no confidence “in the humbug formulae which have served as the basic orientations of official thought and propaganda lines in the matter of ‘war criminals.’” To most Germans the “war criminals” remained the leaders of a great “national effort.” It was therefore urgent that the U.S. release all “war criminals” and the Spandau inmates, as a matter of “good faith.”<sup>76</sup> Thompson then introduced the issue of the suppression of the S.R.P.:

*"I have viewed with growing concern the matter of the apparent persecution of minority political parties, of the anti-communism Right, by the Government of Federal Republic of Germany. The particular, but not the exclusive, target has been the Socialist Reich Party of which Major General Remer is an official. The history of the actions of the Bonn Government, and local administrators, and the SRP is too lengthy to set forth in this letter. I take the liberty of enclosing a partial history of such actions. This has been followed in recent weeks by an injunction prohibiting the SRP from conducting public meetings, distributing its publications or otherwise bringing its case to the people. As a climax, the Bonn government is placing a legal ban against this party, contrary to the interests of*

*the United States in that it (1) is indicative of an attempt within Germany to restrain free speech and freedom of political expression and (2) tends to destroy unity amongst the conservative political parties which will be our strongest sources of strength in any anti-communist endeavor. I submit that the United States has responsibilities in Germany in view of the presence of our troops there and in view of the extent of United States influence, direct and indirect, in German affairs."*<sup>77</sup>

Thompson then addressed the contention raised by Henry B. Cox of the State Department, who claimed that the U.S.A. has no jurisdiction over German affairs. Thompson referred to the Austrian parliament having just passed a law restoring property and civil rights to 34,000 "former Nazis." He directed Acheson's attention to a telegram that had been sent to the Secretary of State by the President of the American Jewish Committee, Jacob Blaustein, where Blaustein states that the U.S.A. still had "responsibility in Austria" and should apply pressure to have the new law repealed. In response to the Jewish demand, on July 26, 1952,

*the United States State Department made public its disapproval of the Austrian laws in question. Mr Lincoln Waite, a State Department spokesman said that the State Department has communicated "its fairly strong" views on the subject to the Acting High Commissioner for Austria.*<sup>78</sup>

Thompson contended that if this action could be taken in response to a demand by the American Jewish Committee, why couldn't the State Department make such a protest, conversely, to restore the rights of German politicians and veterans?:

*"Apparently the United States State Department is willing to intervene in the affairs of another country when urged to do so by the "American Jewish Committee," but will not intervene in the interests of justice in the case of General Remer, the persecuted rightist political parties of Germany, and the 1,045 "war criminals". The United State has far more at stake in intervening in the aforementioned cases than in serving the cause of international Jewry by adversely interfering in a small administrative matter restoring rights to persons plainly entitled to hold such rights."*<sup>79</sup>



Perry Laukhuff, Acting Deputy Director, Bureau of German Affairs, replied that the views of Thompson were so much at variance with the policy of the U.S.A. towards Germany that there was no point in replying in detail. Laukhuff contended that the U.S. attitude to the prisoners was based on judicial principles of Anglo-Saxon law, and that it has the support of “important elements of the new Germany,”<sup>80</sup> which of course it did since the law was designed to protect the collaborationist Bonn regime. In regard to the issue of Remer and the S.R.P., Laukhuff responded:

*"... Here again it is obvious that there is little or no common ground for a discussion of the issue. You apparently feel that Herr Remer leads a worthy cause and is being persecuted for it. You also consider that support for him and his party would greatly advance the cause of anti-communism and United States policy in Europe. You are well aware, however, that the State Department holds entirely different views. From Remer's speeches, from the known views held by him and the other leaders of the SRP, and from other information available to the Department, there seems to be every indication that this man and his movement are neo-nazi in character. You make the common mistake of considering that because a man is not a communist he is a good democrat. Far from being in league with anti-communist parties, Remer and his partners are bitterly hostile to the moderate democratic forces in Germany. Under these circumstances, the Department can scarcely be expected to intervene with the German Government on Remer's behalf, even if it has the technical right to do so. It is no part of American policy to assist Nazism to arise once more in Germany."<sup>81</sup>*

It might be noted that Laukhuff is less obfuscationist than Cox: that it is not so much a matter of the U.S. being unable to intervene than that the U.S. supports the measures taken against Remer and the S.R.P., which of course would not come as a surprise to Thompson or Yockey. Laukhuff was after all merely outlining the *raison d'être* of the Occupation. Finally, Laukhuff rejected Thompson's reference to U.S. attempts at intervention in the Austrian matter to appease Jewish interests, claiming that it is simply a matter of justice and restitution for “the victims of National Socialism.” This, however, is surely a euphemism for – Jewish interests.

The apparently final letter sent to the State Department over Thompson's name, as Executive Secretary of The Committee for International Justice and The Committee for the Freedom of Major General Remer, is the lengthiest of the correspondence and includes a great deal of Yockeyan ideology.

The letter begins by stating that the campaign for the release of Remer was not based on a personal commitment but a "superpersonal Idea" in support of what Remer represents. The letter was written to explain the Committee's world-view, and was presumably written with the view to a wider audience than trying to convert functionaries of the State Department. Turning first to the matter of "war crimes," Thompson/Yockey write:

*In the democratic Germany you mention, the authoritarian Adenauer regime has found it necessary to make it a criminal offense for anyone publicly to write the word "war criminal" in quotation marks. This was necessary because, generally speaking, all Germans regard the use of the word "criminal" in connection with their political and military heroes of the War as a cowardly and vile slander by a dishonorable victor, and because the Adenauer regime, supported only by American bayonets, is necessarily obliged to enforce, by all possible means, the internal policy relayed to it through you. Until the forces you represent are able to pass similar legislation here, we shall continue at all times to write this phrase in the manner which is forbidden in democratic Germany.<sup>82</sup>*

The concept of "war crimes" is explained as an illicit manoeuvre by the victors who contrived a law that did not exist at the time of the alleged "crimes." On the other hand, the code of conduct of soldiers was already set forth and known by them. This code was not, and is not now, the basis of "war crimes" charges. In the case of the "war-crimes terror" in Germany, no such laws had existed, and the defendants were not being tried under American or German laws, nor under the terms of the Geneva Convention for Prisoners-of-War. The "international law" that was contrived for the purpose of prosecuting the German leadership was at variance with the traditional concepts of "international law" that had hitherto been practiced on the basis of ethics rather than "mock trials."

Yockey and Thompson referred specifically to the Malmedy Trial as an example of the nature of the post-war prosecutions. This is a matter in which they had first-hand knowledge. They referred to the trial in 1946 of Waffen-SS men and officers accused of killing American soldiers who had surrendered in 1944 at Malmedy during the “Battle of the Bulge,” describing the trial as “a foul process ... a hideous caricature of the American constitutional principle of separation of powers... a satanic debauch.”<sup>83</sup>

Thompson and Yockey referred to the Congressional investigation of the trial methodology undertaken by Texas Supreme Court Judge Gordon Simpson, after the defendants’ lawyer, Lt. Col. William M. Everett, Jr., who had conducted a vigorous defence, filed a petition with the U.S. Supreme Court claiming the defendants had been subjected to torture to extract confessions. A member of the tribunal investigating in 1948 the methods of the prosecution, Judge Edward LeRoy Van Roden, examined the records of one thousand “war crimes” cases and concluded that the entire process was wrong. In 1952, a small book was published in Germany on the trial in which it is stated that the prisoners were confined in dark cells in solitary confinement, deprived of daily exercise, spat at, prevented from sleeping, hit with fists and metal bars, kicked in the testicles and shins, forced to stand with hands raised for hours, subjected to mock trials and death sentences, subjected to fake hangings until strangled to unconsciousness. They were given promises of lenient treatment should they confess, and threatened with reprisals against family.<sup>84</sup>

Additional to Yockey’s personal experiences with the post-war Occupation, Thompson knew van Roden, and the Judge was instrumental in getting Sen. Joseph McCarthy to examine the Malmedy case.<sup>85</sup>

While Yockey’s left-wing biographer Coogan attempts to put doubt upon the credibility of Van Roden, the Judge was continuing to insist in his statement published in *Doenitz at Nuremberg* that his conclusions were based on the examination of a mass of documentation, many interviews and “careful consideration” by all the members of the Simpson Commission, enabling him to “secure a first-hand knowledge of this far-reaching ‘experiment’ of War-Crimes Trials.” The trials were “contrary to civilized ideals and principles of legal justice.” He referred to the Malmedy case as being

“devoid of any competent evidence.” He regarded the whole “war crimes” business as shameful, and thought that Doenitz and other “enemy patriots” should receive “a humble apology.”<sup>86</sup>

The position Yockey and Thompson put to Acheson on the morality and legality of the “war-crimes trials” was therefore backed by a considerable weight of opinion from influential diplomatic, military and legal authorities, much of which was to be published in the Thompson/Strutz book in 1976. They next raised the issue of the jailing of Remer, the banning of the S.R.P. and the prosecution of numerous others, including Frau Heinrich Himmler, as proof that the Bonn regime was imposed and maintained by American bayonets, only allowing an “opposition” that substantially agrees with the regime. It was now disingenuous for the U.S.A. to mention anti-communism and state that Gen. Remer et al are not “genuine anti-communists” when Remer and others that were then being prosecuted, had fought the U.S.S.R. while the Allies were backing the Soviet invasion of Europe.<sup>87</sup>

Yockey and Thompson conclude with philosophical themes that are fundamental to Yockey’s *Imperium*, namely that

*The German National Socialist Movement was only one form, and a provisional form at that, of the great irresistible movement which expresses the spirit of the Age, the Resurgence of Authority. This movement is the affirmation of all the cultural drives and human instincts which liberalism, democracy, and communism deny. General Remer’s movement is a current expression of the irresistible Resurgence of Authority in the Western Civilization.*<sup>88</sup>

It seems unlikely that such sentiments would have been understood by Acheson, or more specially the desk-jockey who was allotted the task of reading the letter, which does not seem to have been answered. The conclusion is a clarion call for European unity and destiny:

*The Resurgence of Authority has both its inner and outer aspect. The inner has been touched upon in the preceding paragraph. Its outer aspect is the creation of the European- Imperium – State – Nation, and therewith the reassertion of Europe’s historically ordained role, that of the colonizing and organizing force*

*in the entire world.*<sup>89</sup>

They reiterate that the U.S.A. is dominated by Jewish interests, and outline the beliefs of their Committees, which go beyond freeing and rehabilitating German “war criminals,” the support for Remer being seen as backing the individual and the party which seemed then the most promising sign of a renascent Europe. The anti-Soviet character of the Yockey/Thompson correspondence was that year to take a sharp turn in seeing the Russians as potential allies in the liberation of Europe from the deeper malaise of the “regime of the culture-distorter,” a pro-Russian line that was also to be embraced by Remer who retained it for the rest of his life.

## **Conclusion**

As we now look with hindsight upon the post-war world we might see that the present regime of the “new world order” is legally predicated on the definitions and laws contrived to wreak vengeance upon defeated Germany. Now, as then, the political and military leaders of a defeated state are liable to be brought before an international court and charged with “war crimes” and “human rights violations.” Behind the rhetoric stands the reality that such manoeuvres were then, and are now, a legalistic façade to dispose of those who do not conform to the interests of what is now called “globalization.” The key word to define the process is: humbug.

## **Notes:**

1 *Imperium*, Yockey’s neo-Spenglerian *magnum opus*, has remained in print since the Noontide Press edition of Willis Carto in 1962. There is an impending release of a deluxe, hard-backed edition, including an extensive foreword by this writer, and annotations by Alex Kurtagic, due out this year: <http://shop.wermodandwermod.com/books/our-titles/pre-order-new-titles/imperium-the-philosophy-of-history-and-politics.html>

In 2012 Wermod & Wermod published a deluxe, hard-backed edition of Yockey’s synopsis of *Imperium, The Proclamation of London of the European Liberation Front*, with an introduction by Dr. Michael O’Meara: <http://shop.wermodandwermod.com/books/philosophy/the-proclamation-of-london-of-the-european-liberation-front.html>

In 2013 Counter-Currents Publications will be issuing a collection of hitherto mostly unpublished Yockey manuscripts, *The World in Flames: Collected Writings of Francis Parker Yockey*, edited and with explanatory notes by this writer.

2 On the American “radical Right” those who saw their own Government as more inimical to the interests of

Western Civilization than the U.S.S.R. were the relatively successful and long-running Catholic-based periodical *Common Sense*, the equally long-running and militant National Renaissance Party, both heavily influenced by Yockey, and later the magazine *Instauration*, edited by Wilmot Robertson, author of *The Dispossessed Majority*.

<sup>3</sup> For an examination of the essentially anti-Bolshevik policies of Stalin see: Kerry Bolton, *Stalin: The Enduring Legacy* (London: Black Housing Publishing, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> F. P. Yockey, "The Prague Treason Trial," 1952; in *Yockey: Four Essays* (New Jersey: Nordland Press, 1971).

<sup>5</sup> K. R. Bolton, "Cold War Axis: Soviet Anti-Zionism and the American Right," *Counter-Currents Publishing*, <http://www.counter-currents.com/2011/04/the-cold-war-axis-soviet-anti-zionism-the-american-right-part-1/>

<sup>6</sup> F. P. Yockey, "The Tragedy of Youth," *Social Justice*, August 21, 1939, *Yockey: Four Essays*, op. cit.

<sup>7</sup> Kevin Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day: Francis Parker Yockey and the Postwar Fascist International* (New York: Automedia, 1999), p 152.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 154.

<sup>10</sup> See: *SS Werewolf Combat Instruction Manual* (Boulder, Colorado: Paladin Press, 1982). This includes an informative introduction by Lt. Michael C. Fagnon. Also, I. Melchior, *Order of Battle: Hitler's Werewolves* (Novato, California: Lyford Books, 1991), a dramatized account by an interrogator of the Werewolves.

<sup>11</sup> Kevin Coogan, op. cit., p. 156.

<sup>12</sup> W. Carto, "Introduction," *Imperium*, op. cit, xi-xii.

<sup>13</sup> Coogan, op. cit., p. 157.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp. 156.-161.

<sup>15</sup> S Dorril, *Black Shirt: Sir Oswald Mosley and British Fascism* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), p. 575.

<sup>16</sup> Correspondence from Bardèche to Keith Stimley, 1982; cited by Coogan, op. cit., p. 163.

<sup>17</sup> Coogan, ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 164.

<sup>19</sup> Ian Cobain, "The Secrets of the London Cage," *The Guardian*, November 12, 2005, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2005/nov/12/secondworldwar.world>

Cobain recently had a book published covering these issues, *Cruel Britannia; A Secret History of Torture* (London: Portobello Books, 2012).

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> A. P. Scotland, *The Cage* (London: Evans, 1957).

<sup>22</sup> Ian Cobain, op. cit..

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Coogan, p. 128.

<sup>25</sup> D. Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1994), p. 148.

<sup>26</sup> John C. Obert, "Yockey: Profile of an American Hitler," *The Investigator*, October 1981, p. 24; cited by Lipstadt, ibid., chapter 8, notes on p. 258.

<sup>27</sup> Francis Parker Yockey, *Imperium* (1962 Noontide Press edition), p. 533.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 534.

<sup>30</sup> D. Lipstadt, op. cit., p. 44.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>32</sup> For an account of the actual situation see: James Bacque, *Crimes and Mercies: The Fate of German Civilians under Allied Occupation, 1944-1950* (London: Little, Brown and Co., 1997). Although Bacque's

book was published several years after Lipstadt's, the documentation has long been available, but Lipstadt regards such inconvenient truths as "relativizing the holocaust," which is considered worse than "Holocaust denial." See for the latter: K. R. Bolton, "Historical Revisionism and Relativizing the Holocaust," *Inconvenient History*, [http://inconvenienthistory.com/archive/2012/volume\\_4/number\\_2/historical\\_revisionism\\_and\\_relativising\\_the\\_holocaust.php](http://inconvenienthistory.com/archive/2012/volume_4/number_2/historical_revisionism_and_relativising_the_holocaust.php)

[33](#) F. P. Yockey, *Imperium*, op. cit., "The Terror."

[34](#) *Ibid.*, p. 597.

[35](#) *Ibid.*, p. 598.

[36](#) L O Bogstat, *Francis Parker Yockey, FBI Summary Report*, 8 July 1954, p. 11.

[37](#) *Ibid.*

[38](#) "Mystery Man Seized with Three Passports," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 9, 1960, p. 8.

[39](#) "Mystery Man Kills Self," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 18, 1960, p. 11.

[40](#) Gordon Thomas, *Journey into Madness: Medical Torture and the Mind Controllers* (Corgi Books, 1989).

[41](#) K. R. Bolton, *The Psychotic Left: From Jacobin France to the Occupy Movement* (London: Black House Publishing, 2013), Chapter I, "Political Uses and Abuses of Psychiatry."

[42](#) Inventory of Materials Given to Hoover Institution by H. K. Thompson, 1981 and 1983.

[43](#) Keith Stimley interview with Thompson, March 13, 1986.

[44](#) D. McCalden, *Revisionist Newsletter*, Issue 21, June 1983, sent by Thompson to this writer as a largely accurate, although critical, record of his activities.

[45](#) H. K. Thompson to K. R. Bolton, August 1995.

[46](#) H. K. Thompson and Henry Strutz, *Doenitz at Nuremberg: A Re-Appraisal: War Crimes and the Military Professional* (New York: Amber Publishing Corp., 1976).

[47](#) *Ibid.*, from cover flap.

[48](#) D. McCalden, op. cit.

[49](#) Martin Lee, *The Beast Reawakens* (London: Little Brown & Co., 1997), p. 88.

[50](#) D. McCalden, *Revisionist Newsletter* Issue 22, July 1983.

[51](#) Thompson /Stimley interview, op. cit.

[52](#) F. P. Yockey, "The Enemy of Europe," serialization in *Trud*, 1969; precise issues numbers and dates unknown.

[53](#) F. P. Yockey, *The Enemy of Europe* (Reedy, West Virginia: Liberty Bell Publications, 1981), including a lengthy introduction by Dr. Revilo P. Oliver entitled "The Enemy of Our Enemies." The volume is currently available from Wermod & Wermod.

[54](#) H. K. Thompson, "American Fascist," *Independent*, August 1962, p. 9.

[55](#) *Ibid.*

[56](#) P. Gottfried, "Fascism as the Unconquered Past," 2012, pp. 27-28.

[57](#) Kerry Bolton, *Revolution from Above* (London: Arktos Media Ltd., 2012), "McCarthy's Threat to the Globalist Establishment," pp. 40-41.

[58](#) Edmond Taylor, "Germany: Where Fascism and Communism Meet," *The Reporter*, April 13, 1954, p. 10.

[59](#) Kerry Bolton, *Stalin: The Enduring Legacy* (London: Black House Publishing, 2012), inter alia.

[60](#) Edmond Taylor, op. cit., p. 11.

[61](#) *Ibid.*

[62](#) *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[63](#) *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[64](#) *Ibid.*

[65](#) *Ibid.*

- [66](#) F. P. Yockey, "Prague Treason Trial," December 20, 1952, op. cit.
- [67](#) Ibid., p. 14.
- [68](#) Oswald Mosley, *The European*, March 1953; *Mosley Policy & Debate* (Euphorion Books, 1954), p. 128.
- [69](#) Edmond Taylor, op. cit., p. 14.
- [70](#) Martin Lee, op. cit., pp. 82-83.
- [71](#) Ibid., p. 84.
- [72](#) H. Keith Thompson to Keith Stimley, March 13, 1986.
- [73](#) Henry B. Cox to H. K. Thompson, June 20, 1952.
- [74](#) P. Gottfried, op. cit., p. 11.
- [75](#) Thompson to Acheson, July 30th, 1952.
- [76](#) Ibid.
- [77](#) Ibid.
- [78](#) Ibid.
- [79](#) Ibid.
- [80](#) Laukhuff to Thompson, September 2, 1952.
- [81](#) Ibid.
- [82](#) Thompson/Yockey to Acheson, October 15, 1952.
- [83](#) Ibid.
- [84](#) Dietrich Ziemssen (1952) Munich, 1952, *The Malmedy Trial* (Torrance, California: Institute for Historical Review, 1951), pp. 24-25.
- [85](#) Coogan, op. cit., p. 241.
- [86](#) Judge Edward LeRoy Van Roden in Thompson and Strutz, op. cit., pp. 66-67.
- [87](#) Yockey and Thompson to Acheson, October 15, 1952.
- [88](#) Ibid.
- [89](#) Ibid.



## 19. **REDUCTIO AD HITLERUM AS A SOCIAL EVIL**

Third Reich “scholarship” is measured against a *de facto* axiom that it must be centered around the Holocaust, with concomitant discussions on medical experiments, and other aspects of a supposedly uniquely “Nazi” brutality. Anything less is branded by watchdog “scholars” such as Deborah Lipstadt as “relativizing the Holocaust,” which is apparently even worse than “Holocaust revisionism.”<sup>1</sup>

*Reductio ad Hitlerum* is the technique of undermining a debate by accusing the opponent of being a Nazi. Leo Strauss, Jewish philosopher, coined the term in 1951, explaining in 1953:

*Unfortunately, it does not go without saying that in our examination we must avoid the fallacy that in the last decades has frequently been used as a substitute for the reductio ad absurdum: the reductio ad Hitlerum. A view is not refuted by the fact that it happens to have been shared by Hitler.*<sup>2</sup>

The informative resource “The Fallacy Files”<sup>3</sup> gives an example of *reductio ad Hitlerum*:

*[T]he ideas of ecologists about invasive species—alien species as they are often*

*called—sound...similar to anti-immigration rhetoric. Green themes like scarcity and purity and invasion and protection all have right-wing echoes. Hitler’s ideas about environmentalism came out of purity, after all.*<sup>4</sup>

The above quote by a “radical feminist,” Betsy Hartmann, is part of a lament on the supposed “right-wing takeover” of the ecology movement, some of whose proponents have apparently been advocating immigration restrictions, which is akin to Nazism for those who reflexively employ *reductio ad Hitlerum* in their intellectual discourse. As evidence of this, Hartmann cites the editorship of the academic journal *Population and Environment* by Professor Kevin MacDonald, along with the late J. Philip Rushton who sat on the editorial board, both regarded as “racists.”<sup>5</sup>

“The Fallacy Files” explains *reductio ad Hitlerum*:

<b>Forms</b>	
Adolf Hitler accepted idea x. Therefore, x must be wrong.	The Nazis accepted idea x. Therefore, x must be wrong.

<b>Examples</b>	
Hitler was in favor of euthanasia. Therefore, euthanasia is wrong.	The Nazis favored eugenics. Therefore, eugenics is wrong.

<b>Counter-Examples</b>	
Hitler was a vegetarian. Therefore, vegetarianism is wrong.	The Nazis were conservationists. Therefore, conservationism is wrong.

Although the term *reductio ad Hitlerum* was coined by Strauss as far back as 1951 in the Spring issue of the journal *Measure*,<sup>6</sup> it is invaluable. Dr. Thomas

Fleming, the American Catholic Conservative, president of the Rockford Institute, and editor of *Chronicles*, cogently stated of *reductio ad Hitlerum*:

*Leo Strauss called it the reductio ad Hitlerum. If Hitler liked neoclassical art, that means that classicism in every form is Nazi; if Hitler wanted to strengthen the German family, that makes the traditional family (and its defenders) Nazi; if Hitler spoke of the “nation” or the “folk,” then any invocation of nationality, ethnicity, or even folkishness is Nazi ...*<sup>7</sup>

For example among the “pro-gun” lobby which assumes that Hitler – as a dictator – inaugurated the mass confiscation of private firearms in the Third Reich and therefore proponents of “gun control” are adopting a Hitler-like stance.<sup>8</sup> This, like much else that passes for fact even in academia, is tenuous at best. However, indicating to what extent *reductio ad Hitlerum* can be contorted every which way, another argument being that it is the pro-gun lobby that is more Hitleresque, one liberal commentator, Chris Miles, pointing out that when Hitler assumed power the provisions on gun ownership were those imposed in 1919 under the Versailles *Diktat*. Quoting Professor Bernard Harcourt of the University of Chicago on the 1938 German Weapons Act, which pro-gun anti-Nazis also quote to prove that Hitler sought to disarm his people, “The 1938 revisions completely deregulated the acquisition and transfer of rifles and shotguns, as well as ammunition.” Strictures that were maintained only involved handguns, which reliable persons could own if they could show they had good reason.<sup>9</sup> Miles continues:

*The groups of people who were exempt from the acquisition permit requirement expanded. Holders of annual hunting permits, government workers, and NSDAP party members were no longer subject to gun ownership restrictions. Prior to the 1938 law, only officials of the central government, the states, and employees of the German Reichsbahn were exempted. The age at which persons could own guns was lowered from 20 to 18. The firearms carry permit was valid for three years instead of one year. Under both the 1928 and 1938 acts, gun manufacturers and dealers were required to maintain records with information about who purchased guns and the guns' serial numbers. These records were to be delivered to a police authority for inspection at the end of each year.*<sup>10</sup>

It was under the Allied Occupation regime that Germans were completely disarmed from 1945-1956.

### **Social Achievements in Third Reich Suppressed**

It is against this background that the “horrors of Nazism” have been used to obscure and suppress the achievements of that regime on a range of issues that gravely afflict the world today. Because of the one-eyed dogma on all things Hitlerian, some vital discoveries and achievements have been buried under a pile of figurative corpses which prevents the world from a sober, scholarly assessment of achievements in such areas as health, ecology and banking, or alternatively, as mentioned, puts serious alternatives on the defensive by comparing them with “Nazism.”

It is notable that some achievements of the Third Reich were embraced and developed – where it has served powerful interests. The most apparent example is in the realm of rocketry and other advanced weaponry pioneered by the Third Reich, when there was a scramble between the USSR and USA to grab “Nazi scientists” directly after the war. Details of this are incontestable, although still obscure:

*Operation Paperclip was the codename under which the US intelligence and military services extricated scientists from Germany during and after the final stages of World War II. The project was originally called Operation Overcast, and is sometimes also known as Project Paperclip.*

*Of particular interest were scientists specialising in aerodynamics and rocketry (such as those involved in the V-1 and V-2 projects), chemical weapons, chemical reaction technology and medicine. These scientists and their families were secretly brought to the United States, without State Department review and approval; their service for Hitler’s Third Reich, NSDAP and SS memberships as well as the classification of many as war criminals or security threats also disqualified them from officially obtaining visas. An aim of the operation was capturing equipment before the Soviets came in. The US Army destroyed some of the German equipment to prevent it from being captured by the advancing Soviet Army.*

*The majority of the scientists, numbering almost 500, were deployed at White Sands Proving Ground, New Mexico, Fort Bliss, Texas and Huntsville, Alabama to work on guided missile and ballistic missile technology. This in turn led to the foundation of NASA and the US ICBM program.*

*Much of the information surrounding Operation Paperclip is still classified.*

*Separate from Paperclip was an even-more-secret effort to capture German nuclear secrets, equipment and personnel (Operation Alsos). Another American project (TICOM) gathered German experts in cryptography.*

*The United States Bureau of Mines employed seven German synthetic fuel scientists in a Fischer-Tropsch chemical plant in Louisiana, Missouri in 1946.<sup>11</sup>*

### **Suppression of Cancer Research**

Hitlerian Germany pioneered many programs in social health and welfare and the study of disease prevention, the relationship between tobacco and cancer, etc. Hence, the regime was decades ahead of today's democratic states that pride themselves on being "progressive."

The suppression of German health research is one of the major tragedies of the way by which *reductio ad Hitlerum* has impacted many lives. With such a mentality, Peter Dunne, the sole Member of Parliament in New Zealand for his United Future Party, described the lobbyists for tobacco restrictions in 2003 as "health nazis." A news item stated of this:

*The head of the Smokefree Coalition is questioning just how family-friendly United Future is. Party leader Peter Dunne has attacked supporters of the smoke-free bill as "health Nazis" and beady-eyed zealots. Leigh Sturgiss says such language is inappropriate and appalling. She says proponents of tobacco control want to SAVE lives, not destroy them. She says Peter Dunne has a history of voting against tobacco control, which flies in the face of his party's values.<sup>12</sup>*

At the time I wrote to Dunne:

*Dear Mr Dunne*

*I was interested in your use of the term ‘health Nazis’ to describe those who seek to legislate for the control of smoking in public places.*

*You are probably unaware as to how apt this description is. National Socialist Germany did indeed legislate to control smoking in public places as a social health issue.*

*The same regime was also responsible for other “tyrannical” health measures such as compulsory breast testing, testing for TB among workers, the promotion of naturopathic medicine, occupational safety laws, the banning of certain types of pesticide, the promotion of nutritional food and the discouraging of additives, campaigns against alcohol and against butter dyes, restrictions on tobacco advertising. ...*

*As for ‘health Nazis’ and public smoking, it is because of the type of banal propaganda that has made the Hitler regime synonymous with evil that the link between tobacco and cancer discovered by the 'health Nazi' medical authorities has been suppressed. I wonder how many lives could have been saved if a balanced assessment of the regime had been permitted?*

*Also of relevance on this point is that the leader of the “lowest form of humanity”,<sup>13</sup> Hitler, donated the royalties from the sale of Mein Kampf to cancer research. Have you ever undertaken anything as worthy, Mr Dunne?<sup>14</sup>*

Returning to matters of more direct relevance, however, it is notable that among those who were secured by the USA under Operation Paperclip was cancer researcher Dr. Kurt Blome, deputy Reich Health Leader (*Reichsgesundheitsführer*) and Plenipotentiary for Cancer Research in the Reich Research Council. Dr. Blome was captured and renditioned to the U.S.A., a document stating of his relevance,

*In 1943 Blome was studying bacteriological warfare, although officially he was involved in cancer research, which was however only a camouflage. Blome additionally served as deputy health minister of the Reich. Would you like to send investigators?<sup>15</sup>*

Note that the interest in Dr. Blome was not as a cancer researcher but as a researcher in biological warfare, and the American report refers to the cancer research only incidentally as a cover for Nazi research into bacteriological warfare. The implication is that cancer research in the Reich did not really exist; it was a façade to hide nefarious medical experiments in the pursuit of biological weapons.

Dr. Blome, it is stated, was saved from the gallows, having been charged with experimenting on Dachau inmates with vaccinations by the Americans, and “In 1951, he was hired by the US Army Chemical Corps to work on chemical warfare.”<sup>16</sup>

What this indicates is that it was the USA that had the particular interest in German findings on chemical warfare, and had no interest in German research on cancer, giving the impression that there was no real German research on cancer. It should by now be sufficiently known that the USA has itself engaged in medical experiments, and outright psychological torture,<sup>17</sup> on its own citizens, that cannot even be mitigated by the USA having at the time been under direct assault from enemy forces (as Germany was). Pointing out such matters is described as “relativizing the Holocaust,” which is allegedly “worse than Holocaust denial.” One might ask whether such “relativity;’ is so abhorred because it implies that Gentile suffering is as serious as Jewish suffering, violating the Talmudic axiom that Gentiles are inferior?<sup>18</sup> Therefore it was enough for veteran French politician Jean-Marie LePen to have said, “The Holocaust was a detail of Second World War history,” to have him pilloried for “hate crimes,” despite his not having “denied” the reality of the “Holocaust,” nor even apparently the sacrosanct 6,000,000 figure. LePen’s thoughtcrime was that he had “relativized the Holocaust,” or what in Germany is called “minimising the Holocaust,”<sup>19</sup> rather than accepting that it must remain the central tragedy of the entirety of human history.

Such controversies serve to obscure achievements under National Socialism in Germany. Scholarship necessitates objectivity, and this is not possible when studies on the Third Reich must *a priori* be based on moral absolutism as a form of Zoroastrian duality that necessarily equates anything and everything to do with the Third Reich as inherently evil, including cancer research, ecology, *Autobahns* and banking reform.

Hence what Professor Robert N. Proctor reports in his book, *The Nazi War on Cancer*,<sup>20</sup> can only be examined through the war-fever-distorted lens of such pioneering social medicine being undertaken with evil intentions. The same may be said for the *Autobahn* public works program, its purpose routinely being ascribed to Hitler's goal of building a road network that would enable Germany's rapid military mobilization. Occasionally the truth emerges in an incidental manner from out of orthodox academia: In this instance, Dr. Frederic Spotts, in his *Hitler and the Power of Aesthetics*, writes casually of the *Autobahn* that at the time it was admired throughout the world as an "innovative, successful and enlightened achievement."

*Their divided roadways, generous width, superb engineering, environmental sensitivity, harmony with the countryside, tasteful landscaping, cloverleaf entries and exits, sleek bridges and overpasses, Modernist service stations, restaurants and rest facilities were in advance of road systems anywhere else and presented a model for the world.*<sup>21</sup>

While the *Autobahn* is conventionally represented as an example of Germany's military preparations, Dr. Spotts has the fortitude to see it another way: "What is not widely appreciated is that Hitler regarded these highways above all else as aesthetic monuments." For the first time roads were not primarily utilitarian, but enduring art-works comparable to the pyramids."<sup>22</sup> Dr. Spotts continues:

*The autobahns were therefore intended not so much to facilitate cars going from one place to another as to show off the natural and architectural beauty of the country. Routes were chosen to go through attractive areas without disturbing the harmony of the hills, valleys and forests. Lay-bys were created for travellers to stop and admire the panorama. In some causes the roadway itself made a detour, despite additional costs, to offer a particularly impressive view. Great effort went into construction so as to minimize damage to the environment. ...*<sup>23</sup>

The way Dr. Spotts gets away with what at first seems a glowing account of the Reich's ecological and technical achievements is to describe Hitler's aesthetic as just "another example of megalomaniac self-indulgence."<sup>24</sup> Hence, even with this remarkable achievement, as with other major advances in the Third Reich, we must be



reminded that ultimately it all rests on the pervasive evil of one man. Be that as it may, regardless of Hitler's motives, such reductionism prevents a rational and objective consideration of such achievements. Had Dr. Spotts been describing the achievements of highway construction in the USA or England during the 1930s, for example, the reader would be left with an enduring impression of a state that had achieved much that needs reconsidering today. However, since such a remarkable achievement was undertaken under Hitler, it is reduced even by Dr. Spotts to just another example of the megalomania of a uniquely evil person. But Dr. Spotts dispels one of the great myths about the era, that the *Autobahn* was primarily for the purposes of militarization. Commenting on Todt, head of the project, Spotts states that while Todt's arguments for the *Autobahn* included its potential for military purposes,

*Hitler was never taken by this notion. In fact the routes did not run to likely front lines, the surfaces were too thin to support tanks and so on. Far from being helpful to the Wehrmacht, the roads, with their shiny white surfaces, proved so useful to enemy aircraft by providing points of orientation that they had to be camouflaged with paint.*<sup>25</sup>

Hence, while the *Autobahn*, as much a triumph of ecology as of engineering, can be relegated to the realm of megalomania, the lesson drawn from Professor Proctor's book on Third Reich cancer and other medical research is, according to the reviewer for *The Washington Post*, "a concept nearly as unsettling [as Hannah Arendt's 'banality of evil'] – the 'banality of good.'"<sup>26</sup>

Third Reich research into the links between tobacco and cancer therefore becomes trite, dull, trivial, and other such words associated with "banality." Had the USA been as interested in such research as they were on what the Germans had developed in terms of weapons, then there would be many millions of people who would have been thankful for that research, regardless of the regime under whose auspices it was conducted. That the USA was only interested in German technical and military achievements says more about the character of the US regime than about the Third Reich. However, where the general public hears anything about German medical experiments, it is in regard to alleged abuses on prisoners and "racial inferiors" (sic), by such individuals as Dr. Joseph Mengele, who is described as performing some very

unscientific medical experiments despite his eminence as a geneticist. Hence lurid stories like this:

*... Mengele had an added project: that of actually changing eye color in an Aryan direction. Dr. Abraham C. wondered why Mengele was devoting so much attention to a few seven-year-old boys who seemed unremarkable and then realized that “those children had one odd characteristic: they were blond and had brown eyes, so Mengele was trying to find a way to color their eyes blue.” Mengele actually injected methylene blue into their eyes, causing severe pain and inflammation, but ‘their eyes of course did not change.’<sup>27</sup>*

As the last sentence states, “but their eyes of course did not change.” Yet it is expected, or rather *demand*ed, of everyone that a highly qualified geneticist, Dr. Mengele, who apparently believed also in National Socialist racial doctrine, tried to turn non-Aryans into Aryans by artificial means. Could anything be *less* “racist”? But these tales obscure whatever real achievements, of which there were many, were made under the Third Reich in medicine and public welfare. While the lurid tales continued decades after the war that Mengele created a crop of blue-eyed Brazilians in a remote town, *National Geographic* finally exposed it in 2009 as a “myth.”<sup>28</sup>

What this “banality of good” – in the words of the *Washington Post* reviewer of Proctor’s book - included was a pervasive effort to establish a healthy population. Naturally, the motives for this would be said to create a “Master Race” to conquer the world, but regardless of the motives, the results could have benefited mankind had it not been for the suppression of anything of a positive character connected with the Third Reich.

Proctor states that more than a thousand medical doctoral dissertations examined cancer in the twelve years of National Socialist rule. For the first time cancer registries were established, preventive public health measures were strengthened, there were laws against the adulteration of food and drugs, bans on smoking, and campaigns warning against the use of cancer-forming cosmetics. Proctor asks the question whether these and other public health measures resulted in the lower incidence of cancer among Germans since the 1950s? This poses a moral dilemma because it

means that “one of the most murderous regimes in history” might have succeeded in lowering cancer rates.<sup>29</sup> Other campaigns that have only in recent years become a factor of Western states were the urging of women to have annual or biennial cancer examinations, and women were instructed on breast self-examinations, Germany apparently being the first to undertake such steps.<sup>30</sup> The effects of dust and asbestos on health were studied with a strong emphasis.<sup>31</sup> Proctor states that Germany became the leader in documenting the “asbestos-lung cancer link.” In 1943 the regime became the first to recognize asbestos-induced mesothelioma and lung cancer as “compensable occupational diseases.” American attorneys later drew on this Nazi-era research in litigation.<sup>32</sup>

With the defeat of Germany, Karl Astel, head of the Institute of Tobacco Hazards Research, who had enacted bans on public smoking – something undertaken in New Zealand a few years ago – committed suicide. Reich Health Leader Leonardo Conti hanged himself with his shirt while in Allied detention. Reich Health Office president Hans Reiter served several years in jail, after which he worked at a health clinic, but never returned to public life. Fritz Sauckel, in charge of foreign labor, and the drafter of Astel’s anti-tobacco legislation, was executed in 1946. Proctor comments: “It is hardly surprising that much of the wind was taken out of the sails of Germany’s anti-tobacco movement.”<sup>33</sup> Yet, other scientists were dragooned by the USA into the Cold War weapons projects. Proctor gets to the very point I am making:

Even today, the German anti-tobacco movement has not surpassed the activism and seriousness of the climax years 1939-1941. Tobacco health research is muted, and it is not hard to imagine that memories of the earlier generation’s activism must have helped to perpetuate the silence. Popular memory of Nazi tobacco temperance may well have handicapped the postwar German anti-tobacco movement... It does seem to have shaped how we regard the history of the science involved: the myth that English and American scientists were first to show that smoking causes lung cancer, was a convenient one – both for scholars in the victorious nations and for Germans trying to forget the immediate past. The hoary spectre of fascism is perhaps healthier than we are willing to admit.<sup>34</sup>

Proctor also refers to the method of *reductio ad Hitlerum* in suppressing anti-

tobacco initiatives, an example of this already having been seen in New Zealand with Hon. Peter Dunne's 2003 comments. Proctor states, "Pro-tobacco advocates have begun to play the Nazi card,"<sup>35</sup> with talk of "Nico-Nazis" and "tobacco fascism." Proctor refers to Philip Morris of Europe running an advertising offensive in magazines, which identified smokers with ghettoized Jews and anti-smokers with Nazis.<sup>36</sup>

Oddly, Proctor rejects the idea that if Nazi medical research had not been suppressed lives might have been saved. He states that the Allies did indeed take much interest in Nazi scientific research, but proceeds to focus briefly on the military technology.<sup>37</sup> Where were Nazi health researchers sequestered after the war to assist the victor states in researching the causes of cancer, the effects of asbestos, the benefits of healthy diet, etc.? As described previously, they were dead, in jail or relegated to obscurity, while the "rocket scientists" were working diligently on Cold War missiles, before being denounced in their old age.<sup>38</sup>

That public health initiatives being undertaken decades after the Germans undertook the same programs are now being heralded as "new" is a piece of opportunistic flim-flammy. The same can be said also for German ecological measures,<sup>39</sup> with Communists in recent years jumping aboard the Green movement to proclaim themselves in the vanguard of what they now call "Eco-Socialism," and the Anarchist-Punk enthusiasm for "animal liberation" which was pre-empted decades ago by the Reich provisions on animal welfare.<sup>40</sup>

### **Opposition to Usury Intrinsicly "Nazi"?**

*Reductio ad Hitlerum* is being used to suppress and smear another important issue: that of alternatives to the debt-banking system. Little is understood about the system of Nazi and Fascist finances, and it is generally assumed that Germany in particular achieved economic recovery by armaments spending. Even if we accept that assumption, it explains little. Indeed one of the original aims of the embryonic National Socialist Party when it was still known as the German Workers' Party, and prior to Hitler's membership, was the "breaking of the bondage of interest." A key

ideologue of the nascent Party was also the foremost advocate of banking reform in Germany, Gottfried Feder.<sup>41</sup> Interestingly about the same time (1917) the Scotsman C. H. Douglas, an engineer like Feder, was formulating a broadly similar doctrine, Social Credit, and prior to him the inventor Arthur Kitson<sup>42</sup> was advocating the bypassing of the private banking system with the state issuance of debt-free currency according to the production and consumption requirements of society.

During the early part of the Nineteenth Century Guernsey Island issued its own currency when on the verge of destitution, and continues to do so. Lincoln issued Greenbacks, and the Confederacy issued Graybacks based on a cotton standard. President John F Kennedy issued US Treasury Notes. Communities in Germany, Austria and the USA during the Great Depression issued local currencies, which brought them prosperity in the midst of destitution. Australia issued its own credit through the state's Commonwealth Bank for decades, and New Zealand issued state credit at 1% interest in 1936 through its Reserve Bank to fund the iconic state housing programs, which found work for 75% of the unemployed. Despite the obstructive efforts of the judicial system, a Social Credit Government, in Alberta, Canada, issued "Prosperity Certificates."<sup>43</sup>

Nationalist Socialist Germany, Imperial Japan and Fascist Italy undertook similar measures in issuing state credit and redeemable work certificates. The remarkable economic achievements of those states in the midst of the Great Depression have been consigned to the Memory Hole.<sup>44</sup> Yet the need to understand the banking system and alternatives to it is as dire now, in the midst of the "global debt crisis" as it was during the Great Depression. A significant difference between then and now is that in the aftermath of World War I many people understood the need to change the banking system and great reform movements such as Social Credit in Alberta and the Labour Party in New Zealand swept to power on the platform of banking reform. Because the three major Axis states also issued state credit, undertook control of banking and brought their nations to prosperity, this important issue has now also been subjected to *reductio ad Hitlerum*.

A significant victim of this tactic is Stephen M. Goodson, a South African economist who served for several years (2003-2012) as an elected director on the

Board of the South African Reserve Bank. Goodson is also an ardent advocate of banking reform and founder of the Abolition of Income Tax and Usury Party. Worse still, he does not shrink from describing the banking systems of Axis Japan and Germany as significant examples of major states that achieved revival by breaking free of usury.<sup>45</sup> For this a campaign of vilification was heaped upon Goodson a few months prior to the end of his twelve-year tenure as a Reserve Bank director. Goodson resigned presumably to pre-empt his removal at the behest of the smear-mongers. While Goodson was labelled a “Holocaust denier” it was his mentioning of the Axis banking systems that was the cause of his predicament.

Goodson came to the Reserve Bank board under provisions that allowed investors to elect a member to represent them. Although Goodson’s nine-year term was due to expire in July 2012, just several months before then a campaign was launched against him , presumably to assure that he could not end his position with good grace. A columnist wrote of him:

*Goodson, who earned R360,000 last year for his services to the bank, more than R70,000 for each of the five meetings he attended, holds contentious views that include admiring the economic policies pursued by Hitler in Nazi Germany, a belief that international bankers financed and manipulated the war against Hitler because they saw his model of state capitalism as a threat to their usurious ways, and that the Holocaust was a fiction invented to extract vast amounts of compensation from the defeated Germans.*

*He has argued that similar reasons underpinned the support of the United Nations for the uprising in Libya. Muammar Gaddafi’s usury-free banking system was a threat to global capitalism and had to be destroyed, according to Goodson.<sup>46</sup>*

That the opposition to Goodson came about because he stated some facts on National Socialist Germany’s banking policies is indicated by Steyn:

*But Goodson appears to be pushing pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic views on the internet. In a radio interview last year with American talk show host Deanna Spingola, author of *The Ruling Elite: A Study in Imperialism, Genocide and**

*Emancipation, Goodson expressed his admiration for the social achievements during the Third Reich.*<sup>47</sup>

It appears that a sympathetic treatment of Third Reich social and economic policies, a consideration of the era that does not focus on the Holocaust, is synonymous with being “pro-Nazi” and “anti-Semitic.” It therefore becomes impossible to express views on one or two admirable and workable aspects of a regime without being associated with all the other policies and actions of that regime, both real and imagined. To be consistent, defenders of the status quo in the USA should *ipso facto* be regarded as avid supporters of any and every action undertaken by the USA, including segregation, the injecting of syphilis into Negro prisoners, the My Lai Massacre, *ad infinitum*.

According to Steyn, the incriminating statements by Goodson on the Spingola radio interview in 2010 were that

*‘Adolf Hitler came to power in 1933 and in six short years he transformed Germany and reduced unemployment from 30% to zero.’*

*‘He provided everyone with debt-free and decent housing, excellent labour relations and restored respect and honour to all Germans.’*

*‘In these six years, a worker’s paradise was created. There was zero inflation and Germany became the most prosperous and powerful country in the history of Europe.’*

*Goodson also said the real reason for World War II was Germany’s progressive economic system.*

*‘That was the whole basis of World War II. It had nothing to do with human rights or protecting Poland or any of the other reasons that they advance in the history books.’*

*‘Germany — could only be admitted to the family of nations if they abided by the rules of the international bankers.’*<sup>48</sup>

After Spingola made a reference to the “Holocaust” and its use by Jewish interests, Steyn remarks that “Goodson appeared to agree.”

*Yes, well, they've [Jews] been expelled from over 70 countries, some of them several times. But unfortunately they have such a tight control of the media. Well, there is a small window of hope in that the internet can provide alternative views, but even there they are trying to exercise supervision.*<sup>49</sup>

A secondary and passing reference to the historical phenomenon of Jewish expulsions became a focus for what in fact was Goodson's long-standing opposition to usury and his comments on Germany and Japan's banking systems as examples of successful use of state credit.

That Goodson has been cited by "a number of extreme right-wing websites," is also sufficient to have Goodson associated with anything else posted on those sites. The one example given by Steyn is something called "Incog Man," presumably because this is probably the most strident of such sites she could find that also quotes Goodson, Incog Man providing Steyn with some very quotable quotes in reference to "nation-wrecking Khazar Jews and Israel-Firster HasbaRATs, braindead White Multicults and Marxists, sicko Sodomites and Lezbos, perverted Paedophile Molesters, freaky Gender-benders, greasy Illegal Mestizos, cocaine-crazed and criminal Negroes".<sup>50</sup> The implication is that these are also the views of Goodson.

Steyn proceeds with a lengthy discussion on Goodson being related to the (in)famous Mitford family, which has included Marxists and of course Fascists Diana (Mosley) and Unity Mitford.

But the articles that Steyn cites that Goodson has actually written are those concerned with usury and with banking reform:

*Goodson has written many articles that are readily found on the internet. They are often critical of debt finance and 'the exploitative fractional reserve banking system of the West', in which private banks are licensed to create money out of nothing.*

*In one article, Goodson proposes a Cape Town municipal bank that could fund all infrastructure programmes at zero interest and ratepayers could enjoy a permanent reduction of at least 15% on annual property rates, a drop in the home-loan rate and nominal rates for student loans.*



*In two other articles, ‘The truth about Syria’ and ‘The truth about Libya’, he praises the economies of both countries, which employed state banks.<sup>51</sup>*

When the *Mail and Guardian* interviewed a Reserve Bank shareholder on amendments to the Reserve Bank which appear to block the future election of shareholder representatives, “ ‘It was an extraordinary blip on the horizon,’ said shareholder Mario Pretorius. ‘In 2010 the South African Reserve Bank Act was amended to slam every possible door. [Now] there will never be another [Stephen] Goodson or anyone else it doesn’t like.’” Another shareholder said, “Goodson is an odd character. But he did good because he put a lot of pressure on the bank.”<sup>52</sup>

Despite the impending end of Goodson’s tenure within two months, the pressure was applied to get him fired. The South African Israel Public Affairs Committee (SAIPAC) called for Goodson’s immediate sacking or forced “resignation.”<sup>53</sup> SAIPAC Chairman David Hersch stated:

*It is simply not good enough for the Reserve Bank to state that his directorship ends in July and he will not be reappointed. They should be ashamed to have someone like this on their board of directors and now that he has been exposed, they should act immediately.<sup>54</sup>*

South Africa’s *Sunday Times* then reported that Goodson had resigned in May. Again we see that the main point of objection concerned his praise of the German banking system: “Last month, the *Mail & Guardian* (M&G) reported that Goodson held contentious views that included admiring the economic policies pursued by Adolf Hitler in Nazi Germany.”<sup>55</sup>

David Hersch boasted that it was “international pressure” that resulted in Goodson resigning less than two months before the end of his tenure.<sup>56</sup> Had anyone other than Hersch suggested that Jewish pressure was the cause of the outcome, they would have been labelled “anti-Semitic.” However, it was seen by Hersch et al., as a Jewish victory of which to be proud.

The Chinese economist, chairman of the New York-based Liu Investment Group, Henry C. K. Liu,<sup>57</sup> who has written extensively on Third Reich economic policies, has so far been spared the association with white supremacists, and is still

able to write columns for *The Huffington Post* and *Asia Times*, etc. Liu wrote in *Asia Times* a detailed article on Third Reich banking policy, stating

*... In fact, German economic recovery preceded and later enabled German rearmament, in contrast to the US economy, where constitutional roadblocks placed by the US Supreme Court on the New Deal delayed economic recovery until US entry to World War II put the US market economy on a war footing. While this observation is not an endorsement for Nazi philosophy, the effectiveness of German economic policy in this period, some of which had been started during the last phase of the Weimar Republic, is undeniable.*<sup>58</sup>

Note that Liu repudiates any notion that the “undeniable” success of Reich economic policy is an “endorsement for Nazi philosophy,” and that he disposes of the cliché of Germany’s economic recovery being based around rearmament. Liu describes “Work Creation Bills” issued by the Reich, commenting: “But the principle of WCBs can be applied to the US or China or any other country today to combat unacceptably high levels of unemployment. Alas, this common-sense approach is faced with firm opposition rationalized by obscure theories of inflation in most countries.”<sup>59</sup>

Dr. Ellen Brown, head of the Public Banking Institute in the USA, cites Liu’s articles.<sup>60</sup> While Liu has been spared the tactic of *reductio ad Hitlerum*, perhaps because he has secured as respected position for himself as an *Asian* economist, Dr. Brown is subjected to smears for stating the same. Hence a free-market website, *The Daily Bell*, triumphantly proclaims that it has proven the evil intent behind banking reform, in a “bombshell” report. The article warns that “the fiat money hoax” is “one of the biggest conspiracies of the modern age.” This conspiracy involves the shock victory of Beppe Grillo and his Five Star movement in the recent Italian elections. Dr. Brown has stated that Grillo has attacked usury and proposed a Social Credit-type national dividend, and state credit. *The Daily Bell* contends that a conspiratorial apparatus has sought to undermine precious metals and free trade, and that advocacy of “fiat money” is part of this conspiracy. This “conspiracy” is of a “fascist” or “National Socialist” character:

*This contradicts most everything monetary history tells us – as do arguments*

*that the REAL solution to the current financial difficulties of the West involve National Socialist nostrums such as turning over central banking functions to the "people" via governments. This is a fascist solution, and that it has been so widely promoted obviously gives rise to the idea that it is a dominant social theme of the sort we regularly analyze.*<sup>61</sup>

Hence accusations of National Socialism and Fascism become tools of an elitist conspiracy, free-market advocates objecting to these as basically the same forms of collectivism as other types of “socialism.”

“While we never found a ‘smoking gun’ regarding this promotion, it seemed obvious to us that if one turned fiat-money central banking functions over to governments alone (instead of the current joint functionality) things would get even worse, not better. More importantly, Money Power would simply seek to control government banking, as it now controls the current private/public paradigm. Nothing would change. And, of course, that is the point of the exercise.”<sup>62</sup>

Money Power already controls central banking, because the central banks, regardless of whether they are nationalized or have private bondholders, are still merely mechanisms through which the private international debt system operates. It is not central banking per se that banking reformers are promoting, but the use of state or social credit through banks, and this need not be based upon a central bank. Social Credit insists upon a Credit Authority separate from the state, for example, while local currencies have been used many times through history to overcome destitution, without causing inflation or dictatorship, and eliminating the power of these “conspirators” which *The Daily Bellers* claim to be opposing. They write:

*We tracked this meme back many years and observed numerous individuals promoting it. As we tracked it, we received tremendous pushback from those who did not want this scheme exposed. But we have persevered because it is our brief. We analyze dominant social themes and attempt to unravel their contexts from a cultural and, more importantly, investment point of view.*<sup>63</sup>

Dr. Brown is a front-woman for this “conspiracy,” *The Daily Bellers* stating:

*Now it appears that Ellen Brown, one of the foremost proponents of the*

*'transparency in government meme' ... and the national socialist idea of government controlled central banking has made a definitive connection between Italy's Beppe Grillo and her own movement. She explains Grillo's program thusly:*

- *unilateral default on the public debt;*
- *nationalization of the banks; and*
- *a guaranteed "citizenship" income of 1000 euros a month.*<sup>64</sup>

*This is beyond shocking. Conservative economist Gary North had it right. Those who back controlling the money via government fiat/central banking are seriously intent on implementing the entire schematic of national socialist economics – as was contemplated before World War II.*<sup>65</sup>

This is seen as a manoeuvre by globalists such as George Soros to raise the spectre of Fascism and frighten people back into supporting the European Union. While I can sympathize with *The Daily Bell* for suspecting the Five Star movement that suddenly appears from nowhere and commands such immediate support as suspiciously being like Soros jack-ups<sup>66</sup> such as the “color revolutions ” and the “Arab Spring,” which I have exposed many times in detail, something more persuasive is required than *The Daily Bell*'s tenuous analysis, especially when it smears real opponents of the globalist elite, such as Dr. Brown.

Hence, *The Daily Bell* proceeds with its own conspiracy theory of how the globalists could really be backing the only people who are effectively seeking to root out the foundation of globalist power: *usury*:

*This is indeed the proverbial smoking gun. Brown and all the others are part of a chain of events leading to this dénouement. This is how such campaigns work – gradually building to climax, incorporating more and more paid actors to set up blogs, write articles – and even books – to create plausible deniability. The goal has always been to create an upsurge for the kind of economics that Money Power can easily control.*<sup>67</sup>

Again I am very familiar with the type of dialectics *The Daily Bellers* are suggesting is

operating here.<sup>68</sup> However, one could just as easily claim that the free-marketeers of *The Daily Bell* type are serving globalist interests by attacking those who are offering real alternatives to globalism. It is precisely the doctrines of the free market and usury that maintain the globalist system. If we were to use a semantic device which we shall call *reductio ad Marxum* it can be argued that free-market capitalism serves the Marxist dialectic. We do not need conjecture, but can cite Marx himself:

*Generally speaking, the protectionist system today is conservative, whereas the Free Trade system has a destructive effect. It destroys the former nationalities and renders the contrast between proletariat and bourgeois more acute. In a word, the Free Trade system is precipitating the social revolution. And only in this revolutionary sense do I vote for Free Trade.*<sup>69</sup>

As I have written elsewhere in detail, the free market is seen as part of the Marxist dialectic.<sup>70</sup> Conversely, there are globalists who see Marxism as part of a capitalist dialectic, described most cogently in Zbigniew Brzezinski's *Between Two Ages*.<sup>71</sup> Both regard each as useful in undermining the common enemy: tradition, which Marx condemned most vigorously as "reactionism." Conservatives of the traditional type, such as Oswald Spengler, as distinct from Whig Liberals who are today misidentified as "Conservatives," saw the kinship between Capitalism and Free Trade and repudiated both as deriving from the same Nineteenth Century economic *zeitgeist*. Repudiation of usury remains the means by which the rule of Mammon has been overcome and can be again.

## **Conclusion**

*Reductio ad Hitlerum* is a piece of semantic jugglery which has been used by the conventionally named Left, Right and Center. The methodology has been used to label proponents of public health as "health Nazis" and "Nico-Nazis." Ecologists have been called "eco-Nazis."<sup>72</sup> One blogsite called "The Climate Scum," "proves" that ecology is "Nazi" by showing an aerial view of a forest planted during the Third Reich, in which certain trees were planted out in the shape of a swastika.<sup>73</sup> The cases of those who are skeptical about anything relating to the Holocaust, or who raise objections to

Zionism and Israel being called “Neo-Nazis” are too common to merit specific citations here. Enoch Powell’s prescient “Rivers of blood” speech in 1968 about New Commonwealth immigration into Britain was condemned with allusions to Auschwitz, and the spectre of Neo-Nazism and is still invoked should anyone question Third World immigration. Labour Party luminary Tony Benn at the time said of Powell’s speech: ““The flag of racialism which has been hoisted in Wolverhampton is beginning to look like the one that fluttered 25 years ago over Dachau and Belsen,”<sup>74</sup> and so it remains...

Now, in the midst of a global debt crisis, where there is a glimmer – albeit even this still far too dim – of resurgence of interest in alternatives to usury and debt, *reductio ad Hitlerum* is unleashed upon banking-reform advocates. The method is a social evil that obfuscates solutions for the challenges of today, by denying the legitimacy of policies that have been tried and proven.

## Notes:

1 - K R Bolton, “Historical Revisionism and 'Relativising the Holocaust,’” *Inconvenient History*, [http://inconvenienthistory.com/archive/2012/volume\\_4/number\\_2/historical\\_revisionism\\_and\\_relativising\\_the\\_holocaust.php](http://inconvenienthistory.com/archive/2012/volume_4/number_2/historical_revisionism_and_relativising_the_holocaust.php)

2 - Leo Strauss (1953), *Natural Right and History* (University of Chicago Press, 1973), pp. 42-43.

3 - “The Hitler Card,” The Fallacy Files, online: <http://www.fallacyfiles.org/adnazium.html>

4 - Interview of Betsy Hartmann by Fred Pearce, “The Greening of Hate,” *New Scientist*, February 20, 2003, online: <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/25b/027.html>

5 - Ibid.

6 - Leo Strauss, *Measure: A Critical Journal* (Indiana: Henry Regnery), Vol. 2, 1951.

7 - Thomas Fleming, *Chronicles* (Rockford, Illinois), May 2000, p. 11.

8 - For example: John J Ray, “Hilter was a Leftist: Nazi gun control,” <http://constitutionalistnc.tripod.com/hitler-leftist/id14.html>

9 - Chris Miles, “Hitler Gun Control Facts: U.S. Pro-Gun Advocates Have More in Common With Hitler Than They Think,” *PolicyMic*, <http://www.policymic.com/articles/22692/hitler-gun-control-facts-u-s-pro-gun-advocates-have-more-in-common-with-hitler-than-they-think>

10 - Ibid.

11 - “Operation Paperclip,” online: <http://www.operationpaperclip.info/>

12 - “Anti-smoking lobby denies being ‘health nazis’,” *Newstalk ZB News*, September 18, 2003.

13 - As Dunne described the “Nazis.”

14 - K R Bolton to Hon. Peter Dunne, 19 September 19 2003, online: <http://www.adelaideinstitute.org/Dissenters/bolton4.htm>

That this letter appeared on the website of the Australian “holocaust denial” website of the Adelaide Institute,

founded by Dr. Frederick Toben (a Kantian who studied in New Zealand under Karl Popper, and when I knew him, evinced no interest in National Socialism) is more than sufficient to have this writer branded as “a close associate of Toben’s” and “New Zealand’s leading holocaust denier,” by Marxist smear-mongers.

15 - Operation Paperclip: “Kurt Blome,” <http://www.operationpaperclip.info/kurt-blome.php>

16 - Ibid.

17 - See: Gordon Thomas, *Journey into Madness: Medical Torture and the Mind Controllers* (London: Corgi Books 1989).

18 - See: Israel Shahak: *Jewish History, Jewish Religion* (London: Pluto Press, 1994).

19 - Jean-Marie Le Pen repeats Holocaust comments in European Parliament,” *The Telegraph*, 25 March 2009, online: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/5050338/Jean-Marie-Le-Pen-repeats-Holocaust-comments-in-European-Parliament.html>

20 - Robert N Proctor, *The Nazi War on Cancer* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999).

21 - Frederic Spotts, in his *Hitler and the Power of Aesthetics* (London: Hutchison, 2002), p. 386.

22 - Ibid.

23 - Ibid.

24 - Ibid., p. 387.

25 - Ibid., p. 394.

26 - Blurb on the back cover of *The Nazi War on Cancer*, op. cit.

27 - Dr. Robert J Lifton, *Nazi Doctors: Medical killing and the Psychology of Genocide*, online: <http://www.holocaust-history.org/lifton/LiftonT362.shtml>

28 - Brian Handwerk, “‘Nazi Twins’ a Myth: Mengele not behind Brazil Boom?,” *National Geographic News*, November 25, 2009, online: <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2009/11/091125-nazi-twins-brazil-mengele.html>

29 - Proctor, op. cit., p. 19.

30 - Ibid., p. 29.

31 - Ibid., p. 107.

32 - Ibid., p. 111.

33 - Ibid., p. 227.

34 - Ibid., p. 228.

35 - “The Nazi Card” is another term for *reductio ad Hitlerum*; see “The Fallacy Files,” op. cit.

36 - Ibid., p. 271.

37 - Ibid., p. 273.

38 - See for example: Thomas Franklin, *An American in Exile: The Story of Arthur Rudolf* (Huntsville, Alabama: Christopher Kaylor Company, 1987)

39 - Anna Bramwell, *Blood and Soil: Walther Darré & Hitler’s “Green Party”* (Buckinghamshire: The Kensal Press, 1985).

40 - “Reich Law on Animal Protection,” 24 November 1933, online: <http://www.worldfuturefund.org/wffmaster/Reading/Germany/Nazianimalrights.htm>

41 - See: G Feder (1918), *Manifesto for the Breaking of the Financial Slavery to Interest*, English translation and introduction by Dr. Alexander Jacob (Surrey: Historical Review Press, 2013); G. Feder (1923) *The German State on a National and Socialist Foundation* (Surrey: Historical Review Press, 2013).

42 - “Arthur Kitson,” [http://www.yamaguchy.com/library/kitson/kitson\\_index.html](http://www.yamaguchy.com/library/kitson/kitson_index.html)

43 - K R Bolton, *The Banking Swindle: Money Creation and the State* (London: Black House Publishing, 2013), pp. 79-123.

- 44 - Ibid., pp. 103-120.
- 45 - K R Bolton, *The Banking Swindle*, op. cit., p. 116. Goodson wrote a “Foreword” to this book.
- 46 - Lisa Steyn, “Reserve Banks Holocaust Denier,” *Mail and Guardian*, April 13, 2012, online: <http://mg.co.za/article/2012-04-13-reserve-banks-holocaust-denier>
- 47 - Ibid.
- 48 - Ibid.
- 49 - Ibid.
- 50 - Ibid.
- 51 - Ibid.
- 52 - Ibid.
- 53 - Boruch Shubert, “South African Jews Call for Dismissal of Pro-Nazi Banker,” *The Jewish Voice*, May 2, 2012, online: [http://jewishvoiceny.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=1034:south-african-jews-call-for-dismissal-of-pro-nazi-banker&catid=106:international&Itemid=289](http://jewishvoiceny.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1034:south-african-jews-call-for-dismissal-of-pro-nazi-banker&catid=106:international&Itemid=289)
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## 20. **HISTORICAL REVISIONISM AND 'RELATIVISING THE HOLOCAUST'**

Whether the received wisdom on an historical event can be subjected to scholarly scrutiny depends upon the method by which the subject is utilized by entrenched interests. Hence, let the scholar or student who embarks on the questioning of certain sacred cows beware lest he be damned for heresy. This essay examines a polemical technique branded 'relativising the Holocaust', toward the end of extending the limits of scholarly enquiry. The essay examines several examples of acceptable and unacceptable forms of revisionism from the relativist perspective.

### **Winston Churchill & Gassing Primitives**

The Churchill Centre was formed in 1994, emerging from the International Churchill Society of the United States.<sup>1</sup> The Centre is dedicated to promoting the memory of Winston S. Churchill. This includes debunking allegations against Churchill that put the democratic idol in less than a Godlike light. Much of its work is, then, like that of the Institute for Historical Review, *Inconvenient History*, or David

Irving's *Real History*, revisionist. However, unlike these three mavericks, The Churchill Centre's revisionism is not only of an acceptable nature, but is regarded as laudable, and attracts notable patronage.<sup>2</sup>

An entire section of the centre website is devoted to Churchillian historical revision, under the title 'Leading Churchill Myths'.<sup>3</sup> One item that might be of particular interest to revisionists is the repudiating of the allegation that Churchill ordered the gassing of Iraqi rebels during the 1920s. This is of particular interest because it is, on several significant points, analogous to the 'historical revisionist' contentions in regard to the gassing of Jews by the Hitler regime during World War II. My comparison, as will be shown below, is a form of 'relativism'. The Churchill Centre, in recognising that the gassing of Iraqis is a matter that is generally accepted by historians, quotes from *Science Daily*,<sup>4</sup> that:

*It has passed as fact among historians, journalists and politicians, and has been recounted everywhere from tourist guidebooks to the floor of the U.S. Congress: British forces used chemical weapons on Iraqis just after World War I.*<sup>5</sup>

The *Science Daily* article reproduced by The Churchill Centre goes on to state that R M Douglas, Associate Professor of History at Colgate University, has repudiated the allegation. The article continues:

*Allegations of chemical bombings by the British erupted into the public sphere during the run up to the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003. Iraq's history of chemical weapons did not start with Saddam Hussein's gas attack on the Kurds, scholars and critics asserted. It was Great Britain when it controlled the region under League of Nations mandate in the 1920s that first used chemical weapons in the region to quell Arab uprisings. Many scholars went so far as to root Arab distrust of the West in Britain's brutal chemical attacks.*<sup>6</sup>

Douglas, however, finds that these claims - oft repeated in books, newspapers and political speeches - rest on very shaky foundations. The first blunt assertion of British chemical weapons use in Iraq comes from a 1986 essay by historian Charles Townshend.<sup>7</sup>

According to Douglas, the allegation of gassing derives from a letter written in

1921 by J A Webster, an official at the British Air Ministry. Townshend cited the Webster letter to the British Colonial Office that tear gas shells had been used against Arab rebels with 'excellent moral effect'. According to Douglas however, Townshend had been wrong: The Army had asked permission to use the shells and the Webster comment on the 'excellent moral effect' was only an estimation of what might occur. Shortly after the Webster letter the British Colonial Office had sought clarification from Army General Headquarters in Baghdad and was informed that gas shells had not been used in any manner. From this letter, however, the allegation took on a life of its own, with varying accounts blaming either aerial bombardment or artillery shelling. 'Though the specifics differed, each allegation treated the incident as a matter of unassailable fact. Douglas's research suggests it is anything but'.<sup>8</sup>

The article relates that giving credence to the story was the desire by British Ministers of the Crown to use gas shells or bombs against the Iraqi rebels, 'But wanting to use them does not mean they did'. Douglas states that during 1920-21 there had been two instances where British policy had been to use gas against insurgents but, 'In both cases practical difficulties rather than moral qualms ...prevented their use'. Indeed, it remains undisputed even apparently by The Churchill Centre that, to quote from the report, when in 1920 an Arab rebellion occurred, Churchill as Secretary of War, was 'a vocal advocate of nonlethal gas use' and gave field officers permission to use existing stocks of tear gas shells. However, the nearest stock was in Egypt and by the time the shells arrived, the rebellion was over. Anticipating renewed hostilities, in 1922 a Royal Air Force Commander sought permission to convert the shells into aerial bombs, and Churchill signed off on the request, which was rescinded two days later only because the Washington Disarmament Conference passed a resolution banning the use of tear gas. The article states:

*There is little doubt had the timing of these events been slightly different - had the 1920 rebellion lasted longer or if there had been time to convert the shells to aerial bombs - that British forces would have used their chemical ordnance. And that, says Douglas, may have vastly changed the course of history. Churchill had given authorization to use chemical agents without consulting his colleagues in the Cabinet, most of whom would have vigorously objected.*<sup>9</sup>

Douglas opines that had such weapons been used, an outcry, with memories of the use of mustard gas during World War I, might have resulted in ‘an abrupt end’ to Churchill’s career’.

Despite ‘faulty evidence’, appeals to this alleged use of gas against Iraqis in the 1920s resurfaced in regard to allegations of Saddam Hussein’s gas attacks against Kurds during their 1988 rebellion.

The symmetrical appeal of history faithfully repeating itself no doubt accounts for much of the public and scholarly credence accorded to claims that the British used chemical weapons in Mandatory Iraq, their inconsistency and implausibility notwithstanding, Douglas writes.<sup>10</sup>

### **Gassing – Hitler & Churchill**

While one might think that the new (2009) revelations as to Churchill’s ‘innocence’ in regard to gassing Iraqis does not do much to enhance his moral character, my primary interest is not the veracity of the allegations against Churchill. Rather, it is the analogous character of the allegations against Churchill and those against Hitler, in regard to claims of gassing Arabs and Jews respectively, and how re-examinations of these allegations are treated differently. Here are some parallels between the two:

1. Both allegations involve ethnic groups: Arabs and Jews, and both involve attitudes towards those ethnic groups based on race theories. Winston Churchill stated of the issue: ‘I am strongly in favour of using poisoned gas against uncivilised tribes’.<sup>11</sup>
2. Both allegations involve the use of gas: (a) tear gas on Arabs, (b) Cyanide gas on Jews.
3. Both rely on documents the implications of which are open to interpretation.
4. Both have become oft-repeated allegations, the repetitions of which have been sufficient of themselves to sustain the allegations. The gassing of Iraqis

and the gassing of Jews have therefore both taken on the characters of myth and legend. This is what Douglas calls, in regard to a Churchill order for Iraqi rebels, 'The symmetrical appeal of history faithfully repeating itself [accounting] for much of the public and scholarly credence accorded to claims... their inconsistency and implausibility notwithstanding'.

5. Because an alleged event 'has passed as fact among historians, journalists and politicians' should not render it an 'unassailable fact'.

6. Wanting to do something or discussing the option does not make it an accomplished fact. Hence, in regard to the support by Churchill and other Government Ministers, 'wanting to use [tear gas shells] does not mean they did', any more than discussions on the possibility of exterminating Jews at some levels of the Third Reich administration does not prove that any such policy was put into effect.

It is not my purpose here to argue the merits or otherwise of 'Holocaust Revisionism' as some call it, or the (much) less-than-scholarly 'Holocaust Denial' as it is called by others, but rather to question what has been termed 'relativism' which Lipstadt et al apply to aspects of historical revisionism not to their liking, while applying 'relativism' as a technique of their own.

The primary questions raised by Prof. Douglas in repudiating the widely accepted belief that the British military used gas against Arab rebels in the 1920s, have also been raised in regard to the widely held view that 6,000,000 Jews were exterminated – mainly by gassing - by the Hitlerite regime as part of an official policy. Suffice it to mention, when this allegation was subjected to rare challenges in Canadian courts in 1985 and 1988 in the prosecution of Ernst Zündel, many of the primary elements of the 'Holocaust', regarded as a matter of unassailable fact by academia, took a hammering under the cross-examination of Zündel's defence lawyer, Douglas Christie. Dr Robert Faurisson, in summarising the cross-examination of the Prosecution's expert witness, Raul Hilberg, who declined to return to Toronto for the 1988 trial, stated that Hilberg was 'forced to admit that for what he called the policy of extermination of the Jews there was neither a plan, nor a central organisation, nor a

budget, nor supervision'. The Allies had never carried out a forensic examination of the primary 'weapons', the gas chambers, nor had there ever been an autopsy of a corpse that had allegedly been gassed with Zyklon B. No written orders from Hitler or Himmler for the extermination of Jews had ever been found.<sup>12</sup>

The case for the British gassing of Iraqis in the 1920s seems neither more nor less convincing than the case for the Germans having gassed Jews during the 1940s. Whether one, neither, or both events actually took place is not the concern here. The question is: why are those who raise the same questions in regard to the 'Holocaust' as those raised by Prof. Douglas and promoted by the prestigious Churchill Centre, published by *Science Daily*, and as a scholarly paper in *The Journal of Modern History*,<sup>13</sup> not accorded the same hearing as those involved with any other form of historical revisionism? Why has 'holocaust revisionism' been excluded, on pain of banishment, imprisonment, pillorying, and even death<sup>14</sup>, as just another aspect of historical revisionism? The questions raised by the so-called 'Holocaust deniers' are in substance no different from those raised in regard to numerous applications of revisionism, such as those of Prof. Douglas.

Dr Robert Faurisson, whose scholarly qualifications and record have been impressive by any criteria, was recognised as an 'expert witness' in both the 1985 and 1988 trials of Ernst Zündel in Toronto. He was a tenured professor at the University of Lyon where he taught Modern Literature and Text and Document Criticism. He applied his scholarly discipline to an examination of the documents at the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine in Paris, the National Archives of the USA, the State Museum at Auschwitz, and the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz, West Germany. He also conducted on-site examinations of Auschwitz and other concentration camps.<sup>15</sup> Dr Faurisson has posed the same types of questions in regard to the gassing of Jews as those posed by Prof. Douglas in regard to the gassing of Iraqis. Among those questions are the different interpretations that can be applied to key texts in regard to the 'Holocaust', in a manner that seems analogous to Prof. Douglas's contention that statements of opinion do not necessarily prove the realisation of those opinions as policy; in this instance, Churchill's opinion of 'primitives' is analogous to the anti-Semitic opinions of some National Socialist leaders, which are marshalled to 'prove'

that these opinions were translated into a policy of genocide.

When Dr Faurisson published his first major article on the ‘Holocaust’ in *Le Monde* in 1978 he was teaching at the University of Lyon. As a result he was subjected to many demonstrations and ‘punched many times’. He had ‘many, many lawsuits’ against him, and ‘many trials’.<sup>16</sup> His teaching career was ‘permanently ended’ in 1979.<sup>17</sup> It would be superfluous to further relate Dr Faurisson’s predicament since applying his expertise to the subject of the Holocaust. The record is easy enough to find.

My interest in this regard is not the veracity of Dr Faurisson’s contentions. They might be totally erroneous. I frankly do not know, as the ‘Holocaust’ has only ever been of marginal interest to me. My concern is that such questions are as legitimate as any other form of historical revisionism, and that Dr Faurisson and countless other scholars, should no more be subjected to outright persecution for their research than Prof. Douglas or any other researcher pursuing a revisionist study on any subject.

What is of particular relevance in regard to the question of ‘relativism’ in scholarship is that Prof. Douglas is pursuing an important aspect of World War II revisionism. His latest book *Orderly and Humane: The Expulsion of the Germans after the Second World War*,<sup>18</sup> is intended to show that the mass expulsions of ethnic German populations from central and southern Europe after World War II was anything but ‘orderly and humane’. This historical revisionism, so far from being suppressed or driven to the fringes of underground publishing, is being published by Yale University Press. The advertising blurb from Yale University Press states of the book:

*Immediately after the Second World War, the victorious Allies authorized and helped to carry out the forced relocation of German speakers from their homes across central and southern Europe to Germany. The numbers were almost unimaginable—between 12,000,000 and 14,000,000 civilians, most of them women and children—and the losses horrifying—at least 500,000 people, and perhaps many more, died while detained in former concentration camps, while locked in trains en route, or after arriving in Germany exhausted,*



*malnourished, and homeless. This book is the first in any language to tell the full story of this immense man-made catastrophe.*

Based mainly on archival records of the countries that carried out the forced migrations and of the international humanitarian organizations that tried but failed to prevent the disastrous results, *Orderly and Humane: The Expulsion of the Germans after the Second World War* is an authoritative and objective account. It examines an aspect of European history that few have wished to confront, exploring how the expulsions were conceived, planned, and executed and how their legacy reverberates throughout central Europe today. The book is an important study of the largest recorded episode of what we now call ‘ethnic cleansing,’ and it may also be the most significant untold story of the Second World War.<sup>19</sup>

Douglas’s book *Orderly and Humane* is not due for release until May 2012, and it is therefore too early to see what type of reception it will receive. What stands out from the Yale University Press blurb for the book is that Douglas appears to be undertaking one of the cardinal sins of ‘Holocaust revisions’ and their fellow-travellers: ‘relativising the Holocaust’. The question might be one of Douglas being too secure in his position for the Holocaust lobbyists and professional Jewish organizations to wish to confront. While Douglas does not seem to be Jewish, certainly being Jewish has not saved others from opprobrium when dealing with subjects that are regarded as related to ‘Holocaust revisionism’, namely John Sack for *An Eye for an Eye*, dealing with Jewish-run concentration camps in Poland after World War II and the treatment there of German prisoners by Jewish personnel; and *The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering*, by Prof. Norman Finkelstein.<sup>20</sup>

Will Douglas escape condemnation, when even Jewish Leftists such as Sack and Finkelstein have not, for his having, no doubt inadvertently, ‘relativised the Holocaust’?<sup>21</sup> *Orderly and Humane* is unlikely to *directly* challenge Zionism and Israel, unlike the late (d. 2004) Sack’s *An Eye for an Eye*<sup>22</sup> which directs attention to the role played by Jews in the NKVD and concentration camps, thereby casting doubt on the Jewish status as history’s most martyred; while Finkelstein’s *Holocaust Industry* focuses directly on how Jews individually and collectively have profited from

the ‘Holocaust’. Another problem for Sack, acknowledged as a ‘founder of literary journalism’,<sup>23</sup> is that his book exposes the role of Israel in protecting these Jewish murderers under the ‘Law of Return’ and refusing to extradite them to face trial, while, as is well known, Organised Jewry and Israel have been relentless in pursuing alleged ‘war criminals’. Sack’s exposé of Jewish culpability in post-war atrocities brought allegations against him from Deborah Lipstadt that he was a ‘worse than a Holocaust denier’, Lipstadt’s claim to academic fame being that she seems to have coined the widely used but – from a scholarly viewpoint – useless, terms ‘Holocaust denial’ and ‘Holocaust denier’,<sup>24</sup> the present-day equivalents to ‘Witch’ or ‘Heretic’.<sup>25</sup> Hence, Sack had the following exchange with Lipstadt, where it is apparent that she was referring to what she calls ‘relativising the Holocaust’:

*On the Charlie Rose Show I was called an ‘anti-Semite’ and a ‘neo-Nazi’ by Deborah Lipstadt. I called her up after that and reminded her that I’d read her book, and I sent her a nice note about it and told her what I was trying to do in my book, and I said ‘How could you have said that about me?’ She said ‘You are worse than a “Holocaust denier,”’ and I said ‘Deborah, I’m worse than a ‘Holocaust denier?’ and she said ‘You are worse than a “Holocaust denier”’. I said ‘Could you explain why?’, and she said ‘No. I have a faculty meeting,’ and that’s the last I talked to her. It doesn’t scare me. It doesn’t hurt me. It amuses me.’<sup>26</sup>*

It is heartening that John Sack was by then in a situation where he could afford to be ‘amused’. Others have sustained considerable injury in challenging some aspect of history that has affronted the Holocaust Lobby and/or Zionism.

### **‘Relativising the Holocaust’**

It remains to be seen whether the Holocaust Lobbyists will harass Prof. Douglas for ‘relativism’ in regard to *Orderly and Humane*. It is more likely that such a reaction would be seen as counter-productive and the book best ignored. However, the fact remains that *Orderly and Humane*, albeit of necessity at the moment judged only by the Yale University Press description, is an example of ‘Holocaust relativism’. As

mentioned, Lipstadt gives much attention to this ‘relativism’ in *Denying the Holocaust*, and opines that it is the logical strategic direction for ‘Holocaust deniers’, with Chapter 11 being devoted to the subject. Lipstadt castigates socialist historian Dr Harry Elmer Barnes, for example, for ‘relativising the Holocaust’, and the issue of German atrocities in general, by claiming that they were no worse than Allied atrocities; indeed, less so.<sup>27</sup> Concerned that this ‘relativism’ undermines Germany’s guilt complex and its ‘moral obligation to welcome all those who seek refuge’, she condemns German historian Ernst Nolte as coming ‘dangerously close to validating the deniers’ in his work *The European Civil War 1917-1945*, because he states that ‘more “Aryans” than Jews were killed at Auschwitz’.<sup>28</sup> Lipstadt explains:

*These historians are not crypto-deniers, but the results of their work are the same: the blurring of boundaries between fact and fiction and between persecuted and persecutor. Ultimately the relativists contribute to the fostering of what I call the ‘yes, but’ syndrome. ... Yes, there was a Holocaust, but it was essentially no different than an array of other conflagrations in which innocents were massacred.*

*Relativism, however convoluted, sounds far more legitimate than outright denial... In the future, deniers may adopt and adapt a form of relativism as they attempt to move from well outside the parameters of rational discourse to the fringes of historical legitimacy.<sup>29</sup>*

Hence, Lipstadt finds it essential to deny even the existence of certain well-documented Allied atrocities, and to repudiate any suggestion that America’s role in Vietnam or the activities of Pol Pot are the moral equivalents to the killing of Jews. All other atrocities are relatively insignificant because it was only Jews who were killed as Jews. One might then ask whether the real bone of contention is that more value is put on the life of a Jew than a Gentile, a question that often occurs in regard to Israel’s actions against Palestinians, and one that was broached by another Jewish heretic, Dr Israel Shahak.<sup>30</sup> Therefore Lipstadt considers it unacceptable that historians such as Nolte have ‘relativised’ the ‘Holocaust’ by comparing it to ‘a variety of twentieth-century outages, including the Armenian massacres that began in 1915, Stalin’s gulags, US policies in Vietnam, the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, and the Pol Pot

atrocities in the former Kampuchea. According to them the Holocaust was simply one among many evils'.<sup>31</sup> Lipstadt objects that these relativists are 'obscuring crucial contrasts between Stalinism and Nazism', because the terror allegedly perpetrated by Stalin, and others, was 'arbitrary, whereas that of the Nazis 'targeted a particular group'.<sup>32</sup>

Lipstadt's denial in regard to group persecution other than that involving Jews is of course nonsense: Stalin targeted the *kulaks* as a class, and many other groups for centuries have been targeted for class, religious and ethnic reasons, such as the 40,000 Cossacks who were repatriated from Austria back to the USSR and to death with the connivance of the Allies after the war. Since the deportees included women and children, and therefore non-combatants, the Cossacks were presumably being deported as an ethnic group.<sup>33</sup> Hence, in making the 'Holocaust' a unique experience in history, Lipstadt's methodology seems to include simply denying the existence of any non-Jewish genocidal experience—itsself a denial of surpassing scope and depth. For example, the genocidal character of the *Morgenthau Plan* for the starvation of the German population, she claims, 'was never put into effect'.<sup>34</sup> 'Furthermore', she states, 'there was no starvation program in Germany, and the rations Germans received far surpassed anything concentration camp inmates were ever given by the Nazis'.<sup>35</sup> James Bacque, who would certainly be regarded as a 'Holocaust relativist, documents a different view.<sup>36</sup>

Which returns us to the problem of Prof. Douglas's forthcoming book on the mass deportation of ethnic Germans in the aftermath of World War II. There are, as described by Yale University Press, salient features of Douglas's book that make it a seminal work on 'Holocaust relativity':

1. The numbers involved are higher than those of dislocated Jews in Europe during World War II: 12,000,000 to 14,000,000.

2. Most were women and children, deported after the conclusion of hostilities, and cannot therefore be regarded as 'enemy aliens', such as the Jews in Reich Territory during World War II or German, Italian and Japanese civilians in Allied states during that war.

3. At least 500,000 died en route.

4. The deportation of the ethnic Germans is described as: ‘the largest recorded episode of what we now call “ethnic cleansing”’.

5. The book is said to describe perhaps ‘the most significant untold story of the Second World War’.

These factors tick all the boxes in regard to the scholarly heresy termed ‘Holocaust relativism’. Will Prof. Douglas be subjected to the same persecution that has been meted out to others, for being, like John Sack, ‘worse than a holocaust denier’? Prof. Douglas remains oblivious to the possibility. I put to him the following:

*...I assume then, you would not regard your forthcoming book on the expulsion of ethnic Germans from central Europe as ‘relativising the Holocaust’, which is the contention of Dr Lipstadt on such subjects? I note that the Yale University Press description of your book states that the expulsions were the worst examples of ‘ethnic cleansing’, which would certainly qualify for Dr Lipstadt’s term.<sup>37</sup>*

Prof. Douglas, already probably put on guard from my prior questions as to whether his repudiation of the allegations against Churchill also apply in principle to allegations relative to the ‘Holocaust’,<sup>38</sup> commented simply: ‘Indeed I would not, for reasons that are set forth in the book itself’.<sup>39</sup> Yet, whatever the rationalisations Prof. Douglas has used to try and dodge the question of ‘relativising the Holocaust’, any suggestion that there was a large-scale ‘ethnic cleansing’ of any people other than Jews, let alone being described by Yale University Press as the ‘largest recorded’ in history, is going to mark Prof. Douglas down as a ‘Holocaust relativist’ and like John Sack, ‘worse than a Holocaust denier’. A frank opinion was not forthcoming from Prof. Lipstadt when I asked her opinion of the forthcoming Douglas book:

*Dear Dr Lipstadt*

*Could I direct your attention to an advertising blurb from Yale Uni. Press for a forthcoming book by Dr R M Douglas: Orderly and Humane: The Expulsion of the Germans after the Second World War ?*

*Yale Uni. Press describes the book as dealing with , ‘the largest recorded episode of what we now call “ethnic cleansing”, and it may also be the most significant untold story of the Second World War’.*

*The Yale link is at:*

<http://yalepress.yale.edu/yupbooks/book.asp?isbn=9780300166606>

*While we do not yet have the advantage of the book being published, wouldn't the description by Yale Uni. Press suggest an example of ‘relativizing the Holocaust’?<sup>40</sup>*

In the meantime, the thorny question of the alleged Turkish genocide against Armenians has again been raised. Raffi K. Hovannisian, first Armenian Minister of Foreign Affairs, has raised the matter in an article published by *Foreign Policy Journal*. He writes that, ‘On February 28, the Constitutional Council of the French Republic struck down a bill, previously enacted by its legislature, that would have made it a crime to deny the Armenian Genocide’.<sup>41</sup> While supporters of freedom of historical enquiry will, frankly, be supportive of the decision by the Constitutional Council for having refrained from a further curtailing of freedom of opinion, the double-standards cannot go unnoticed in regard to France’s draconian laws prohibiting any questioning of Holocaust dogma. It seems clear that the Armenian attempt to get such a law passed would have been inspired by France’s criminalization of ‘Holocaust revisionism’. Certainly, what Hovannisian writes can only be described as the worst form of Lipstadian ‘Holocaust relativisation’:

*What befell the Armenian nation in 1915 was more than genocide, more than holocaust. It was not only the premeditated taking of human lives. It was the collective murder of a nation, a culture, a civilization, and a time-honored way of life.... The Armenian Genocide was the Young Turk regime’s comprehensive and violent dispossession, unprecedented in its evil and effect, of the Armenian nation.<sup>42</sup> [Emphases added].*

As referred to above, Lipstadt vehemently condemns those who have the *chutzpah* or the naiveté to suggest that any event in history is even comparable to ‘The Holocaust’. She refers specifically to the alleged Armenian genocide as one such example. She

states that ‘it was not part of a process of total annihilation of an entire people’,<sup>43</sup> while Hovannisian asserts, to the contrary, that it was ‘more than genocide, more than holocaust’. If Mr Hovannisian is not in hot water for such heretical views then the Anti-Defamation League, The Wiesenthal Center, and the rest of the multitudinous Judaeocentric gaggle throughout the world, are off their game.

## Notes:

1 - ‘About The Centre’, The Churchill Centre, <http://www.winstonchurchill.org/support/the-churchill-centre/about-the-centre> (Accessed on: 27 February 2012).

2 - Ibid.

3 - ‘Leading Churchill Myths’, The Churchill Centre, <http://www.winstonchurchill.org/learn/myths/myths> (Accessed on: 27 February 2012).

4 - ‘Despite Claims, UK Did Not Gas Iraqis in the 1920s, New Research Finds, *Science Daily*, 22 October 2009, <http://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2009/10/091022064745.htm>

5 - ‘New Research: UK Did Not Gas Iraqis in the 1920s’, 25 October 2009, The Churchill Centre, <http://www.winstonchurchill.org/learn/in-the-media/churchill-in-the-news/771-new-research-uk-did-not-gas-iraqis-in-the-1920s> (Accessed on: 27 February 2012).

6 - ‘Many scholars’ might have sought the explanation for Arab distrust here, since it would be professionally unwise to point out that the roots of distrust are to be found in the betrayal of T E Lawrence’s Arab rebels who fought Turkish occupation during World War I, the *Balfour Declaration* supporting a Jewish state in the midst of the Arab world, and other promises to the Arabs on which the French and British reneged. See: K R Bolton, ‘Anders Breivik and the “Clash of Civilizations”’, *Counter Currents*, <http://www.counter-currents.com/2011/08/anders-breivik-and-the-clash-of-civilizations-part-1/>

7 - ‘New Research: UK Did Not Gas Iraqis in the 1920s’, 25 October 2009, The Churchill Centre, op. cit.

8 - Ibid.

9 - Ibid.

10 - Ibid.

11 - ‘Winston Churchill’s Secret Poison Gas Memo, Winston S Churchill, Departmental Memo’ (Churchill Papers 16/16), War Office, 12 May 1919; cited by: Global Research, <http://globalresearch.ca/articles/CHU407A.html> (Accessed on: 27 February 2012).

12 - Robert Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial: The Case of Ernst Zündel* (Decatur, Alabama: Reporter Press, 1990), p. 23.

13 - R M Douglas, ‘Did Britain Use Chemical Weapons in Mandatory Iraq?’, *The Journal of Modern History*, No. 81, December 2009, pp. 859-887, University of Chicago Press.

14 - Such as the killing of French academic Francois Duprat in 1978 by the ‘Remembrance Commando’. ‘Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years, and More, of Terrorism in France’, *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1996 (Vol. 16, No. 2), pages 2-13, [http://www.ihr.org/jhr/v16/v16n2p-2\\_Faurisson.html](http://www.ihr.org/jhr/v16/v16n2p-2_Faurisson.html) (accessed: 29 February 2012).

15 - Barbara Kuluszka (ed.) *Did Six Million Really Die? Report of the Evidence in the Canadian “False News” Trial of Ernst Zündel – 1988* (Toronto: Samisdat Publishers, 1992), pp. 286-287.

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- 19 - Yale University Press, <http://yalepress.yale.edu/yupbooks/book.asp?isbn=9780300166606> (Accessed on: 29 February 2012).
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- 21 - Deborah E Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (London: Penguin Books, 1994). See especially Chapter 11: 'Watching on the Rhine: The Future Course of Holocaust Denial', pp. 209-222.
- 22 - John Sack, *An Eye for an Eye: The Untold Story of Jewish Revenge against Germans in 1945* (Arizona: Basic Books, 1993).
- Sack's description of 'Holocaust deniers' at a 2001 conference of the Institute for Historical Review, to which he was invited to speak, was that,
- They were affable, open-minded, intelligent, intellectual. Their eyes weren't fires of unapproachable certitude and their lips weren't lemon twists of astringent hate. Nazis and neo-Nazis they were certainly not. Nor were they antisemites....
- John Sack, Daniel in the Deniers Den, *Esquire*, February 2001, [http://www.johnsack.com/daniel\\_in\\_the\\_deniers\\_den\\_1.htm](http://www.johnsack.com/daniel_in_the_deniers_den_1.htm) (Accessed on: 29 February 2012).
- 23 - The John Sack Site, 'About John Sack', [http://www.johnsack.com/about\\_john\\_sack.htm](http://www.johnsack.com/about_john_sack.htm) (Accessed on: 29 February 2012).
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## 21.

# **THE SYMBIOSIS BETWEEN ANTI-SEMITISM & ZIONISM**

The *raison d'être* for the establishment of the modern Zionist movement is that anti-Semitism is a pervasive and untreatable condition among Gentiles. When anti-Semitism is not overt and violent, it is latent and awaiting the right conditions to manifest as pogroms, according to Zionist dogma. Therefore the only ways Jews can escape this inherent anti-Semitism is by: (1) establishing a Jewish homeland, and (2) by total Jewish commitment to Zionism in whatever part of the world one resides. Zionist dogma further states that assimilation of Jews does not work; that ultimately even assimilated Jews will become victims of Gentile anti-Semitism.

### **Assimilation**

The doctrine arose during the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century in response to the widespread assimilation of Jews into Gentile society. It was feared by some that assimilation would destroy the Jewish identity. Whereas in past centuries, prior to the “emancipation” wrought by the French Revolution, Jews had been separated by the ghetto, modern society was breaking down the barriers. Jews were becoming “liberal”

and “progressive.”

Yet even during the Middle Ages, “Jewish blood was intermingling with Christian blood. Cases of wholesale conversions were exceedingly numerous...,” wrote the prominent French Jewish writer and onetime Zionist, Bernard Lazare.<sup>1</sup> He stated in this regard that “the entire history” of Jewry proves their assimilability; that “the Jew no longer lives apart, but shares in the common life...”<sup>2</sup> And there was the real problem.

### **Dreyfus Affair – Herzl Aligns with Anti-Semites**

It so happens that Lazare wrote his book on anti-Semitism the very year of the “Dreyfus Affair.” At the time, the Austrian journalist Theodor Herzl was in France observing the consequences of the allegation against the French-Jewish officer who was accused of spying for Germany, and which brought France to the verge of civil war. Herzl used the “Affair” as justification for his separatism ideology, claiming that if anti-Semitism could ignite so quickly in a nation as liberal and egalitarian as France, then assimilation was a myth, and anti-Semitism a constant that could not be eradicated. The only option was a return to Jewish separatism, the self-ghettoization of the pre-Emancipation era.

However, it is unlikely that Dreyfus was the real cause of Herzl’s own separatism. If Dreyfus became a cause celebre for French anti-Semites, so it was also for the multitudes of Frenchmen who came to the defense of the Jews, and Dreyfus was ultimately pardoned. The anti-Zionist rabbi Elmer Berger, who founded the American Council for Judaism, wrote of this:

*Where in all the world a century before would more than half a nation have come to the defence of a Jew? Had Herzl possessed a knowledge of history, he would have seen in the Dreyfus case a brilliant, heartening proof of the success of emancipation.*<sup>3</sup>

Conversely, Herzl aligned himself with the anti-Semites, and found an ally in the leading French anti-Semite and campaigner against Dreyfus, M Drumont.

Herzl, while not the first Zionist, was the first to establish Zionism as an enduring and successful political movement. In response to the Dreyfus Affair he wrote the modern Zionist manifesto, *The Jewish State*.

Many Jews, including the most influential, had assimilated and were suspicious of any movement that would again make Jews conspicuous as a separate people. The American statesman Henry Morgenthau Sr. for example said: “I refuse to allow myself to be a Zionist. I am an American.” If this assimilationist attitude was to be replaced by a revival of Jewish separatism, anti-Semitism would have to be welcomed, even promoted, by Zionism as confirming its dogma and reversing the process of assimilation.

Zionists from the beginning welcomed anti-Semitism as a means of undermining what Zionists believed was the sense of false security of Jews in western, liberal societies, and as the means by which Jews would be kept in a permanent state of neurosis. Organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League of B’Nai B’rith exist mainly for the purpose of exaggerating the extent of anti-Semitism in order to keep Jews under the Zionist heel and keep the coffers for Israeli causes filled.

### **Zionism Promotes Anti-Semitism**

Many Jews – remarkably – have continued to resist the Zionist onslaught. Among these are the Torah True Jews who regard Zionism and the establishment of a Jewish state prior to the advent of a Jewish messiah as “blasphemy.” The Torah True Jews explain the Zionist exploitation of anti-Semitism thus:

*Theodor Herzl (1860-1904), the founder of modern Zionism, recognised that anti-Semitism would further his cause, the creation of a separate state for Jews. To solve the Jewish Question, he maintained “we must, above all, make it an international political issue.”*

*Herzl wrote that Zionism offered the world a welcome “final solution of the Jewish question.” In his Diaries, page 19, Herzl stated:*

*“Anti-Semites will become our surest friends, anti-Semitic countries our*

*allies.”*

*Zionist reliance on Anti-Semitism to further their goals continues to this day. Studies of immigration records reflect increased immigration to the Zionist state during times of increased anti-Semitism. Without a continued inflow of Jewish immigrants to the state of “Israel,” it is estimated that within a decade the Jewish population of the Zionist state will become the minority.*

*In order to maintain a Jewish majority in the state of “Israel,” its leaders promote anti-Semitism throughout the world to “encourage” Jews to leave their homelands and seek “refuge.”*

*Over the recent years there has been a dramatic rise in hate rhetoric and hate crimes targeted toward Jews...*

*On November 17, 2003 Zionist leader, Ariel Sharon, the Israeli prime minister, told Jews in Italy the best way to escape “a great wave of anti-Semitism” is to move and settle in the state of Israel. This has been the Zionist ideology from the beginning to the present time. “The best solution to anti-Semitism is immigration to Israel. It is the only place on Earth where Jews can live as Jews,” he said.*

*July 28, 2004: 200 French Jews emigrated to Israel following a wave of Anti-Semitism. They were personally greeted by Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, who recently urged French Jews to flee to Israel to escape rising anti-Semitism.*

*On July 18, 2004, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon urged all French Jews to move to Israel immediately to escape anti-Semitism. He told a meeting of the American Jewish Association in Jerusalem that Jews around the world should relocate to Israel as early as possible. But for those living in France, he added, moving was a “must” because of rising violence against Jews there.*

### **Zionist/Anti-Semitic Axis**

Benny Morris, professor of history at Israel’s Ben-Gurion University, states of Herzl’s attitude towards anti-Semitism:

*Herzl regarded Zionism's triumph as inevitable, not only because life in Europe was ever more untenable for Jews, but also because it was in Europe's interests to rid the Jews and be relieved of anti-Semitism: The European political establishment would eventually be persuaded to promote Zionism. Herzl recognized that anti-Semitism would be HARNESSED to his own-Zionist-purposes.<sup>4</sup>*

Herzl's most fervent supporters were anti-Semites. Both Zionists and anti-Semites concur that the Jews as an inassimilable minority which needs to be removed from Gentile society. Hence, Zionists have historically aligned themselves with anti-Semites ranging from those in Czarist Russia to those in Nazi Germany.

Where the supposed latent anti-Semitism of Gentiles fails to manifest dramatically, and at times when Jews are in the process of assimilating into Gentile society (as they were in pre-Hitler Germany), Zionists provoke, encourage, and even directly create anti-Semitic movements and incidents.

In the wake of the 'Dreyfus Affair' Herzl used the opportunity as an opening for his separatism, writing his Zionist manifesto, *Der Judenstaat*, in 1895. Anti-Semites welcomed The Jewish State from the start. Of his publishers, Herzl noted in his Diary: "Was at the printing office and talked with the managers ... both are presumably anti-Semites. They greeted me with genuine cordiality. They liked my pamphlet."<sup>5</sup>

Jacob Klatzkin, leading Zionist ideologue, editor of the official Zionist organ *Die Welt*, and co-editor of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, speaking of Russian anti-Semitism and the "Pale of Settlement," stated:

*The contribution of our enemies is in the continuance of Jewry in eastern Europe. One ought to appreciate the national service which the Pale of Settlement performed for us ... we ought to be thankful to our oppressors that they closed the gates of assimilation to us and took care that our people were concentrated and not dispersed. Instead of establishing societies for defence against the anti-Semites who want to reduce our rights, we should establish societies for defence against our friends who desire to defend our rights.<sup>6</sup>*

The same attitude by Zionists carries through to the present-day, as demonstrated by

Jay Lefkowitz, who became US Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy: “Deep down, I believe that a little anti-Semitism is a good thing for the Jews – reminds us who we are.”<sup>7</sup>

### **Herzl & Drumont**

Herzl formed an early alliance with France’s leading anti-Semite, Eduard Drumont, who had been the head of the anti-Dreyfus agitation. Drumont had written the influential anti-Semitic book *La France Juive* (1886) and was editor of *La Libre Parole*. Herzl wrote of Drumont: “But I owe to Drumont a great deal of the present freedom of my concepts, because he is an artist.”<sup>8</sup> Herzl persuaded Drumont to review his manifesto in *La Libre Parole*, which he did favorably on January 15 1897, Herzl writing of this: [Drumont] “praises the Zionists of Herzl’s persuasion for not seeing in us fanatics ... but citizens who exercise the right of self-defence.”<sup>9</sup> Writing of his experiences in Paris, Herzl stated:

*In Paris ... I achieved a freer attitude towards anti-Semitism, which I now began to understand historically and to pardon. Above all I recognize the emptiness and futility of trying to “combat” anti-Semitism.*<sup>10</sup>

In his Austrian homeland it was among the anti-Semites that Herzl also found the most immediate support. Herzl’s biographer Desmond Stewart, writes: “... Already in 1896 Austrian anti-Semites were finding ammunition in Herzl’s arguments, as would the followers of Drumont ...”<sup>11</sup>

Max Nordau, Herzl’s deputy, expressed the affinity between the Zionists and Drumont in an interview with Raphael Marchant, correspondent for Drumont’s *La Libre Parole*, stating that Zionism, “is not a question of religion, but exclusively of race, and there is no one with whom I am in greater agreement on this position than M Drumont.”<sup>12</sup>

### **Herzl & Von Plehve**

In Russia, also, support among anti-Semites was effusive. Herzl’s chief ally was

the Russian Interior Minister Von Plehve, whom Herzl met in August 1903. Just four months previously Von Plehve had been organizing pogroms at Kishinev. As Herzl was explaining his Zionist project, Von Plehve interrupted, according to Herzl's own account: "You don't have to justify the movement to me. 'Vous prêchez un converti' (You are preaching to a convert)."<sup>13</sup>

As in Nazi Germany from 1933, Zionism was given favorable governmental recognition in Czarist Russia. Von Plehve wrote a letter pledging "moral and material assistance", which became "Herzl's most cherished asset."<sup>14</sup>

Due to Herzl's efforts in Russia, "there was no prohibition on Zionist activities and an official permit was even given for the holding of the second conference of Russian Zionists at Minsk (September 1902)."<sup>15</sup>

### **Zionists & Nazi Germany**

Without Hitlerism, Zionism might not have succeeded beyond being a fringe movement. Germany was the most unlikely source for Zionist support among German Jews. Such was the assimilation of German Jewry and its full identification with the German nation that Herzl's original aim of having the First Zionist Congress held there had to be changed to Switzerland due to the opposition of German Jews.

Prior to Hitler, Zionism represented a minor faction within German Jewry. Whilst some Jews were conspicuous in their leadership of Marxism, communism and various anti-national movements, there was a more significant movement of German nationalism among Jews who regarded themselves as "Germans of Jewish descent."

If some Jews had been involved in revolutionary movements designed to undermine the war effort, many more gave a disproportionate sacrifice fighting for Germany during World War I. 100,000 Jews had fought for the Kaiser, of whom 10,000 were volunteers. A massive 35,000 Jews were decorated. The prominent businessman and statesman Walther Rathenau, German Foreign Minister after World War I expressed the prevalent sentiment:

*I am a German of Jewish stock. My nation is the German nation, my fatherland*

*is the German fatherland, and my faith is the German faith, which transcends the various confessions.*

After World War I, these German-Jewish veterans formed the nucleus of a nationalist movement that was not only anti-Communist but also anti-Zionist. The League of National German Jews, formed in 1921, declared:

*Our way is not the way of the Zionists... of people who clearly hesitate between Germany and Jewry... of internationalist fanatics... We reject a Jewish united front, the only united front we care for is a German one...*

The National Association of Jewish Combat Veterans was also opposed to both Zionism and the Left. But it was the Zionists to which the Nazis looked as representatives of German Jewry, as both Nazism and Zionism shared a common aim: opposition to Jewish assimilation. Lenni Brenner writes of this commonality of interests:

*...Believing that the ideological similarities between the two movements – their contempt for liberalism, their common volkish racism and, of course, their mutual conviction that Germany could never be the homeland of its Jews – could induce the Nazis to support them, the ZVfD<sup>16</sup> solicited the patronage of Adolf Hitler, not once but repeatedly, after 1933.<sup>17</sup>*

Brenner cites Rabbi Joachim Prinz, a leading Zionist in Germany who was to become president of the American Jewish Congress, in regard to the German Zionist Federation welcoming the advent of Nazi Germany as a repudiation of German-Jewish assimilation:

*In 1937, after leaving Berlin for America, Rabbi Joachim Prinz wrote of his experiences in Germany and alluded to a memorandum which, it is now known, was sent to the Nazi Party by the ZVfD on 21 June 1933. Prinz's article candidly describes the Zionist mood in the first months of 1933:*

*Everyone in Germany knew that only the Zionists could responsibly represent the Jews in dealings with the Nazi government. We all felt sure that one day the government would arrange a round table conference*



*with the Jews, at which – after the riots and atrocities of the revolution had passed – the new status of German Jewry could be considered. The government announced very solemnly that there was no country in the world which tried to solve the Jewish problem as seriously as did Germany. Solution of the Jewish question? It was our Zionist dream! We never denied the existence of the Jewish question! Dissimilation? It was our own appeal! ... In a statement notable for its pride and dignity, we called for a conference.*<sup>18</sup>

### **Zionists Obstructed Efforts to Evacuate Jews**

Several efforts were made to evacuate Jews from Europe before the situation became dire as a consequence of war. The German Government was willing to assist in the facilitation of Jewish emigrants to the USA and European countries or colonies. The Zionists rejected all such efforts as detracting from the aim of herding the Jews to Palestine, even if it meant fewer Jews would be evacuated. Israeli author Tom Segev quotes Zionist leader David Ben Gurion as stating:

*I was not well versed on matters of saving the Jews of Nazi-occupied Europe, even though I was chairman of the Jewish Agency. The heart of my activity was enlisting Jewry in the demand to establish a Jewish state.*<sup>19</sup>

*Ben Gurion's attitude towards Hitler was that: "We want Hitler to be destroyed, but as long as he exists, we are interested in exploiting that for the good of Palestine."*<sup>20</sup>

When an international conference was convened in Evian, France, to discuss the problem of Jewish refugees, Ben Gurion warned that opening up other countries to Jewish refugees would weaken Zionist demands that they be evacuated to Palestine.<sup>21</sup> Citing Ben Gurion's Memoirs<sup>22</sup>, Segev quotes him as stating:

*If I knew that it was possible to save all the [Jewish] children in Germany by transporting them to England, but only half of them by transporting them to Palestine, I would choose the second – because we face not only the reckoning*

*of those children, but the historical reckoning of the Jewish people.*<sup>23</sup>

This was in December 1938, just after the so-called “Crystal Night” anti-Jewish riots in Germany. Ben Gurion explained: “Like every Jew, I am interested in saving every Jew wherever possible, but nothing takes precedence over saving the Hebrew nation in its land.”<sup>24</sup>

Segev states that the tendency of the Zionists was to see Jewish immigration as the means of establishing the Jewish state rather than as a means of rescuing Jews. Ben Gurion said that he would prefer young workers rather than old people or children; he wanted the children to be born in Palestine. Hence, during the 1930s most immigration permits were issued to young unmarried male “pioneers.” While a small number of permits were allocated to children, the Jewish Agency stipulated that these should exclude retarded children.<sup>25</sup> In 1936, a special fund was established in Palestine for the RETURN of incurably ill Jews to Europe, because they had become a “burden” on the community and its social institutions.

However, Europe’s Jews were not enthusiastic about going to Palestine to establish a Jewish state. Even in Poland there were few takers for permits from the Jewish Agency. Moshe Shertok of the Jewish Agency suggested creating a panic in Poland to encourage Jews to leave for Palestine.<sup>26</sup> Such an attitude would also explain why few Jews were accepted even into the USA even though Roosevelt was surrounded by advisers such as Henry Morgenthau Jr.,<sup>27</sup> Bernard Baruch, and Felix Frankfurter.

### **Zionist bombs in Iraq**

Zionists have continued to foster and exaggerate anti-Semitism, and this has included the manufacturing of “false flag incidents.” The following account by Zionist veteran Naeim Giladi should become widely known. It is a complete expose of the Zionist modus operandi in regards to anti-Semitism.

A particularly significant event was the creation of fake anti-Semitic incidents in Iraq to push Iraqi Jews into emigrating to Palestine. This was exposed by a former

Israeli agent and Iraqi Jew Naeim Giladi, who had played a role in the operation, author of Ben Gurion's Scandals: How the Haganah & the Mossad Eliminated Jews.<sup>28</sup> Giladi's article "The Jews of Iraq" provides a synopsis of the operations that the reader is urged to peruse in full online, from which I quote.<sup>29</sup>

Giladi, as an 18-year-old Zionist idealist in 1947, was caught by the Iraqi authorities smuggling Jews into Iran en route to Palestine. At the time, Giladi was not interested in the two and a half thousand years of Jewish history in Iraq, but his subsequent assessment indicates how completely Jews were a part of Iraqi society:

*Although Jews, like other minorities in what became Iraq, experienced periods of oppression and discrimination depending on the rulers of the period, their general trajectory over two and one-half millennia was upward. Under the late Ottoman rule, for example, Jewish social and religious institutions, schools, and medical facilities flourished without outside interference, and Jews were prominent in government and business.*

Perhaps the scornful attitudes of Giladi's father when he found out his son was a member of the Zionist underground was indicative of the attitude of most Iraqi Jews towards Zionism, but the situation changed:

*About 125,000 Jews left Iraq for Israel in the late 1940s and into 1952, most because they had been lied to and put into a panic by what I came to learn were Zionist bombs.*

With the declaration of the Zionist State in 1948, an Iraqi detachment were among the Arabs who fought against the Zionist interlopers.

In 1950, in a scenario reminiscent of the Lavon Affair in Egypt just four years later on March 19, "a bomb went off at the American Cultural Center and Library in Baghdad, causing property damage and injuring a number of people. The center was a favorite meeting place for young Jews."

*The first bomb thrown directly at Jews occurred on April 8, 1950, at 9:15 p.m. A car with three young passengers hurled the grenade at Baghdad's El-Dar El-Bida Café, where Jews were celebrating Passover. Four people were seriously*

*injured. That night leaflets were distributed calling on Jews to leave Iraq immediately.*

*The next day, many Jews, most of them poor with nothing to lose, jammed emigration offices to renounce their citizenship and to apply for permission to leave for Israel. So many applied, in fact, that the police had to open registration offices in Jewish schools and synagogues.*

*On May 10, at 3 a.m., a grenade was tossed in the direction of the display window of the Jewish-owned Beit-Lawi Automobile Company, destroying part of the building. No casualties were reported.*

*On June 3, 1950, another grenade was tossed from a speeding car in the El-Batawin area of Baghdad where most rich Jews and middle class Iraqis lived. No one was hurt, but following the explosion Zionist activists sent telegrams to Israel requesting that the quota for immigration from Iraq be increased.*

*On June 5, at 2:30 a.m., a bomb exploded next to the Jewish-owned Stanley Shashua building on El-Rashid Street, resulting in property damage but no casualties.*

*On January 14, 1951, at 7 p.m., a grenade was thrown at a group of Jews outside the Masouda Shem-Tov Synagogue. The explosive struck a high-voltage cable, electrocuting three Jews, one a young boy, Itzhak Elmacher, and wounding over 30 others. Following the attack, the exodus of Jews jumped to between 600-700 per day.*

*Zionist propagandists still maintain that the bombs in Iraq were set off by anti-Jewish Iraqis who wanted Jews out of their country. The terrible truth is that the grenades that killed and maimed Iraqi Jews and damaged their property were thrown by Zionist Jews.*

Wilbur Crane Eveland, a former senior officer with the CIA, states in his own book *Ropes of Sand*, whose publication the CIA opposed, of the incidents:

*In attempts to portray the Iraqis as anti-American and to terrorize the Jews, the Zionists planted bombs in the U.S. Information Service library and in*

*synagogues. Soon leaflets began to appear urging Jews to flee to Israel. . . Although the Iraqi police later provided our embassy with evidence to show that the synagogue and library bombings, as well as the anti-Jewish and anti-American leaflet campaigns, had been the work of an underground Zionist organization, most of the world believed reports that Arab terrorism had motivated the flight of the Iraqi Jews whom the Zionists had “rescued” really just in order to increase Israel’s Jewish population.<sup>30</sup>*

Giladi continues:

*In 1955, for example, I organized in Israel a panel of Jewish attorneys of Iraqi origin to handle claims of Iraqi Jews who still had property in Iraq. One well known attorney, who asked that I not give his name, confided in me that the laboratory tests in Iraq had confirmed that the anti-American leaflets found at the American Cultural Center bombing were typed on the same typewriter and duplicated on the same stenciling machine as the leaflets distributed by the Zionist movement just before the April 8th bombing.*

*Tests also showed that the type of explosive used in the Beit-Lawi attack matched traces of explosives found in the suitcase of an Iraqi Jew by the name of Yosef Basri. Basri, a lawyer, together with Shalom Salih, a shoemaker, would be put on trial for the attacks in December 1951 and executed the following month. Both men were members of Hashura, the military arm of the Zionist underground. Salih ultimately confessed that he, Basri and a third man, Yosef Habaza, carried out the attacks.*

### **Neo-Nazis Receive Zionist Backing**

Zionists backing of overtly neo-Nazi manifestations has been a means of generating feelings of insecurity within “Diaspora Jewry” in the all-too-peaceful Western world. Here are several dramatic examples.

## **National Renaissance Party – New York**

The National Renaissance Party (NRP) was one of the first “neo-Nazi” groups to emerge after World War II and one of the longest enduring (1949-1979). It ended only with the death of its leader, James H Madole.

In 1960, Joseph P Kamp wrote *Bigots Behind the Swastika Spree*<sup>31</sup> in response to the world-wide anti-Semitic activities that broke out in 1959, which even then detailed the Zionist contrivance and manipulation of neo-Nazi movements.<sup>32</sup> Kamp wrote his exposé in the midst of the world-wide uproar generated by the phony “anti-Semitic” vandalism that had been directed by the East German Stasi. Of course, the Zionists were making the most of the hysteria. Benjamin R Epstein, director of the Anti-Defamation League, went to Germany to discuss anti-Semitism with West German officials. He declared that the Germans need to be re-educated with a “long range education program...”<sup>33</sup>

“Coincidentally” whilst there was this flurry of international activity among journalists, communists and Zionists in response to the incidents in Germany, on January 26, 1960 three youths were jailed in New York after having allegedly shouted “Heil Hitler” at a rabbi, after the rabbi had approached the boys following a communist meeting protesting against the supposed resurgence of German anti-Semitism.<sup>34</sup> Ten days earlier three other youths had been arrested in New York for organizing a “neo-Nazi club.” They were charged with disorderly conduct, amidst demands by the prosecutor that they should be charged with “treason,” with the possibility of a death penalty.<sup>35</sup>

The leader of the three “traitors” was a member of the National Renaissance Party, as were all three of those arrested on the 26<sup>th</sup>.

The NRP had its origins in a one-man effort by James Madole, which he called the Animist Party. Madole was contacted by Vladimir Stepankowsky, who offered to fund Madole. Stepankowsky put Madole in contact with others, and meetings were held in Stepankowsky’s hotel in New York. Stepankowsky prepared Animist Party literature with an anti-Semitic emphasis. Stepankowsky then organized a conference between the Animist Party and other anti-Communists. Stepankowsky even gained

contact with three anti-Communist Congressmen, who were duly implicated in a “fascist plot” when the convention was exposed by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL).<sup>36</sup>

Stepankowsky, the real founder of the NRP, America’s first and longest running “neo-Nazi” group, was both a long-time communist agent and an agent for the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). Kamp reveals that Stepankowsky was a prominent veteran Marxist who had edited a communist newspaper in London in 1905. In 1917, he was jailed with communist revolutionary leader Trotsky in Russia. He was later deported from England for communist activities. In 1933 he was identified as a Soviet agent by the French Ministry of War and deported to Switzerland. There he became the head of what the Swiss secret service called the “Bolshevik Information Bureau” and was deported to Italy. He entered the USA illegally in 1936. In the USA, while writing for communist papers, he was employed by the ADL in 1937. In 1954, ex-Soviet spy Elizabeth Bentley exposed him as a Soviet agent. However, because he had influential friends via his association with the ADL, no action was taken.<sup>37</sup>

Working with Stepankowsky to set up Madole and the NRP were Gordon Hall, a.k.a. Walker and Charles R Allen Jr. Hall worked for the Friends of Democracy, at the time a division of the ADL.<sup>38</sup> Allen was an agent for both the Friends of Democracy and the ADL. He had written for Jewish Life, an organ of the US Communist Party.<sup>39</sup> Hence all three leading instigators of the USA’s first and most enduring Nazi party were Left-wing agents for the ADL. Without these it is doubtful that the NRP would have ever existed.

When Madole broke with Stepankowsky in 1948, having discovered his communist background, the Animist Party became dormant. Madole renamed it the NRP in 1949. One of the earliest supporters of Madole’s new NRP was Mana Truhill, who issued a crudely anti-Semitic bulletin without Madole’s approval.<sup>40</sup> Truhill, a.k.a. Emanuel Trujillo, was an agent for the Anti-Nazi League (ANL), another division of the ADL. Rabbi Stephen S Wise, the president of the American Jewish Congress, had founded the ANL in 1933. Truhill had studied communist strategy at the Communist Party’s Jefferson School of Social Science. He was funded by ADL functionary Sanford Griffith. By 1954, Truhill was de facto head of the NRP. He was chief liaison

with “Nazis,” “nationalists” and “anti-Semites” throughout the world, and wrote the NRP’s anti-Semitic literature, which was distributed via his world-wide contacts, and paid for by the ANL and ADL. He personally ensured that the NRP funds were replenished when short, with money supplied by the ADL.<sup>41</sup> Truhill became the first commander of the NRP’s stormtroopers, which over the course of several decades were to become involved in frequent riots with Jews on the streets of New York City. It is interesting to note that the NRP never really extended beyond New York City, which has the USA’s largest concentration of Jews. The NRP stormtroopers were equipped with Nazi type brownshirts paid for via funds provided by the ADL and the ANL. They were thus the most provocative and visible of America’s neo-Nazis, in the midst of the USA’s largest Jewish population center, until the formation of Rockwell’s American Nazi Party in 1959. It was under Truhill’s direction that the NRP used the swastika, whilst Madole’s own preference was for the lightning bolt.

According to the late H Keith Thomson, whose activity within the American extreme Right spanned decades, writing in an autobiographical series on his life as an “American Fascist” in *Expose* tabloid, it was Truhill as NRP international liaison officer, who would write to nationalist, right-wing and “neo-Nazi” organizations throughout the world attempting to draw extreme responses on questions relating to Jews, and it was Truhill who would distribute anti-Semitic cartoons. Thomson relates also that when his own activities were quieting he would get a “pep talk” and suggestions from “ADL master spy” Sandy Griffith, Thomson relating that he had yet to learn that the ADL acted as “provocateurs and instigators” and were “the most dependable source of funds.”<sup>42</sup> Thomson added:

*On other occasions, Sandy Griffith, who liked the role of a sort of “campaign manager,” urged me into provocative anti-Semitism but I would not take the bait, even when accompanied by a few respectable bank-notes.*<sup>43</sup>

Other stalwart “Nazis” who swelled the ranks of the NRP included Ruth Ross, a member of the Labour Youth League, a registered communist front; and Lawrence Sestito and Louis Mostaccio, both members of the ANL. Sestito reported directly to Arnold Foster, director of the ADL, and to Sandy Griffith.<sup>44</sup>



These were the fulltime workers for the NRP. There were other part-time helpers, including John Langord, who assisted at public meetings, an agent for the ADL and ANL. Langord had come from Poland on a diplomatic passport, being the son of a UN diplomat. Richard Hamel, an ADL agent, made anti-Semitic speeches for the NRP. Charley Smith, ADL agent, provided Madole with funds and advice. Even Sandy Griffith himself, under the alias of Al Scheffer, attended NRP strategy meetings to offer advice.<sup>45</sup>

The NRP remained on the verge of obliteration, however. This would mean there would be no highly dramatic neo-Nazi group by which the ADL could continue to scare Jews into providing funds for their “self-defense” against the imminent rise of anti-Semitism and to ensure their subservience to Zionism.

The ADL responded by prompting Sen. Velde of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) into investigating supposed “hate groups”. The focus was the NRP. Velde had not shown interest at first, but the power of the ADL and other Zionist organizations, acting through Edwin Lucas, chief counsel of the American Jewish Committee, was persuasive. The chief investigator for the HCUA and his staff dutifully showed up at the offices of the ADL where they were fed information on this supposed rise of neo-Nazism.<sup>46</sup> HCUA Chief Investigator Owens then set up his staff at the offices of the American Jewish Committee where Lucas supplied the congressional staffers with further phony evidence.<sup>47</sup> This typical smear-mongering information supplied by the ADL and AJC formed the basis of the Velde committee’s Preliminary Report on Neo-Fascist & Hate Groups.<sup>48</sup>

The principal target of the report was the insignificant NRP. Congressman Francis Walter, who was due to take over the chairmanship of the HCUA, “denounced the whole procedure today. He charged that the committee had held no hearing relating to the report and had not discussed the subject in executive hearings.” The NRP had virtually ceased to exist, yet the ADL/AJC-contrived congressional report farcically described the NRP as a “menace” whose “activities would destroy the very foundation of the American Republic.”

On the day after the report, The New York Times stated that its reporters had

failed to find any trace of the NRP, nor had the local police and FBI.<sup>49</sup> The NRP was thereby brought back to life by a Zionist-contrived publicity stunt using a Congressional committee. However, what scared the ADL and AJC was that the report called for investigation and prosecution of the NRP. Such an in-depth investigation would reveal the manner by which the ADL had birthed the NRP and sustained it. The ADL now urged the HCUA to ignore the NRP, and the American Jewish Committee dissociated itself from the House Committee's recommendation that the Justice Department indict the NRP under the Smith Act.<sup>50</sup>

But the notoriety resuscitated the NRP, and it endured until Madole's death in 1979. In 1959, the NRP was superseded by Lincoln Rockwell's openly American Nazi Party, Rockwell being more charismatic and adept at generating publicity.

### **Canadian Nazi Party**

The Canadian Nazi Party (CNP), followed the same pattern as the NRP, and would not have existed without the support provided by the Canadian Jewish Congress. The CNP, like the NRP, existed virtually as the one-man band of John Beattie over the period 1965 to 1978. Beattie was a regular speaker at Allen Gardens, Toronto, accompanied by a handful of youthful bodyguards. None of these attracted any attention until May 30, 1965, when 5,000 demonstrators, agitated by Left-wing and Zionist organizations, converged on the park to hunt and beat any "Nazi" they could find. On this one crucial occasion when Beattie sorely needed his bodyguards he was alone. This is significant.

The day before the expected "Nazi rally," the Toronto Globe and Mail reported on May 31, that "more than 30 Zionist and other Jewish organizations had met to plan a protest at the announced Nazi rally." The result was a mob numbering 5,000, which converged on Allan Gardens. They included a faction estimated by the press at 500 who arrived at the park wielding bats.<sup>51</sup>

Beattie, decked out as usual in swastika armband and uniform, was the only Nazi who was beaten, although a preacher and a few out of town visitors somehow got mistaken as "Nazis" by the mob and were also beaten. Beattie was jailed for 6 months

for “public mischief.”

Beattie had been set up. There was nothing different about this regular speaking excursion to Allen Gardens other than that he was not accompanied by his usual handful of bodyguards. These bodyguards, the few who actually comprised the Canadian Nazi Party, had in fact been working for the Canadian Jewish Congress. Three of Beattie’s activists, Ronald Bottaro and John and Chris Dingle, appeared as guests on the CBC Radio network’s “Don Simms Show” on October 20, and admitted to working for the Canadian Jewish Congress and the “N-3” “anti-racist” group. The total membership of Beattie’s Nazi Party, they said, was ten; of whom perhaps three may have been genuine Nazis.<sup>52</sup>

The Rhodes Avenue home where the CNP’s headquarters was located had been acquired with the help of the Canadian Jewish Congress and was chosen as the site because of its centrality where it could provoke maximum reaction<sup>53</sup>, just as the NRP was centered in New York City. Henrick Van Der Windt, an agent for the Canadian Jewish Congress, had made the nominal down payment on the house. The Toronto Telegram<sup>54</sup> reported on Van Der Windt:

*A man claiming to be an undercover agent for the Canadian Jewish Congress has penetrated the ranks of the Canadian Nazi Party.*

*Henrick Van Der Windt... was followed from a Nazi meeting.... by two Telegram reporters.*

*Traced to his three story home.... Van Der Windt made no secret of his supposed connection with the Jewish Congress.*

*“I was first involved with the Canadian Unity Party before the last war and worked for the Jewish Congress then too,” he said.*

*“...I don’t get paid, they just pay my expenses,” he said.*

*“...The Congress had got lots of good information for their money, but I don’t care if it all stops right now,” he said.*

*A top level official of the Congress, Sydney Harris, asked to confirm or deny Van Der Windt’s claim, would say only “no comment,” last night.<sup>55</sup>*

It was around this time, 1965, that the Canadian Government appointed a seven-man committee to investigate “hate literature” and to recommend action.

In the year 2000, Beattie was lined up to appear as a witness at a “human rights” hearing against German-Canadian “holocaust denier” Ernst Zundel. The Canadian Association for Free Expression, whose organizer, Paul Fromm, has acted for Zundel in legal matters, wrote of Beattie’s impending appearance:

*John Beattie to Expose the Nazi Party That Never Was*

*Monday at 2:00 p.m. William John Beattie, the former leader of the Canadian Nazi Party, will present shocking testimony to a Canadian Human Rights Tribunal inquiring into “hate” charges against Toronto publisher Ernst Zundel for a site called the Zundelsite, located in California and owned and operated by a U.S. citizen.*

*In the heady Spring of 1965, a 23-year old Torontonion John Beattie was on the front page of most Toronto newspapers, his every comment headline news.*

*Beattie will reveal that he was a dupe and a patsy, that everything from his group’s name to its major activities was suggested or quarterbacked by persons acting as agents for or reporting to the Canadian Jewish Congress. Uncannily, at the very time that the Canadian Nazi Party was being built up and just as quickly destroyed a government committee was holding hearings to propose anti-hate legislation. The Cohen Committee made significant mention of the threat posed by John Beattie. The Canadian Jewish Congress, which largely created the short-lived Canadian Nazi Party, had, since the 1930s been lobbying for restrictions on freedom of speech.*

*Beattie will reveal how an agent for the Canadian Jewish Congress lured him into a technical breach of the law, which landed the now unemployed, penniless Nazi leader in prison for six months. Beattie will also expose the fact that the same agent proposed legal maneuvers that were calculated to frighten and cause distress among Jews, thus heightening the “Nazi” menace, which was used as the argument for the 1971 “hate law” (Section 319 of the Criminal Code) and the subsequent section 13.1 (telephonic communication of hate) of*

*the Canadian Human Rights Act, where truth is no defence.*

*Beattie is one of a number of witnesses being called by the Canadian Association for Free Expression, Canada's foremost free speech group, in its role as an intervenor in these proceedings.<sup>56</sup>*

For reasons unknown, Beattie failed to appear at the hearing.

### **Bogus Anti-Semitic Incidents**

Given the history of Zionist machinations in regard to “false flag” operations, the Iraqi bombings, the very similar Lavon Affair, the propping up of neo-Nazi groups, and the historic associations between Zionists and anti-Semites since the days of Herzl, it should not be surprising that Zionists have also been involved in the direct perpetration of anti-Semitic incidents, often of a quite petty nature, which are nonetheless whipped up into epochal events and exploited to the hilt by Zionism.

Following are some incidents that have been contrived to serve some Zionist agenda.

The home of the Dreyfus Affair that encouraged Herzl to make his pitch for a Zionist State, has been the focus of allegations of resurgent “anti-Semitism” to try and drum up support for Israel and increased emigration. Ariel Sharon's remarks at a meeting of the American Jewish Association in Jerusalem that Jews should depart from France to Israel in the wake of “the spread of the wildest anti-Semitism” sparked a diplomatic row. In an article by Rannie Amiri on alleged anti-Semitism in France, an examination of some of the “anti-Semitic” incidences that prompted Sharon's warnings found the examples to be without substance.<sup>57</sup> Amiri writes:

*We can also glean additional insight into the claimed rampant anti-Semitism in France from Alex Moise. As head of the organization “French Friends of Israel's Likud Party,” he filed a complaint in January [2004] after receiving numerous intimidating anti-Semitic calls and threats. In May, the Jewish Telegraph Agency reported Moise was fined and received a suspended jail sentence after confessing to staging the threats himself.*

Another incident of “the spread of the wildest anti-Semitism” in the year of Sharon’s remark was also embarrassing. A Jewish community center in Paris was set alight, and anti-Semitic graffiti and swastikas scrawled in red marker, reading, “Without the Jews, the world is happy,” and “Jews get out.” An Islamic group was blamed, with a message claiming that the arson was to mark the 35th anniversary of a fire at al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. A news dispatch observed:

*The assumption that the fire had been an anti-Semitic attack led French leaders to speak out strongly and declare war on racism. The visiting Israeli Foreign Minister, Silvan Shalom, toured the site a couple of days after the fire, condemning the attack but praising French efforts to curb a rise in anti-Semitism in the country.*<sup>58</sup>

The culprit transpired to be a 50-year-old Jewish employee of the center. This writer recalls mentioning this good news to the *New Zealand Jewish Chronicle*, which had reported the incident as an example of “anti-Semitism,” but which declined to print a correction for the peace of mind of its readers. An outcry had also been caused at around the time when a 23 year old woman claimed to have been attacked by Arabs who thought she was Jewish. She subsequently admitted she had contrived the story.

*The collapse of the “affair of the RER railway” embarrassed President Chirac as he prepared to give his annual Bastille Day pep talk to the nation today, with racism and hate crimes among the top subjects. ...The President no doubt regrets the way in which he seized on the reported attack last weekend as ministers and the media poured out a torrent of condemnation of mindless, anti-Semitic violence on suburban housing estates. M Chirac voiced horror at the reported actions of the youths who were said to have attacked the woman and her 13-month-old child as they travelled on the RER Express Métro in the Sarcelles area. They were said to have cut off hair and sliced the clothes of the woman and daubed swastikas on her stomach with markers. The woman had told police that they had attacked her after wrongly identifying her as Jewish. They were also said to have thrown her child to the ground....*<sup>59</sup>

In Binghamton, New York, swastikas and slogans, including “Kill Kikes” and

“Zionazi Racist,” were found inside the door leading to the Jewish Student Union of the State University. The New York Times, November 15, 1989, reported that the perpetrator is the former president of the Jewish Student Union, James Oppenheimer, who led protests in condemning the vandalism.

Such bogus incidences are frequent but are usually undertaken by deranged individual Jews, rather than being Zionist organizational contrivances. However, what is notable is the manner by which Zionists will jump very quickly onto the bandwagon and exploit any such incident without evidence, to maintain the central Zionist myth of pervasive and inherent Gentile anti-Semitism, without which the Zionist enterprise would become quickly bankrupt.

### Notes:

1 - Bernard Lazare, *Anti-Semitism: its history & causes*, Paris, 1894. (London, 1967), 178.

2 - Ibid., 179.

3 - Rabbi Elmer Berger, *The Jewish Dilemma* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1945), 207.

4 - Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1999* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1999), 21.

5 - T Herzl, *The Diaries of Theodor Herzl* (New York, 1962), 91.

6 - J Klatzkin, *Krisis und Entscheidung in Judentum*, Berlin 1921, 118.

7 - Jay Lefkowitz, *New York Times Magazine*, February 12, 1995, 65.

8 - D. Stewart, *Theodor Herzl* (New York 1974), 25.

9 - Ibid p. 251, fn

10 - Ibid., 6.

11 - Ibid., 25.

12 - Ibid., 322.

13 - R Patai (ed) *The complete diaries of Theodore Herzl* (London, 1960), Vol IV, 1525.

14 - M Menhuin, *Decadence of Judaism in our time*, (New York, 1969), 46.

15 - *Chaim Weizmann Letters and papers* (Oxford 1971), Vol. II, 284. Weizman was instrumental in obtaining the *Balfour Declaration* in 1917, from Lord Balfour, another anti-Semite. As Home Secretary in 1905, Arthur Balfour had introduced the Aliens Act to keep out Jewish refugees fleeing the pogroms out of Britain. The Zionist HQ in Britain was called *Balfour House* in the anti-Semite's honour.

16 - German Zionist Federation.

17 - Leni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of Dictators*, (Connecticut, 1983), 45.

18 - Joachim Prinz, “Zionism under the Nazi Government,” *Young Zionist* (London, November 1937), 18. Rabbi Prinz was to return to Germany in 1960 to lecture the Germans about a revival of Nazism after Stasi-orchestrated anti-Semitic incidents.

19 - Tom Segev, *One complete Palestine* (London: Abacus Books, 2002), 461.

20 - Ibid., 393.

- 21 - Ibid., 394.
- 22 - Ibid., 398.
- 23 - Ibid., 394.
- 24 - Ibid., 402.
- 25 - Ibid., 395, citing "Report of the Immigration Dept. of the Jewish Agency 1937-39, Immigration of Unfit People."
- 26 - Ibid., 395.
- 27 - Not to be confused with his father, who was avidly anti-Zionist, as quoted above.
- 28 - N Giladi, *Ben Gurion's Scandals: How the Haganah & the Mossad Eliminated Jews* <http://www.jewsagainstzionism.com/bookstore/productdetails.cfm?merchid=16>
- 29 - N Giladi, "The Jews of Iraq," [http://www.bintjbeil.com/E/occupation/ameu\\_irajews.html](http://www.bintjbeil.com/E/occupation/ameu_irajews.html)
- 30 - Wilber C Eveland, *Ropes of Sand: America's Failure in the Middle East* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1980). Eveland worked as a Middle East specialist for the CIA, National Security Council and State Department.
- 31 - Joseph P Kamp, *Bigots Behind the Swastika Spree* (New York: Headlines, 1960). A copy is available from this writer.
- 32 - Investigations by West German authorities proved that the "anti-Semitic incidences " were instigated by the East German Stasi in order to discredit Bonn. *The Anti-Semitic and Nazi Incidents: White Paper* (Bonn: Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1960). A copy is available from this writer.
- 33 - Kamp, op.cit., 16.
- 34 - Ibid., 24.
- 35 - Ibid., 25-26.
- 36 - Ibid., 27-28.
- 37 - Ibid., 28.
- 38 - Ibid., 29.
- 39 - Ibid., 29.
- 40 - Ibid., 30.
- 41 - Ibid.
- 42 - Ibid., 32.
- 43 - Ibid.
- 44 - Ibid., 31.
- 45 - Ibid., 32.
- 46 - Ibid., 34.
- 47 - Ibid.
- 48 - Committee on Un-American Activities, *Preliminary Report on Neo-Fascist & Hate Groups* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1954). Online at: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/24846175/Preliminary-Report-on-Neo-Fascism-and-Hate-Groups-1954>
- 49 - Kamp, op.cit., 35.
- 50 - Ibid., 36.
- 51 - Patrick Walsh, *The Unholy Alliance* (Ontario: Canadian Intelligence Publications, 1986), 9-12.
- 52 - Ibid., 13.
- 53 - Presumably this means that it had a high concentration of Jewish residents.
- 54 - June 25, 1965.
- 55 - Walsh, op.cit., 14.
- 56 - Canadian Association For Free Expression, Press Release, November 26, 2000.



57 - Rannie Amiri, "Anti-Semitism in France, but which Semites?," *Studies in Islam & the Middle East*, <http://www.majalla.org/news/2004/08/amiri-08.htm>

58 - Verena Von Derschau, "French investigators sceptical about unknown group that claimed responsibility for the attack on Paris Jewish Center," Associated Press, August 23, 2004.

59 - Charles Brenner, "Woman's swastika ordeal exposed as fantasy," *The Times*, July 14, 2004.

## 22.

# **WAGNER AS METAPOLITICAL REVOLUTIONARY**

Karl Marx reserved a special place of contempt for those he termed “reactionists.” These comprised the alliance that was forming around his time among all classes of people, high-born and low, who aimed to return to a pre-capitalist society. These were the remnants of artisans, aristocrats, landowners, and pastors, who had seen the ravages of industrialism and money-ethics then unfolding. Where there had once been craft, community, village, the marketplace, and the church, there was now mass production, class war, the city, and the stock exchange.

Rather than deploring capitalism, as one might suppose, Marx regarded this as an indispensable phase in the “wheel of history,” of the historical dialectic, which would through a conflict of thesis and antitheses result in a socialist and eventually a communist society. This was the inevitable unfolding of history according to Marx, based on a struggle for primacy by economic interests: class struggle, where primitive communism, feudalism, capitalism, socialism, and communism represented a linear progression. Hence, anything that interfered with this process was “reactionism.”<sup>1</sup>

Capitalism itself would go through a stage of increasing internationalisation and

concentration, whereby increasing numbers of bourgeois would be dispossessed and join the ranks of the proletariat that would make a revolution to overthrow capitalism.<sup>2</sup> Hence, Marx sought to overthrow the traditions and ethos of pre-capitalist society, and, given that dialectics means that the new “synthesis” incorporates elements of what it has overthrown, Marxian-socialism, as “reactionist” historians such as Oswald Spengler<sup>3</sup> and Julius Evola<sup>4</sup> have pointed out, was itself an aspect of capitalism.<sup>5</sup>

Marx came into a revolutionary milieu comprised of varying elements but which generally took inspiration from the French Revolution of 1789, with an emphasis on the “rights of man” that provided a reformist façade for the rise of the bourgeoisie. Hence these revolutionaries of the mid-19th century regarded themselves as “democrats” fighting for equality. However, they also saw the nation-state and the sovereignty of peoples as the liberating factor from princes, kings, dynasties, and empires that were seen as placing themselves above “the people.” Hence, nationalism became the revolutionary force of the century, albeit at times intended, like Jacobinism, as a prelude to a “universal republic.”

### **Volk and Nation as Revolutionary Forces**

The German Revolution moved in a *völkisch* direction, where the Volk was seen as the basis of the state, and the notion of a Volk-soul that guided the formation and development of nations became a predominant theme that came into conflict with the French bourgeois liberal-democratic ideals. J. G. Fichte had laid the foundations of a German nationalism in 1807–1808 with his *Addresses to the German Nation*. Although like possibly all revolutionaries or radicals of the time, beginning under the impress of the French Revolution, by the time he had delivered his addresses to the German nation, he had already rejected Jacobinism, and his views became increasingly authoritarian and influenced by the *Realpolitik* of Machiavelli.

Johann Gottfried Herder had previously sought to establish the concept of the Volk-soul, and of each nation being guided by a spirit. This was a metaphysical conception of race, or more accurately Volk, that preceded the biological arguments of

Wagner's friend Count Arthur de Gobineau in his seminal racial treatise, *The Inequality of the Human Races*, which was to impress Wagner decades later. Herder's doctrine is evident in Wagner's, insofar as Herder stated that the Volk is the only class, and includes both King and peasant, and that "the people" are not the same as the rabble, heralded by Jacobinism and later Marxism. Herder upheld the individuality and separation of nations, that had fortuitously been separated by both natural and cultural barriers, and that these nations manifested innate differences one from the other, including in their religious outlooks.

Wagner's rejection of the French ideals in favour of the Germanic, as one might expect, can be traced to aesthetic sensibilities, and his stay in Paris gave him a distaste for the "exaggerations" of French music.<sup>6</sup> In France Wagner was acquainted with Jews whom he came to distrust and said of this period that it had promoted his consciousness as a German:

*On the other hand, I felt strongly drawn to gain a closer acquaintance of German history than I had secured at school. I had Raumer's History of the Hohenstaufen within easy reach to start upon. All the great figures in this book lived vividly before my eyes. I was particularly captivated by the personality of that gifted Emperor Frederick II, whose fortunes aroused my sympathy so keenly that I vainly sought for a fitting artistic setting for them. The fate of his son Manfred, on the other hand, provoked in me an equally well-grounded, but more easily combated, feeling of opposition. . . .*

*Even at this time it delighted me to find in the German mind the capacity of appreciating beyond the narrow bounds of nationality all purely human qualities, in however strange a garb they might be presented. For in this I recognised how nearly akin it is to the mind of Greece. In Frederick II, I saw this quality in full flower. A fair-haired German of ancient Swabian stock, heir to the Norman realm of Sicily and Naples, who gave the Italian language its first development, and laid a basis for the evolution of knowledge and art where hitherto ecclesiastical fanaticism and feudal brutality had alone contended for power, a monarch who gathered at his court the poets and sages of eastern lands, and surrounded himself with the living products of Arabian and Persian*

*grace and spirit—this man I beheld betrayed by the Roman clergy to the infidel foe, yet ending his crusade, to their bitter disappointment, by a pact of peace with the Sultan, from whom he obtained a grant of privileges to Christians in Palestine such as the bloodiest victory could scarcely have secured.*<sup>7</sup>

This seemingly universalistic ideal of “humanity” is however at the root of his suspicion of the Jews as possessing traits inimical to “humanity.” Herder, Fichte, and other founders of German Idealism, including Kant, had taken the same view, their German nationalism including a certain universalism that saw the Germans as having a messianic world mission, just as the British, Jews, and Russians<sup>8</sup> have all held themselves to be bearers of a world mission vis-à-vis the whole of humanity. It was in Frederick however, that Wagner “beheld the German ideal in its highest embodiment.” “If all that I regarded as essentially German had hitherto drawn me with ever-increasing force, and compelled me to its eager pursuit, I here found it suddenly presented to me in the simple outlines of a legend, based upon the old and well-known ballad of ‘Tannhauser.’”<sup>9</sup>

### **Dresden Revolt and Bakunin**

Having returned to Dresden from Paris in 1842, Wagner secured a position as a conductor at the Royal Theatre, a profession that failed to enthuse him over the course of seven years. However, it was here that the arch-revolutionist of anarchism, the Russian noble, Mikhail Bakunin, despite being a fugitive, sat in the audience at the public rehearsal of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony conducted by Wagner, who wrote:

*At its close he walked unhesitatingly up to me in the orchestra, and said in a loud voice, that if all the music that had ever been written were lost in the expected world-wide conflagration, we must pledge ourselves to rescue this symphony, even at the peril of our lives. Not many weeks after this performance it really seemed as though this world-wide conflagration would actually be kindled in the streets of Dresden, and that Bakunin, with whom I had meanwhile become more closely associated through strange and unusual circumstances, would undertake the office of chief stoker.*<sup>10</sup>

Wagner had met Bakunin in 1848, while the Russian was a fugitive from the Austrian authorities, in the house of a friend, the republican leader August Röckel. Wagner described the visage of Bakunin when they first met: “Everything about him was colossal, and he was full of a primitive exuberance and strength. I never gathered that he set much store by my acquaintance. Indeed, he did not seem to care for merely intellectual men; what he demanded was men of reckless energy.”<sup>11</sup>

Bakunin looked to his fellow Slavs as what we might call the new barbarians, who could regenerate humanity, “because the Slavs had been less enervated by civilization.”<sup>12</sup> He could cite Hegelian dialectics at length and was committed to the destruction of the old order, and saw in the Russian peasant the best hope of starting a world conflagration. The destructive urge of the Russian giant bothered Wagner. Bakunin cared nothing for the French, although having started his ideological journey by reading Rousseau, like many radicals of the time, nor for the ideals of republicanism or democracy. Wagner however, feared that such forces of destruction, once unleashed, would annihilate all culture, and that nothing could arise again:

*Was any one of us so mad as to fancy that he would survive the desired destruction? We ought to imagine the whole of Europe with St. Petersburg, Paris, and London transformed into a vast rubbish-heap. How could we expect the kindlers of such a fire to retain any consciousness after so vast a devastation? He used to puzzle any who professed their readiness for self-sacrifice by telling them it was not the so-called tyrants who were so obnoxious, but the smug Philistines. As a type of these he pointed to a Protestant parson, and declared that he would not believe he had really reached the full stature of a man until he saw him commit his own parsonage, with his wife and child, to the flames.*<sup>13</sup>

Bakunin was untempered fury, Wagner a contemplative aesthete who was to dwell for decades on the course of revolution as a means to a higher state of humanity, and who was ultimately to influence the course of history more so than his Russian friend.

Bakunin deplored Wagner’s intention to write a tragedy entitled “Jesus of Nazareth,” and implored Wagner to make it a work of contempt towards a figure

whom Bakunin regarded as a weakling, while Wagner saw in Jesus the figure of a Hero. Indeed, Wagner, who sought the redemption of man through the return to nature and the overthrow of the superficiality of a decaying civilization, a pantheist and a heathen who looked to ancient Greece, nonetheless placed a focus on Jesus as a revolutionary hero whose meaning was that of redemption from mammon. He was to state to the Dresden Patriotic Club in the revolutionary year of 1848 that God would guide the revolution against “this daemonic idea of Money . . . with all its loathsome retinue of open and secret usury, paper-juggling, percentage and banker’s speculations. That will be the full emancipation of the human race, that will be the fulfilment of Christ’s pure teaching.”<sup>14</sup>

Yet paradoxically, again Bakunin betrayed his own repressed aestheticism when he intently listened to Wagner play and sing *The Flying Dutchman* and applauded enthusiastically. Wagner saw in Bakunin a man conflicted with the “purest ideal of humanity” and “a savagery entirely inimical to all civilization.” Wagner’s ideal was “the artistic remodelling of human society.” However, Wagner’s fears subsided when he found that Bakunin’s plans for destruction were as utopian as Wagner’s reshaping of humanity by aesthetics, and for all the zeal, Bakunin had no real means or following.<sup>15</sup>

Bakunin was back with Wagner in 1849, after a brief sojourn to see if the Slavs could be incited, and it was in Dresden that both were involved in the city’s revolt against the King of Saxony. Wagner on his own account felt no great attraction to democratic politics, but assumed the role of revolutionary it seems through a dissatisfaction with life: “My feelings of partisanship were not sufficiently passionate to make me desire to take any active share in these conflicts. I was merely conscious of an impulse to give myself up recklessly to the stream of events, no matter whither it might lead.”<sup>16</sup>

Nonetheless, the German democratic revolution was seen by many, including Wagner, as the means of dismantling principalities for the purpose of creating a united German nation. It was where a dichotomy between the democratic and the völkisch revolutions arose, the first derived from French inspiration and Jewish intellectualism such as that of Heine, the second from the roots of Germany, and expressed by Fichte,

Hegel, and Herder.

Wager had already issued a clarion call for “Revolution” in an essay by that name just prior to the May 1849 revolt in Dresden. Like Bakunin, his revolution was a call to instinct and to vitalism, antithetical to the intellectualism of Jewish socialists and democrats. It was a romanticism of revolt that sought the overthrow of states because they suppressed the instinct, the vitality of life that welled up from within the Volk soul. He saw revolution as a “supernatural force” and referred to it as “a lofty goddess.” Wagner wrote: “I [the revolution] am the ever rejuvenating, ever fashioning Life.” “Everything must be in a state of becoming.” “Life is law unto itself.”<sup>17</sup> Wagner’s ode to vital forces had no kinship with the theoretical dissertations of Marx.

Yet, Wagner’s appeal was also to the kings and princes. He saw the ideal of the King as being the first among the Volk, and not as a debased hereditary ruler representing a single class. Wagner’s idea of Kingship harkened to the primeval Germans who selected their kings from among the populace on the basis of their heroism. Like Herder, Wagner saw the populous as one class, the Volk, and what Wagner was really fighting against was a system that intervened between Volk and King. Wagner wrote a völkisch appeal for princes and people to unite against the East, albeit unpublished, possibly because it did not express the sentiments of certain Jewish liberal publishers: “The old fight against the East returns again today. The people’s sword must not rust / Who freedom wish for aye.”<sup>18</sup> He wrote in an article published in the *Dresdener Anzeiger* of the intrinsic value of Kingship, and posed the question as to whether all the issues debated by the democrats cannot nonetheless be met under the personage of the King?

I must own, however, that I felt bound to urge this king to assume a much more familiar attitude towards his people than the court atmosphere and the almost exclusive society of his nobles would seem to render possible. Finally, I pointed to the King of Saxony as being specially chosen by Fate to lead the way in the direction I had indicated, and to give the example to all the other German princes.<sup>19</sup>

What did inspire Wagner was the revolt in Vienna that had seen workers and



students unite. Yet Wagner was repelled by the rhetoric and the demagoguery of the revolutionary movement, which he regarded as “shallow.” It was the abhorrence of an aesthete who is instinctively repelled by the mob and its leaders.<sup>20</sup> Referring to the Dresden revolutionary committee of which he was a member, Wagner wrote that the part he played “as in everything else, was dictated by artistic motives.”<sup>21</sup>

Wagner had made enemies of the Court petty officials who surrounded the King. The pressure mounted to deprive Wagner of his position as Conductor of the Royal Theatre in Dresden, although the King resisted those pressures, and Wagner assured himself that the King had understood him. However, he went for a short period to Vienna. Wagner returned to Dresden, more concerned with “theatrical reform” than with social reform.

At this time however, Wagner’s friend Röckel, released on bail from jail for his role in the revolutionary movement, began to publish a journal extolling the aims of the French anarchist theorist Proudhon, to which Wagner states he was completely converted. He regarded his aesthetic revolution as first requiring a cleansing revolt by the “socialists” and “communists.” In this he as always sought to eliminate mammon from life, and to place humanity on an aesthetic foundation.

Proudhon, as Röckel explained to him,<sup>22</sup> advocated the elimination of the role of the middleman, which again meant the elimination of the role of the Jew, whom Proudhon described as a typical mercantile race, “exploiting,” “anti-human,” and “parasitic.”<sup>23</sup> Indeed, many in the socialist movement, including even Jews such as Marx, saw the Jew as the eternal middleman and socialism as the means by which humanity, including the Jews themselves, could be emancipated from a money-god that had shaped the entirety of modern civilization. Marx expressed the attitude of many in the Young Germany movement in stating of the Jews in an article specifically on the matter:

*What is the secular basis of Judaism? Practical need, self-interest. What is the worldly religion of the Jew? Huckstering. What is his worldly God? Money. Very well then! Emancipation from huckstering and money, consequently from practical, real Judaism, would be the self-emancipation of our time. An*

*organization of society which would abolish the preconditions for huckstering, and therefore the possibility of huckstering, would make the Jew impossible. His religious consciousness would be dissipated like a thin haze in the real, vital air of society. On the other hand, if the Jew recognizes that this practical nature of his is futile and works to abolish it, he extricates himself from his previous development and works for human emancipation as such and turns against the supreme practical expression of human self-estrangement. We recognize in Judaism, therefore, a general anti-social element of the present time, an element which through historical development—to which in this harmful respect the Jews have zealously contributed—has been brought to its present high level, at which it must necessarily begin to disintegrate. In the final analysis, the emancipation of the Jews is the emancipation of mankind from Judaism. This is no isolated fact. The Jew has emancipated himself in a Jewish manner, not only because he has acquired financial power, but also because, through him and also apart from him, money has become a world power and the practical Jewish spirit has become the practical spirit of the Christian nations. The Jews have emancipated themselves insofar as the Christians have become Jews.*<sup>24</sup>

Aside from Marx himself being a huckster motivated by self-interest and the “God of money,”<sup>25</sup> these sentiments were the common outlook of German radicals in the milieu in which Wagner worked and were to be expressed in similar terms a decade later by Wagner in his essay *Judaism in Music*, for which he has become irredeemable to many Jewish, Leftist, and liberal critics.

Wagner’s friend Bakunin saw Marx and Rothschild as part of “a single profiteering sect, a people of bloodsuckers, a single gluttonous parasite . . .”<sup>26</sup> Bakunin, started his career as a revolutionary with the Young Hegelians in Germany, with an article published in one of their journals in 1842, entitled “Reaction in Germany.” What Bakunin advocated for his fellow Slavs was a federated Slavic republic stretching across Europe, on the ruins of the Hapsburg melting-pot. Non-Slavic minorities would live under Slavic rule.

His grandiose aim did not find favor at the Congress of Slavic Nationalities that he attended in Prague in 1848. He appealed for collaboration among German,

Hungarian, and Slavic radicals. He hoped for simultaneous revolts in Bohemia, Hungary, and the German states. Paradoxically, what the chief proponent of anarchism sought was a totalitarian authority and the suppression of “all manifestations of gabbing anarchy” across the federated Slav bloc. Such were the ideals of a current of the European revolution which fermented side-by-side and fought along with Jewish intellectuals, neo-Jacobins, and bourgeois democrats, most of whom regarded for one reason or another the nation-state and/or the Volk as the means of securing freedom against dynasties and empires.

Bakunin’s internationalism was but a phase that begun with the founding of the Internationale in 1864 and ended with his disillusionment with the “masses” in 1874; his internationalist-anarchism had comprised merely ten years of his life.<sup>27</sup> At the time of his friendship with Wagner, as they walked about Dresden in tumult, with Prussian troops advancing, Bakunin was a Pan-Slavic anti-Semite.

On May 1, 1849 the Chamber of Deputies of Saxony was dissolved, and Röckel, having been a Deputy, now lost his legal immunity. Wagner supported Röckel in the continuation of his journal, Volksblatt, which also provided a meagre income for Röckel’s family. While Röckel escaped to Bohemia, revolution broke out in Dresden, as Wagner busily worked on Volksblatt. It was in his position as a journalist that Wagner observed the revolutionary proceedings and the loss of control of the bourgeois liberal theorists to the mob. On May 3 bells rang out from St. Anne’s church tower as a call to take up arms. On Wagner’s account, he seems to have been driven by the enthusiasm of the moment. He recounts that he looked on as though watching a drama unfold until, caught up with the zeal of the crowd, he transformed from spectator to actor:

*I recollect quite clearly that from that moment I was attracted by surprise and interest in the drama, without feeling any desire to join the ranks of the combatants. However, the agitation caused by my sympathy as a mere spectator increased with every step I felt impelled to take.*<sup>28</sup>

While the King of Saxony and his Government and officials fled, the King of Prussia ordered his troops to march on Dresden. At this time news reached Dresden that an

uprising had taken place at Württemberg, with the support of the local soldiery. Wagner saw the prospect of an invasion from Prussia as an opportunity to appeal to the patriotic sentiments of the Dresden soldiers, and Volksblatt presses came out with an appeal in bold type: “Seid Ihr mit uns gegen fremde Truppen?” (Are you on our side against the foreign troops?). The appeal was ineffectual. The initial attitude of Bakunin, who emerged from his hiding place to causally wander about the barricades, smoking a cigar and deriding amateurism of the revolutionary efforts, was that the revolt was chaotic, and he saw no point in remaining to support the doomed insurrection. However a provisional government was formed, while news was coming from throughout Germany that other cities were in revolt.<sup>29</sup>

On May 6 the Prussian troops fired on the market square. The heroic actions of a single individual to remain, unarmed, atop the barricades while everyone fled, rallied the defenders and they thwarted the Prussian advance. This heroism was now enough for Bakunin to throw in his lot with the revolt. The revolt lasted a few weeks, before which Wagner had already left Dresden, and started making arrangements for the performance of Tannhäuser at Weimar.

Wagner’s participation in the revolt seems to have been primarily as a propagandist and he, like Bakunin, did not see much substance in it. While Bakunin was inspired by an individual act of heroism, for Wagner he had been enthused by the sight of a well formed people’s militia on the march: the forerunner of a regenerated Volk.

Wagner was regarded as one of the primary leaders of the revolt and fled to Switzerland and from there to Paris. Here again he became acquainted with the Jews as middlemen in the music world, whom he had come to distrust previously in that city. He then went back to Zurich, where he wrote the pamphlets *Kunst und Revolution* (Art and Revolution) and *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* (The Artwork of the Future). Back in Paris, Wagner started writing for a German radical journal, for which he prepared a lengthy essay, *Kunst und Klima* (“Art and Climate”) and then went back to Zurich.<sup>30</sup>

With the support of many German aristocrats and other well-placed individuals,

Wagner returned to Germany via Weimar. In 1863, after petitioning Saxony, he was amnestied and permitted to resettle in Dresden.<sup>31</sup>

Those who see Wagner “selling-out” his socialist principles for the sake of royal patronage fail to understand that his “socialism” was not some type of class struggle for the rule of the proletariat, but was for a unified Volk from out of which would emerge a Hero-King-Redeemer. He maintained his closeness to many princes and princesses, counts and countesses, until finally securing the patronage of King Ludwig of Bavaria.<sup>32</sup>

### **“Communism”: *Gemeinsamkeit***

If Wagner was in 1849 still making allusions to a universalistic creed that was existing uneasily within the German *völkisch* freedom movement, having in 1841 written of “love for Universal Man,”<sup>33</sup> the same year (1849) he was articulating a conception of art that was thoroughly *völkisch*. In *The Art-Work of the Future* Wagner explains the *völkisch* basis of art, and in so doing the intrinsically “socialist” character of art not as an expression of the artist’s ego, but the artist as expressing the Volk-soul.

Ultimately his ideas were pantheistic and heathen, seeing Nature as the basis of human action, and the artificial civilization that had subjugated Nature as the object for revolt: “The real Man will therefore never be forthcoming, until true Human Nature, and not the arbitrary statutes of the State, shall model and ordain his Life; while real Art will never live, until its embodiments need be subject only to the laws of Nature, and not to the despotic whims of Mode.”<sup>34</sup>

Part III of his essay is devoted to “The Folk and Art,” which in his essay on *Revolution and Art* just shortly before, is relegated to being subsidiary to the “universal man.” The Volk now assumes the central role as the “vital force.” The Volk were all those, regardless of class, who rejected ego and considered themselves part of a “commonality.”<sup>35</sup> The subversion of this is the desire for “luxury,” and the subordination of the state and the Volk to capital, industry and the machine.

This alienation of man from Nature, observed Wagner, leads to “fashion,” where

the “modern artist” creates a “freshly fangled fashion,” or “a thing incomprehensible,” by resorting to “the customs and the garb of savage races in new-discovered lands, the primal fashions of Japan and China, from time to time usurp as ‘Mannerisms,’ in greater or in less degree, each several departments of our modern art.”<sup>36</sup>

It is with socialism or “communism” that Wagner repudiated the great enemy of the art of the future: the individual alienated from the Volk. What is translated into English as “communism” was rendered in German as *Gemeinsamkeit*,<sup>37</sup> meaning “commonality,” hence we can discern something quite different between Wagner’s “communism” and what is today understood as “communism.”

It was not until several decades later that Wagner seems to have concluded that race differences preclude the desirability of states in constant flux according to external circumstances and that the folk should be a stable unit rather than a phase along the evolution to “Universal Man.” Hence, with his friend Count Arthur de Gobineau, author of the seminal *Inequality of the Human Races*, which made race a physical rather than a metaphysical question, being a major new influence on his thinking, Wagner explained in an essay “Hero-dom and Christendom,” in his magazine *Bayreuther Blätter*, that racial mixing among “noble” and “ignoble” races results in the irredeemable fall of the noble. For Wagner the noblest of all races was the “white.” Now Wagner wrote that the “uniform equality” of humanity, which he had once dreamt of as evolving into “Universal Man” under the leadership of the free German, “is unimaginable in any but a horrifying picture.”<sup>38</sup>

In 1850 Wagner published *Judaism in Music*, an important treatise in understanding his revolutionary ideas. Since the distinct characteristics of an object can be most clearly understood by comparing it with another object, the character of the German Volk was most evident by comparing it with the perceived traits of the Jews in their midst. Wagner alludes to this in a later essay, when stating that one can most readily state what is “German” by comparison with what is Jewish.<sup>39</sup> *Judaism in Music* was also the treatise that marked Wagner as a seminal leader of modern German “anti-Semitism” as a forerunner of National Socialism.

As noted, Wagner’s views on Jews were fairly typical of the ideologues of

German Idealism, and of anti-capitalist radicals such as Proudhon, Bakunin, and Marx, the common belief being that Jews had detached themselves from “humanity,” and that the liberation of humanity from Jewishness would also emancipate the Jews.

As Wagner explained in *Judaism in Music*, he is only concerned with the Jews in culture rather than in politics or religion. As far as politics goes, with reference to Herr Rothschild as being “Jew of the Kings” rather than being content as “King of the Jews,” Wagner referred to the previous “Liberalism” of himself and his fellow radicals as “a not very lucid mental sport,” that failed to understand the true character of the Volk; and likewise, for all the radicals’ declaration on emancipating the Jews in theory, their remained an instinctive revulsion in practice.

So far from needing emancipation, the Jew “rules, and will rule, so long as Money remains the power before which all our doings and our dealings lose their force.”<sup>40</sup> Hence, being the middleman and the moneychanger, Jewish influence in the arts turns culture into an “art-bazaar.” While Wagner could still talk of the “Universal Man,” he nonetheless also refers in 1850 to something “disagreeably foreign” about the Jew no matter to which European nationality he belongs. While speaking the language of the nation in which he dwells, he nonetheless “speaks it always as an alien.”

Wagner had just a year previously written of Volk communities as subjected to change as per external circumstances, as a natural and desirable historical development, but here writes of a community as an enduring historical bond, and not as “the work of scattered units.” This is a development from his prior anarchistic definitions of communities as pragmatic rather than enduring: “only he who has unconsciously grown up within the bond of this community, takes also any share in its creations.”<sup>41</sup>

The Jew however has developed as a people, “outside the pale of any such community,’ as “splintered, soilless stock” whose communal attachment is to their God Jehova. Hence, the Jewish contribution to music, vocally, has been “a creaking, squeaking, buzzing snuffle,” “an intolerably jumbled babbler.” It is modern society based on money that has emancipated the Jew and therefore brought the Jew into the

arts.

By 1850 then, Wagner had largely disposed of any former universalistic ideals, in favor of a *völkisch* doctrine. Over the next few decades, having recognized the folly of previous types of radicalism, he had fully embraced a *völkisch* ideology that remained rooted wholly in his first calling as an artist. Wagner's ideal remained the elevating of humanity, led by the Germans, to higher levels of Being, of that which defines what is human, towards man-as-artist manifesting his creativity and appreciation for creativity within the context of the Volk community. Hence, the following year he wrote of his transcendence of the current isms: "I am neither a republican, nor a democrat, nor a socialist, nor a communist, but—an artistic being; and as such, everywhere that my gaze, my desire and my will extend, an out and out revolutionary, a destroyer of the old by the creation of the new."<sup>42</sup>

His aesthetic ideals did not temper his zeal for revolution, but enhanced them, writing to a friend, "the bloodiest hatred for our whole civilization, contempt for all things deriving from it, and longing for nature . . . only the most terrific and destructive revolution could make our civilized beasts 'human' again."<sup>43</sup>

His "anarchism" was the type of the free Germanic Volk who did not tolerate tyrants and whose concept of "freedom" was that of communal, Volk freedom, and not the egotism of the individual, a type of "anarchism" nonetheless that was postulated by Bakunin and later by Kropotkin, that states that communities are organically formed by free association from instinct, and not imposed by laws. "The same Wagnerian spirit favouring in music the revolt of emotional inspiration against classical rules favours in politics the revolt of instinctive Volk against law," writes Peter Viereck.<sup>44</sup> By 1865 he had repudiated the widespread revolutionary spirit of 1848, as "a Jewish importation of French rationalism," Viereck states.<sup>45</sup> Wagner explained his rejection of the prior era of revolt, writing in 1876 that,

*I have no hesitation about styling the subsequent revolutions in Germany entirely un-German. "Democracy" in Germany is purely a translated thing. It exists merely in the "Press;" and what this German Press is, one must find out for oneself. But untowardly enough, this translated Franco-Judaico-German*



*Democracy could really borrow a handle, a pretext and deceptive cloak, from the misprised and maltreated spirit of the German Folk. To secure a following among the people, "Democracy" aped a German mien; and "Deutschthum," "German spirit," "German honesty," "German freedom," "German morals," became catchwords disgusting no one more than him who had true German culture, who had to stand in sorrow and watch the singular comedy of agitators from a non-German people pleading for him without letting their client so much as get a word in edgewise. The astounding unsuccessfulness of the so loud-mouthed movement of 1848 is easily explained by the curious circumstance that the genuine German found himself; and found his name, so suddenly represented by a race of men quite alien to him.<sup>46</sup>*

While critics claim that Wagner reneged on his former revolutionary ideas to curry favor with the aristocracy, his greatest patron being King Ludwig of Bavaria, his great English admirer, the Germanophilic English-born philosopher, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who married Wagner's daughter Eva, said of the maestro that he remained a revolutionist from 1840 to the day of his death, on the basis that you cannot separate corrupt society from corrupt art.<sup>47</sup>

Wagner's revolutionary "freedom" was the innate German instinct for freedom; not the French, nor the English nor the Jewish conceptions of humanism and liberalism, of freedom for commerce and for parliaments. That völkisch freedom could as well be served in the ancient institution of a King if that King embodied the völkisch spirit. The Wagnerian leader is a nexus with the divine and the highest embodiment of the Volk. Wagner referred to this leader who would liberate the Germans as a Volk, rather than as a class of money interests, as a "hero," as the "folk-king" and as the legendary "Barbarossa," the German's King Arthur who awakens from a slumber when his people are most endangered. Wagnerians looked for the Germanic Messiah, the reborn Barbarossa as the saviour of Germany.

Even in 1848 Wagner sought a King who would embody the Volk; a King who would be "the first of the Volk" and not merely representative of a class, and he sought to elevate the King of Saxony to that position, rather than to overthrow him.<sup>48</sup> He was a "republican" in a very definite sense, not of wishing to overthrow the King, but of

the king leading the *res publica*, the public—the people—the Volk—as a unitary whole. Such a “folk-king” must transcend class and selfish interests. Here we see that Wagner could have no time for the banalities of parliament or of class war. Such matters as parliaments, constitutions and parties were divisive to the *völkisch* organism, undermined the authority of the folk-king, and reduced the Volk to separate constituents rather than maintaining a unitary organic state.<sup>49</sup> However Wagner drew a distinction between King and Monarchy, because a monarchy is a hereditary class that does not arise from the Volk, and indeed we see how monarchies might disintegrate over centuries, where they are based on birth rather than achievement, and that birth-lineage often becomes degenerate and effete, perhaps with no recourse other than through revolution, which more generally throws up a rulership that is worse. Wagner looked to the primeval Germanic Kinship drawn from selection among free men, which was the rule of Herodom, the divine Hero<sup>50</sup> often the plot of his operas.

In his essay *Art and Revolution* Wagner introduced his remarks by an admission of his own muddled thinking at the time of the Dresden revolt. He sought to amalgamate the ideas of Hegel, Proudhon, and Feuerbach into a revolutionary philosophy. “From this arose a kind of impassioned tangle of ideas, which manifested itself as precipitance and indistinctness in my attempts at philosophical system.”<sup>51</sup>

Wagner explains what he means by his frequent references to “communism,” not wishing to be misconstrued as being a supporter of the Paris Commune, as was then frequently supposed, but as a term meaning the repudiation of “egos.” Wagner explains that by “communism” he means the collectivity of the “Volk,” “that should represent the incomparable productivity of antique brotherhood, while I looked forward to the perfect evolution of this principle as the very essence of the associate Manhood of the Future.” This Germanic conception was antithetical to the Jacobin, liberal-democratic mind of the French.<sup>52</sup> He regarded Germany as having a mission among the nations, by virtue of a “German spirit,” to herald a new dawn of creativity that renounced egotism and the economics that was being driven by it.<sup>53</sup> Quoting Thomas Carlyle<sup>54</sup> on the epochal impact of the French Revolution and the “spontaneous combustion” of humanity, Wagner saw this mission of the “German race” as one of creation rather than destruction and the “breaking out of universal

mankind into Anarchy.”<sup>55</sup> In *Art and Revolution* Wagner addressed the question of the impact of the late 1840s European revolt on the arts, and where the artist had been in the era preceding the tumult. It was the “Hellenic race,” once overcoming its “Asiatic birthplace,” which birthed a “strong manhood of freedom,” most fully expressed in their god Apollo, who had slain the forces of Chaos, to bring forth “the fundamental laws of the Grecian race and nation.” It was in Greece, including Sparta, where art and state and war-craft were an organic entity.<sup>56</sup> The Athenian “spirit of community” fell to “egoism” and split itself along a thousand lines of egoistic cleavage.”<sup>57</sup> The degradation of the Roman world succumbed to “the healthy blood of the fresh Germanic nations,” whose blood poured into the “ebbing veins of the Roman world.” But art had sold itself to “commerce.” Mercury, the God of commerce, had become the ruler of “modern art.”

*This is Art, as it now fills the entire civilised world! Its true essence is Industry; its ethical aim, the gaining of gold; its aesthetic purpose, the entertainment of those whose time hangs heavily on their hands. From the heart of our modern society, from the golden calf of wholesale Speculation, stalled at the meeting of its cross-roads, our art sucks forth its life-juice, borrows a hollow grace from the lifeless relics of the chivalric conventions of mediaeval times, and—blushing not to fleece the poor, for all its professions of Christianity—descends to the depths of the proletariat, enervating, demoralising, and dehumanising everything on which it sheds its venom.*<sup>58</sup>

In ancient Greece, by contrast, art belonged to the entire populace; not to a single class. The contrast between Greek and modern education shows the differences between a Volk and a state of classes educated for commerce:

*The Greeks sought the instruments of their art in the products of the highest associate culture: we seek ours in the deepest social barbarism. The education of the Greek, from his earliest youth, made himself the subject of his own artistic treatment and artistic enjoyment, in body as in spirit: our foolish education, fashioned for the most part to fit us merely for future industrial gain, gives us a ridiculous, and withal arrogant satisfaction with our own unfitness for art, and forces us to seek the subjects of any kind of artistic. . . .*<sup>59</sup>

The task was not to restore the Greek or anything else from the past, but to create new art, freed from commerce:

*From the dishonouring slave-yoke of universal journeymanhood, with its sickly Money-soul, we wish to soar to the free manhood of Art, with the star-rays of its World-soul; from the weary, overburdened day-labourers of Commerce, we desire to grow to fair strong men, to whom the world belongs as an eternal, inexhaustible source of the highest delights of Art.*<sup>60</sup>

Only the “mightiest force of revolution”<sup>61</sup> can overthrow the money despotism and inaugurate the free “republic” where the whole populace partakes of the art that expresses its spirit. This however, was not a revolution of “the windy theories of our socialistic doctrinaires,” who sought to level and proletarianize until there is no possibility of art. The aim was not universal proletarianization, as per Karl Marx, but what Wagner called “artistic manhood, to the free dignity of Man,”<sup>62</sup> emancipated from the economic treadmill.

### **Bayreuth as the Center of the German Revolution**

Wagner’s redemption of humanity, having found a patron in Ludwig of Bavaria, became centred on Bayreuth, where Wagner’s pageants could be performed and a journal published, the Bayreuther Blätter, that would articulate the political and aesthetic ideals implicit in those operas. Wagner proceeded with a metapolitical strategy decades before the Italian Communist theorist Gramsci formulated his strategy of the “long march through the institutions” and subtlety redirecting a society by first changing its culture.<sup>63</sup>

*These ideas, together with the racial doctrines of de Gobineau, were intended to permeate German society, emanating from a cultural and metapolitical center, Bayreuth, intended as the microcosm of a völkisch classless society. The festival house at Bayreuth was what Wagner’s son-in-law Chamberlain called in 1900 “a standard for armed warriors to rally around” in their revolt against corruption.*<sup>64</sup>

Under the Second Reich of Bismarck, Bayreuth became a center of pilgrimage for those seeking “what Wagner’s Meistersinger chorus calls ‘the holy German art.’” The Second Reich relied on Bayreuth to give it an historical and mythic cult connecting the Golden Age of Frederick Barbarossa with that of Bismarck. Without Bayreuth the Bismarckian Reich would have been nothing more than a Prussian state edifice. Wagner Societies throughout Germany propagated the ideas emanating from Bayreuth.

Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Wagner’s son-in-law, whose racial history<sup>65</sup> championed the Holy Grail of Germandom, expounded mystically in Wagner’s operas, was the direct link between Wagner and the Third Reich. It seems likely that Wagner would have viewed with enthusiasm the mass parades of armed Volk, the purging of the arts, the breaking of usury, and the mantle of virtual kingship assumed by a war veteran from out of the people.

As we have seen, whether Wagner’s views are explicitly the doctrinal antecedent for National Socialism per se is questionable. His views on race and Jews were quite typical of revolutionaries of the time, including those of non-Germans such as Proudhon and Bakunin. History has been kinder to these than to Wagner because, despite their revolutionary political commitment, and Wagner’s primary commitment to the arts, it was Wagner who has been the greater influence on history, attesting to the greater influence of the metapolitical over the political.

## Notes:

1 - Karl Marx, *The Communist Manifesto* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), pp. 46-47.

2 - Marx, *The Communist Manifesto*, pp. 41, 44.

3 - Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971), Vol. II, pp. 402, 506.

4 - Julius Evola, *Men Among the Ruins* (Rochester, Vermont: Inner Traditions International, 2002), pp. 167-68.

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6 - Richard Wagner, *My Life*, Part I, <http://www.wagneropera.net/MyLife/RW-My-Life-Part-1-1813-1842.htm>

7 - Ibid.

8 - British = a civilizing mission, Jews = a domineering material mission, Russians = a metaphysical mission.

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23.

**OSWALD SPENGLER:  
MAY 29, 1880 - MAY 8, 1936**

For the Right, one might disagree with Oswald Spengler, but one cannot ignore him. Of course, for the Left and orthodox academia, the simplistic option is to ignore him. Spengler continues to pose a challenge, and his great questions of our epoch have yet to be fully answered. But it is essential that the questions are at least asked.

One of the outstanding features of Spengler's morphological theory of history is that it unfolds before our eyes, at every moment. While saying something is "self-evident" might — and generally is — a method of claiming one is correct without recourse to evidence, I would challenge anyone who knows at least the fundamentals of Spengler's cultural morphology to look around their own society, perhaps even their own immediate environs, and deny that Spengler is right.

**Early Life**

Oswald Spengler was born in Harz, Germany, on May 29, 1880, the only son and eldest of four children, from a paternal line of mine workers — although the father



was a postal official when Oswald was born — and a mother with artistic abilities.<sup>1</sup> Family life, however, was cold, and there seems to have been no deep bond of affection between the parents or towards the children. The father, Bernhard, was a loyal Prussian, but politics and reading were not part of the household. Young Oswald, however, at an early age devoured the literature of Goethe and Schiller, and later Shakespeare, Heinrich Heine, and Dostoevsky.<sup>2</sup>

In 1890, the family moved to the university city of Halle, where Oswald received a classical education, studying Latin, Greek, mathematics, and the natural sciences. From his mother's side, he developed an affinity for the arts, particularly drama, poetry, and music.<sup>3</sup> The eclecticism of those academic pursuits would provide the background that Spengler could bring to his magnum opus, *The Decline of the West*.

Even as a 14-year-old, while writing plays, stories, and poems, Spengler was starting to think about the great issues to which he would devote himself in later years. Hence, in 1894 he wrote an essay entitled 'Greater Germany: New Order in Europe and the Rest of the World'.<sup>4</sup>

It seems that it was already while still a student at the Gymnasium that Spengler first came under the enduring influence of Goethe and Nietzsche.<sup>5</sup> In the 1922 Preface to *The Decline of the West*, Spengler acknowledges the debt he owes to them: "and now, finally, I feel urged to name once more those to whom I owe practically everything: Goethe and Nietzsche. Goethe gave me method, Nietzsche the questioning faculty . . ."<sup>6</sup>

Spengler entered the University of Munich in 1901, the year of his father's death, and proceeded to Berlin and to Halle. His main courses of study remained the Classical cultures, mathematics, and the physical sciences. At Halle, he prepared his doctoral dissertation on the Greek philosopher Heraclitus, receiving his Doctorate in 1904. He then wrote a secondary dissertation required for becoming a High School teacher. The subject was "The Development of the Organ of Sight in the Higher Realms of the Animal Kingdom."<sup>7</sup>

He taught mathematics, physical sciences, history, and German literature at

Saarbrücken, Düsseldorf, and Hamburg. He was a good teacher, whose style, according to former students, was both lively and “intuitive,” and he was already attacking Darwinism.<sup>8</sup> However, in 1910, coming into an inheritance from his mother, he left the profession and started his life as an independent scholar, settling in Munich in 1911.<sup>9</sup>

### ***The Decline of the West***

Here Spengler started to write a book of observations on the political situation, to be entitled *Conservative and Liberal*, which was to develop far beyond the original intention, and became *The Decline of the West*. He saw an approaching cataclysm for Europe. The First World War confirmed his analysis. He lived in reduced circumstances due to losses of investments, writing by candlelight in cheap lodgings, writing as a “cultural adviser for the press.”<sup>10</sup>

Despite wartime hardships, by 1917 the first volume of his philosophical masterpiece, *Form and Actuality*, was ready, and was published the following year.<sup>11</sup> The volume was an immediate success.

Professional historians were offended by the presumptuousness of Spengler — not being a trained historian — offering a work of such magnitude. Yet, Spengler was looking at history from the heights, and not from beneath the quagmire of formal academia. Stimely makes a comment that remains pertinent: “[W]ith regard to the validity of his postulate of rapid Western decline, the contemporary Spenglerian need only say to these critics: Look about you. What do you see?”<sup>12</sup>

To the defeated Germans, *The Decline of the West* put their predicament into world-historical context, and also offered a vision for the future of Western civilization as a unified cultural organism. So with such promise, a second, revised edition of *The Decline of the West*, Volume One, was published in 1922, soon followed by the second volume, *Perspectives of World-History*.<sup>13</sup>

Despite the professional critics, there were scholars of note who immediately spoke in favor of Spengler. His English translator, Charles Francis Atkinson, writing in

the Translator's Preface for the 1926 English edition of *The Decline of the West*, refers to an article by Dr. Eduard Meyer, a scholar of ancient history of worldwide repute, in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* in 1924 in which Meyer, in contrast to what Atkinson calls "the first burst of criticism," "insists upon the fruitfulness of certain of Spengler's ideas."<sup>14</sup> The two remained friends until Meyer's death in 1930.

Spengler also maintained an exchange of ideas with many other scholars in the study of civilizations. Hans Erich Stier, Professor of Ancient History, assured Spengler that, despite "the original perplexity," his thought has "exerted a great influence everywhere," and was being imitated widely by historical scholars.<sup>15</sup>

### **Pessimism?**

Despite Spengler's persistent ill-health and long periods of scholarly solitude, he sought to directly influence political events. Despite the criticism of "pessimism" or "fatalism" that continues to be leveled at Spengler, he did not see this in his historical morphology, and one might say that because all mortals are fated to die, one might as well give up without living whatever life's course one might unfold. So it is with Cultures, according to Spengler. And the scholar sought to influence events politically.

Spengler had addressed the misunderstanding of "pessimism" as early as 1921 when he replied to those who saw his outlook as a prophecy of "dreadful catastrophe," writing of *The Decline of the West*: "My title does not imply catastrophe. Perhaps we could eliminate the 'pessimism' without altering the real sense of the title if we were to substitute for 'decline' the word 'fulfillment' . . ."<sup>16</sup>

It was from Germany, re-imbued with the Prussian *élan*, from which the 20th century revival of Western civilization had to proceed in answer to English political-economics. However, Spengler was not an agitator, an organizer, or a man of party politics and mass movements. He sought to influence those who might take Germany, and thereby The West, into new directions.

Over the period 1914 to 1917, while engaged in writing *The Decline*, Spengler also continued to write other material of a historical-political nature, including an

essay, “To the German Nobility,” calling for a monarchist regime and a system of government that would raise a meritocracy, while eschewing parliament as the means by which the newspaper-reading public believes that it is politically empowered.<sup>17</sup>

### **German Socialism**

Despite the initial difficulty in finding a publisher, the defeat of Germany garnered *The Decline of the West* much interest in the aftermath of the war, and Spengler suddenly became a widely respected philosopher, receiving the Nietzsche Archives Award in 1919. That year he gave a speech entitled “Prussianism and Socialism,” which was published as a pamphlet under that title, extolling the Prussian ethos of duty to the state as a true form of anti-capitalist “socialism,” not only Prussian, but now required for a universal Western resurgence. This Prussian ethical socialism, or what we might call Duty, Spengler contrasted with Marxian “socialism,” which is nothing other than a mirror image of English economics, aiming to replace one ownership class with another, while maintaining the same 19th century *Zeitgeist* of money-thinking.

*Prussian and Socialism* explicates a number of issues that were also explained in the final chapters of the second volume of *The Decline of the West*, which was not published until 1922: i.e., four years after the publication of volume one. *Prussianism and Socialism*, like other published speeches such as “The Political Duties of German Youth” and “Reconstruction of the German Reich” (both 1924), and Spengler’s final book, *The Hour of Decision* (1934), are intended as a practical philosophy to inspire new thinking and prompt action in the political realm, addressed to youth, workers, aristocrats, and industrialists. Spengler explained that socialism was not Marxism, and that socialism was the same as the “spirit of Old Prussia.”<sup>18</sup>

In the same vein, among the final paragraphs of volume two of *The Decline of the West*, Spengler concludes with an impassioned appeal. He calls for The West to overthrow the dictatorship of Money. Spengler defined “Capitalism” as the “money-powers” that see politics and laws as nothing other than the means for personal acquisition. Socialism is “the will to call into life a mighty politico-economic order

that transcends all class interests.”<sup>19</sup>

Spengler’s thinking had a major influence on Otto and Gregor Strasser, luminaries of the North German region of the Nazi party, and while Otto soon went his own way, Gregor, whom Spengler greatly respected, unsuccessfully sought Spengler’s support for the NSDAP.<sup>20</sup>

### **Ruling Circles**

With Spengler’s rejection of party politicking, demagoguery, and mass movements, and his cultivation of those already in positions of influence or potentially so, within industry, politics, and academia, it is apparent that what Spengler was aiming for was a “revolution from above,” a shift of perception within ruling circles.

During the 1920s Spengler was widely sought as a lecturer. In 1921 he read a paper on “Philosophical Considerations on the Economy,” organized by his close collaborator and friend, the influential industrialist Paul Reusch,<sup>21</sup> head of Gutehoffnungshütte (Good Hope Mill), a leading mining and engineering firm in the Ruhr, and of the German Chamber of Commerce. In 1927 Reusch founded the *Ruhrlade*, a covert society, which raised money for conservative parties and sought their unification.

In 1922 Crown Prince William wrote to Spengler in appreciation for the second volume of *The Decline of The West*, which he was “studying with the greatest interest.”<sup>22</sup> Spengler’s ideas seem to have been of much interest among the deposed Royal Family, and in 1925, for example, the Kaiserine Hermine asked if she could meet Spengler.<sup>23</sup> He had visited Crown Prince William in Holland in 1923.<sup>24</sup>

At this time, Spengler had become completely disaffected with Chancellor Stresemann, writing to conservative journalist and author Gerhard von Janson that at his request several newspapers had “started a strong personal polemic against Stresemann,” and asking von Janson to launch a campaign in Berlin and the provincial Press. He now started uncharacteristically advocating the formation of a new political party based on elements from the German National Party and the Centrum party, and

leaders from agriculture and industry.<sup>25</sup> He also sought a vigorous campaign against the Stresemann administration from the German Fatherland Party, regarding the Stresemann party as bargaining with the Socialists to maintain “this dictatorship of business politicians.”<sup>26</sup>

With the Hitler-Ludendorff Munich Putsch of November 1923, Spengler felt that his warnings since 1921 that the nationalist movement should pursue a “reasonable direction” and that there should have been sounder guidance, were validated. He castigated the lack of direction of the “national movement” for not having critiqued the Hitler-Ludendorff movement, while they had nonetheless remained aloof from the NSDAP, Spengler stating, “the tactic of approving silence was tantamount to help.”<sup>27</sup>

Spengler was of course greatly interested in the Hitler case being heard in Munich, his city of residence, in February 1924. He commented to his sister, Hilde Kornhardt, that Ludendorff had “frustrated the arrangements made to prevent secret matters coming out in court,” in regard to the broader Rightist connections of the NSDAP. Another concern was Ludendorff’s anti-Church stance which was alienating Catholics from the Right.<sup>28</sup>

A luminary of the Right much interested in Spengler’s views was the industrialist Alfred Hugenberg, leader of the German National People’s Party. Other important contacts included Seldte, founder of the Stahlhelm paramilitary veterans movement, and the widely read Conservative Revolutionary novelist Ernst Jünger.

### **The Sterility of Late Civilization**

In April 1925, Benito Mussolini wrote thanking Spengler for his “The State,” “The Economy,” “Reconstruction of the German Reich” and “Political Duties of German Youth,” which the Duce assured Spengler he would read “with great pleasure.”<sup>29</sup> Since 1923, Spengler had noted Mussolini’s opposition to French foreign policy, and sought contact with Italian governmental circles.<sup>30</sup> Spengler’s view of Mussolini seems ambivalent, however, writing to his sister Hilde Kornhardt, while on holiday in Rome in 1929, of Mussolini as the “woolly lamb” who “suns himself in the luster of beautiful speeches [while] in the background everybody curses.”<sup>31</sup> This seems

to have reflected Spengler's distrust of mass movements, including those on the Right, with the flags, slogans, and parades that he had criticized in regard to the Nazis.

Where Spengler's ideas seem to have impacted Mussolini and Italy most distinctly was in the warning that population decline is a symptom of cultural decay. The end of the drama of a civilization is epitomized by the sterility of civilized man:

*The last man of the world city no longer wants to live — he may cling to life as an individual, but as a type, as an aggregate, no, for it is a characteristic of this collective existence that it eliminates the terror of death. That which strikes the true peasant with a deep and inexplicable fear, the notion that the family and the name may be extinguished, has now lost its meaning. The continuance of the blood-relationship in the visible world is no longer a duty of the blood, and the destiny of being the last of the line is no longer felt as a doom . . .*<sup>32</sup>

The peasant is rooted to the soil as a “descendent of his forebears and as the forbear of future descendants.” For the “last men,” “all this is past and gone.”<sup>33</sup> This primeval urge to family-continuity is as strong in the aristocracy as in the peasant, we might add, and Spengler notes that “the prudent limitation of life” was deplored by the more far-sighted of Rome's thinkers and statesmen, who sought vainly to revert the process. It is the present population decline of the West that signals more than any other single factor Spengler's morphology unfolding before us.

It is to this depopulation that Mussolini addressed himself, a primary influence on Fascist population doctrine being Dr. Richard Korherr. An expert on population statistics, Korherr is remembered today as the “infamous” author of the *Korherr Report* (1943) on the Jewish populations of Europe, prepared for the SS in his capacity as Inspector of Statistics. We might better appreciate him however as an expert on population decline, who was never a Nazi.<sup>34</sup> The report shows that European Jewry had long undergone a natural population decline, although any such statistics are now interpreted as evidence for genocide. However, Korherr could not be found guilty of any crime even by the post-1945 mass lynching party, and he pursued an academic career in post-War Germany, dying in 1989.

Korherr had contacted Spengler in 1926, addressing him “Highly honored

Master!” He had read *The Decline of the West* in 1920, and had “not been able to escape from its spell.” In 1925, he made Spengler’s *magnum opus* the basis of his doctoral thesis, *Geburtenrückgang* (“Decline of the Birth Rate”), and sought Spengler’s permission to dedicate it to him as “the greatest thinker of our time.”<sup>35</sup> Spengler replied that having read the thesis he accepted the dedication with his “best thanks,” adding: “I will tell you honestly that up to now I have read nothing which has completed and deepened a suggestion in my book into such knowledge and understanding.”<sup>36</sup>

In 1927 Korherr had visited Spengler and wrote stating that Spengler had given him the means by which to oppose depopulation: returning to the ethos that marriage means children, and that woman is “regarded in the first instance as a mother.” Indeed, such a remedy is clear enough to anyone reading a chapter significantly entitled “The Soul of the City” in *The Decline of the West*:

*The primary woman, the peasant woman, is mother. The whole vocation towards which she has yearned from childhood is included in that one word. But now emerges the Ibsen woman. . . . Instead of children she has soul-conflicts, marriage is a craft-art for “mutual understanding.”*<sup>37</sup>

Like Spengler, Korherr sought analogies in other civilizations and found that Confucius gave China the ethos that “the man who dies without descendants receives no social recognition among the living.” Western civilization therefore needed a “western Confucius.” Korherr regarded Spengler as that individual, and anyone lesser as only causing harm.<sup>38</sup>

In 1928, the year of his employment with the Bureau of Statistics, Korherr’s work drew the attention of the Italians and he met the Italian General Consul in Munich. Mussolini wished to personally translate Korherr’s *Birth Decline*, adding his important May 1927 “Ascension Day” speech “Numero come forza” (“Strength in Numbers”) as a Preface, along with an uncharacteristic Preface by Spengler, indicating the importance Spengler attached to Korherr’s work.<sup>39</sup> The Italian edition is *Regresso delle nascite*.

The influence of Korherr and Spengler on Mussolini’s ideas regarding



population were expressed in the May 1927 speech: Mussolini regarded Italy's declining birth-rate as a symptom of moral decadence, markedly so in the most industrialized cities (Turin, Milan, Genoa), again a Spenglerian theme on the role the city. The National Organization for the Protection of Motherhood and Infancy (ONMI) would be funded by a new "bachelor tax" which would also give Italy a "demographic jolt."<sup>40</sup>

Despite certain misgivings about Mussolini's demagoguery, Spengler saw in him the precursor of the renascent Caesars who arise in the Late epoch of a civilization to overthrow the dictatorship of Money and pursue a course of grand politics. Mussolini, at least, was the nearest to such a figure that Spengler would ever see, and we of today are yet to see anyone else as comparable. Spengler had written: "The coming of Caesarism breaks the dictatorship of money and its political weapon democracy."<sup>41</sup> He hoped that Italian Fascism was the glimmer of something yet to come:

*All attempts to gather up the content of the future into parties will soon be forgotten. The Fascist formations of this decade will pass into new, unforeseeable forms, and even present-day nationalism will disappear. There remains as a formative power only the warlike, "Prussian" spirit — everywhere and not in Germany alone. Destiny, once compacted into meaningful forms and great traditions, will now proceed to make history in terms of formless individual powers. Caesar's legions are returning to consciousness.*<sup>42</sup>

\* \* \*

During the mid- to late-1920s, demand for Spengler as a lecturer remained high, including an invitation to attend the International Philosophical Congress at Cambridge, Massachusetts in September 1926, which he was unable to attend due to financial reasons and pressure of writing.<sup>43</sup>

On 17 July 1927 Spengler suffered a cerebral hemorrhage, which caused continuous ill-health until his death nine years later.<sup>44</sup> He did, however, continue to lecture and to travel about Europe.

That year he addressed the “Patriotic Society,” a youth-orientated organization, at the suggestion of Rightist businessman Roderick Schlubach, who urged that personalities such as Spengler “come forward and let your warning voice be heard, not in a negative but in a positive sense . . . we must not be reproached later for having watched the decline of the West without doing anything.”<sup>45</sup>

Despite the lasting effects of his stroke, Spengler managed to write two major works in the 1930s. *Man and Technics*, published in 1931, foresaw the usurpation of Western technology — a creation of the Faustian soul — by the “colored world,” which would be used in its revolt against the West.<sup>46</sup>

In 1932 a collection, *Political Essays*, was published. This brought further appreciation from noteworthy quarters. Albert Schweitzer was “engrossed” by Spengler’s expositions.<sup>47</sup> Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria thought it a “capital idea; to have had the essays bound together.”<sup>48</sup>

### ***The Hour of Decision***

The year 1932 brought new opportunities for the destruction of the Weimar Republic. The future was being fought out between Communists, Conservative traditionalists, and the National Socialists.<sup>49</sup> Spengler had always seen the nationalist Right as lacking, hence he urged the formation of a new national party as early as 1923. His opinion of the Italian Fascists and particularly of Mussolini was altogether more positive, seeing them achieving results. His ideas on race in *The Decline* and elsewhere are antithetical to Nazi zoological conceptions<sup>50</sup> but were closer to those of Italian Fascism.

While 1932 was the year in which Spengler was most vehement in his criticism of the Nazis, he nonetheless voted for Hitler in the presidential election and even hung the swastika flag outside his home. Hitler was still a “fool,” but it was evident by now that the NSDAP was the only party that could realistically achieve German resurgence. Spengler believed that something better might be made of it, stating that “we must not abandon the movement.” He had written in 1927 that he had done what he could to thwart the Nazis, referring to his lecture, “Political Duties of German Youth,” given on

the opening day of the court proceedings against Hitler for the Munich *Putsch*, writing that “I am of the opinion that politics should be based on sober facts and considerations, and not on romanticism of the feelings.”<sup>51</sup>

In 1933, Dr. Hans Freyer (a noted conservative philosopher with a following especially among youth), on behalf of the Saxon Ministry for Public Education, offered Spengler the University of Leipzig’s Chair of Culture and Universal History. Freyer urged him to accept the position as a means of influencing the education of youth.<sup>52</sup> Such a position would have deprived Spengler of his independence, with the added burden of “a great number of administrative duties.”<sup>53</sup> What Spengler did propose to Professor Hartnacke was a conference on “school and education questions,” which Hartnacke welcomed “most heartily.”<sup>54</sup>

During this first year of Nazi rule, when conservatives were still in positions of influence, the Conservative-Right was attempting to direct the course of events. Spengler was at the center of such moves, and had written to Roderick Schlubach in April that he urgently desired to “discuss the new situation,” as “great possibilities” were representing themselves, but the Nazis were not the men to “grasp and deal with them.”<sup>55</sup> However, many of these Nationalist-conservatives, including Hartnacke, were out of power once the Nazis had consolidated their rule, and Hartnacke, for example, ended up as a High School teacher from 1935.

Spengler’s final major work, *The Hour of Decision*, was not published until 1933, after the Nazis had assumed government. In the “Introduction” he states that “no one can have looked forward to the national revolution of this year with greater longing than myself.”<sup>56</sup>

*I shall neither scold nor flatter. I refrain from forming any estimate of those things which are only just coming into being. True valuation of any event is only possible when it has become the remote past, and the definitive good or bad results have long been facts: which is to say, when some decades have passed.*<sup>57</sup>

Nonetheless, Spengler was not one to back down, and he stated in *The Hour of Decision* that the National Socialists “believe that they can afford to ignore the world or oppose it, and build their castles-in-the-air without creating a possibly silent, but

very palpable reaction from abroad.”<sup>58</sup>

*The Hour of Decision* was a great success, and Nazi press attacks only served to increase sales. After 150,000 copies were in print, the Nazis forbade mention of Spengler’s name and attempted to suppress the book. While the measures took effect, the thousands of copies already in circulation exchanged hands, keeping the circulation surreptitiously high.<sup>59</sup>

*The Hour of Decision* was intended to influence the course of events, and a copy was sent to Hitler in August, Spengler suggesting a meeting with him to discuss the work.<sup>60</sup> While others saw *The Hour of Decision* for what it was, and were not at all optimistic about the Hitler regime, some Nazi efforts were still made to win Spengler over. Goebbels tried to persuade Spengler to write for the National Socialist press,<sup>61</sup> Spengler declined any such overtures.<sup>62</sup>

For the next three years Spengler was left alone by the regime, but could not publish an intended second volume of *The Hour of Decision*, and could only prepare notes in the hope that one day he could again be published. In late 1935 he resigned from his long association with the Nietzsche Archive, protesting that Elizabeth Förster-Nietzsche’s had made the Archive an instrument of the regime.<sup>63</sup>

Spengler’s final essay was an answer to a question on world peace put to well-known individuals such as Eleanor Roosevelt and Mahatma Gandhi, by the Hearst magazine, *Cosmopolitan*, published in January 1936. Spengler began by stating that the question can only be answered by someone who knows history and the enduring characteristics of humanity. “There is a vast difference, which most people will never comprehend, between viewing future history as it will be and viewing it as one might like it to be. . . . Peace is a desire, war a fact; and history had never paid heed to human desires and ideals.”

Spengler explained history in terms of the Nietzschean will-to-power of all life forms, which might take economic, social, political, and military shape between individuals, classes, peoples, and nations. Violence is always the ultimate recourse. “Talk of world peace today is heard only among the white peoples, and not among the much more numerous colored races. This is a perilous state of affairs.” When

individuals talk of peace, their pleas are meaningless, but when entire peoples become pacifistic “it is a symptom of senility.”

*Strong and unspent races are not pacifistic. To adopt such a position is to abandon the future, for the pacifist ideal is a static, terminal condition that is contrary to the basic facts of existence. Should, the white peoples ever succumb to pacifism they will inevitably fall to the colored world, just as Rome succumbed to the Teutons.*<sup>64</sup>

\* \* \*

In the early morning of 8 May 1936 Spengler died of a heart attack at his Munich apartment. His sisters buried him quietly, with the request that there be no expressions of sympathy.<sup>65</sup> Spengler was buried holding copies of Nietzsche’s *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* and Goethe’s *Faust*.<sup>66</sup> His grave is marked with a block of polished black granite, chosen by Paul Reusch, inscribed in white with “Spengler”: austere, solid, enduring . . .

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- 9 - Hughes, *Oswald Spengler*, p. 5.
- 10 - Brune, “Oswald Spengler.”
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- 21 - Brune, "Oswald Spengler."
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## 24.

# **ALEISTER CROWLEY AS POLITICAL THEORIST**

Aleister Crowley (1875–1947), who styled himself the “Great Beast 666,” is an enduring presence both in the occult subculture and contemporary popular culture. He is hailed by some as a philosopher, magician, and prophet. He is condemned by others as a depraved egomaniac. But, for the most part, he is merely consumed for his shock value and diverting eccentricities.

Yet not much is known about Crowley as a social and political theorist who addressed the problems of industrialism, democracy, and the rise of mass man and society. Crowley’s social and political theory is grounded in a Nietzschean critique of morality and a metaphysical critique of modernity that often parallels the Traditionalism of René Guénon and Julius Evola.

The influence of Nietzsche is evident in Crowley’s aim of creating a new religion that would replace the “slave morality” inherent in the “Aeon of Osiris,” represented in the West as Christianity. A new Aeon of “force and fire,” the Aeon of Horus, “the Crowned and conquering child,” would be predicated on a new “master morality” expressed in Crowley’s new religion of “Thelema,” meaning “Will,” to be understood in Nietzschean terms as “Will to Power”: an endless upward striving to



higher forms, individual and collective.

### **Crowley and Traditionalism**

It may be surprising to group Crowley with Evola and Guénon as part of the counter-current to the leveling creeds of materialism, rationalism, and liberalism. Crowley, after all, is generally thought to have emerged from initiatic societies like Freemasonry and the Illuminati that promoted liberal humanism as a new “rationalist” religion, much as communism became a religion with its own saints, martyrs, holy wars, dogmas, rituals, and liturgies, despite its materialistic intentions.<sup>1</sup> Crowley, for instance, included Adam Weishaupt, founder of the Illuminati in his list of “saints” for his Thelemite Gnostic Mass.<sup>2</sup> The vast bulk of Crowley’s followers, moreover, are liberal humanists as well.

Guénon dubbed the attempts to promote liberalism and materialism in the guise of Tradition the “counter-tradition.”<sup>3</sup> In the words of the well-known 19th Century authority on occultism Eliphas Lévi,<sup>4</sup> a former Freemason<sup>5</sup> and socialist propagandist turned Catholic:

*Masonry has not merely been profaned but has served as the veil and the pretext of anarchic conspiracies. . . . The anarchists have resumed the rule, square and mallet, writing upon them the words Liberty, Equality, Fraternity—liberty, that is to say, for all the lusts, Equality in degradation and Fraternity in the work of destruction. Such are the men whom the Church has condemned justly and will condemn forever.*<sup>6</sup>

To this day, the French Revolutionary slogan “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity” is the motto of the French Grand Orient lodge of Freemasons. These anti-initiatic secret societies were engaged in an occult war, with political, social, moral, and economic manifestations.

But this is not the whole story.

Even within these Masonic and illuminist movements, genuine occultists sought a return to the mythic and the re-establishment of the nexus between the earthly and

the divine.<sup>7</sup> Pre-eminent among them was the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn in Britain, where Crowley entered his magical apprenticeship. The Golden Dawn was closely associated with Freemasonry, but it seems likely that its leadership such as Mathers and Westcott identified with a traditionalist and un-profane form of Masonry.<sup>8</sup> W. B. Yeats' membership in the Golden Dawn also counts as evidence of a traditionalist current (even though Yeats was in bitter conflict with Crowley).

Surprisingly, Evola himself concedes that Crowley was, at least in part, a genuine initiate. Evola claims that the Golden Dawn, with which Crowley was involved, was "to some extent" a successor "to those of an initiatic character."<sup>9</sup> Evola also granted that Crowley's system of "*magick*" was drawn from traditional initiatic practices: "It is certain that in Crowleyism the inoculation of magico-initiatic applications is precise, and the references or orientations of ancient traditions are evident."<sup>10</sup> (Given that Evola was writing of Crowley at a time when the world was in political ferment, and Evola was himself very much involved with that ferment as a critical supporter of Fascism, it is notable that even Evola did not explore the social and political implications of "Crowleyism," especially given that Crowley's expressed views were largely in accord with Evola's.<sup>11</sup>)

Crowley, therefore, despite some of his associations, should not be counted among the counter-tradition. "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" were repugnant to him, and it was frankly absurd for him to enroll Weishaupt<sup>12</sup> among the Telemite "saints." Crowley's inclusion of Weishaupt can perhaps be explained not by what he was for, but by what he was against. For Weishaupt directed much of his conspiratorial energy against the Catholic Church, which on a very superficial level might have prompted Crowley's admiration.

The initiatic Tradition championed by Evola and Guénon is fundamentally and frankly elitist and aristocratic. In Traditional society, "*magick*" was an integral part of life, a means of harmonizing human life with the cosmos. Thus there is no foundation for equality and democracy, as Lévi writes:

*Affirmation rests on negation; the strong can only triumph because of weakness; the aristocracy cannot be manifested except by rising above the*

*people. . . . The weak will ever be weak . . . the people in like manner will ever remain the people, the mass which is ruled and which is not capable of ruling. There are two classes: freemen and slaves; man is born in the bondage of his passions, but he can reach emancipation through intelligence. Between those who are free already and those who are as yet not here is no equality possible.*<sup>13</sup>

Crowley rejected democracy for the same reasons as Lévi, Evola, and Guénon. In the Thelemic ‘bible’ *The Book of the Law*, Crowley writes of democracy: “Ye are against the people, o my chosen;”<sup>14</sup> about which Crowley commented: “The cant of democracy condemned.”<sup>15</sup>

Having rejected democracy and other mass movements as innately alien to the “Royal Art,” Crowley sought to develop the political and social aspects of Thelema, writing an uncharacteristically clear commentary on his ‘bible,’ *The Law is for All: An Extended Commentary on the Book of the Law*.

### ***The Book of the Law***

After Crowley predictably fell out with the leadership of the Golden Dawn, he spent several years traveling. In 1904 Crowley and his wife Rose were in Egypt, where according to Crowley, an event occurred that was of “Aeonic” significance. Crowley claims to have received a scripture for the “New Aeon,” channeled from the “Gods” through a supernatural entity called Aiwass from whom Crowley claimed to have received *Liber Legis* via automatic writing.<sup>16</sup> What was written by Crowley over the course of three days became the bible of Thelema, a Greek word meaning Will, which the *Liber Legis* proclaims as the name of the doctrine.<sup>17</sup>

*Liber Legis* reads in parts like a mystical rendering of Nietzsche, with a strident rejection of herd doctrines including Christianity and democracy. (Crowley lists Nietzsche as a “saint” in his Gnostic Mass.<sup>18</sup>)

Under Thelema all doctrines and systems that restrict the fulfillment of the “will” or the “True Will,” whether social, political, economic, or religious, are to be replaced by the Crowleyite religion in a new aeon, the Aeon of Horus, “The

Conquering Child.”<sup>19</sup> “Will” is the basis of Nietzschean evolution, and it becomes clear that Crowley was attempting to establish a Western mystical system of self-overcoming along the lines of ancient yogic practices of self-overcoming to achieve higher states of Being.

“Do what thou wilt” is the foundation of Thelema.<sup>20</sup> It does not mean a nihilistic “do what you want,” but “do your will” that is, your “true will,” which must be discovered by rigorous processes. Crowley states that the dictum “must not be regarded as individualism run wild.”<sup>21</sup>

Reflecting the individual “true will,” Thelemic doctrine describes “every man and every woman [as] a star.”<sup>22</sup> That is, each individual is a part of the cosmos but with his or her own orbit;<sup>23</sup> or what one might call an individual life-course.

*Liber Legis* states, “the slaves shall serve.”<sup>24</sup> Again this is Nietzschean in the sense that many individuals, probably the vast majority, do not have the will to discover and fulfill their “true will.” While everyone is a “star,” some shine brighter than others. In *The Star Sponge Vision*,<sup>25</sup> an astral revelation, Crowley explained this inequality as reflecting the “highly organized structure of the universe” which includes stars that are of “greater magnitude and brilliance than the rest.”<sup>26</sup> The mass of humanity whose natures are servile and incapable of what Nietzsche called “self-overcoming”<sup>27</sup> will remain as they are, their true wills being to serve the followers of—again in Nietzschean terms—a “master morality,”<sup>28</sup> those whom *Liber Legis* describes as being “Kings of the Earth,” those whose starry wills are that of rulers.<sup>29</sup> (If some of the prose supposedly dictated to Crowley by Aiwaz sounds remarkably similar to Eliphas Lévi, it might be because Crowley claimed to be reincarnated from, among many sages from ancient to recent times, Lévi himself!<sup>30</sup>)

Such a doctrine while individualistic is not anarchistic, nihilistic, or even liberal. It is the revival of *castes*. More here is implied than *classes*, which are an economic and materialistic debasement; castes reflecting a metaphysical order where each individual fulfills his function according to his true will—or duty, dharma—as manifestation of the cosmic order. To followers of the Perennial Tradition, caste is a manifestation of the divine order and not merely a some economic division of labor

for crass exploitation.<sup>31</sup>

Crowley (or Aiwaz) does explain the fundamental anti-democratic and anti-egalitarian doctrine of Thelema in these terms, again reminiscent of Nietzsche:

*We are not for the poor and sad: the lords of the earth are our kinsfolk. Beauty and strength, leaping laughter, and delicious languor, force and fire are of us . . . we have nothing to do with the outcast and unfit. For they feel not. Compassion is the vice of kings; stamp down the wretched and the weak: this is the law of the strong; this is our law and the joy of the world.*<sup>32</sup>

This hierarchical social order, while in accord with the perennial tradition, postulates a new aristocracy, the old having become debased and beholden to commerce. (Crowley himself was of bourgeois origins, so he ennobled himself with the title of “Sir Aleister Crowley.”<sup>33</sup>) Under the “Aeon of Horus”<sup>34</sup> the new aristocracy would consist of Nietzschean self-overcomers. Crowley specifically refers to the influence of Nietzsche in explaining the Thelemic concept: “The highest are those who have mastered and transcended accidental environment. . . . There is a good deal of the Nietzschean standpoint in this verse.”<sup>35</sup>

However, in contrast to Nietzsche as well as Guénon and Evola, Crowley also draws on Darwinism. After referring to the “Nietzschean standpoint” Crowley states in Darwinesque terms:

*It is the evolutionary and natural view . . . Nature’s way is to weed out the weak. This is the most merciful way too. At present all the strong are being damaged, and their progress being hindered by the dead weight of the weak limbs and the missing limbs, the diseased limbs and the atrophied limbs. The Christians to the lions.*<sup>36</sup>

Crowley saw an era of turmoil preceding the New Aeon during which the masses and the elite, or the new aristocracy, would be in conflict. Crowley wrote of this revolutionary prelude to the New Aeon: “And when the trouble begins, we aristocrats of freedom, from the castle to the cottage, the tower or the tenement, shall have the slave mob against us.”<sup>37</sup>

Crowley describes “the people” as “that canting, whining, servile breed of whipped dogs which refuses to admit its deity . . . ”<sup>38</sup> The undisciplined mob at the whim of its emotions, devoid of Will, is described as “the natural enemy of good government.” The new aristocracy of governing elite will be those who have discovered and pursued their “true will,” who have mastered themselves through self-overcoming, to use Nietzsche’s term. This governing caste would pursue a “consistent policy” without being subjected to the democratic whims of the masses.<sup>39</sup>

### **The Thelemic State**

The form of Thelemic government is vaguely outlined in *Liber Legis*, suggesting the type of corporatism: “Let it be the state of manyhood bound and loathing: thou has no right but to do what thou wilt.”<sup>40</sup> Contrary to the anarchistic or nihilistic interpretation often given Thelema’s “do what thou wilt,” Crowley defined the Thelemic state as a free association for the common good. The individual will is accomplished through social co-operation. Individual will and social duty should be in accord, the individual “absolutely disciplined to serve his own, and the common purpose, without friction.”<sup>41</sup>

Crowley emphasized his meaning so as not to be confused with anarchism or liberalism. While his *Liber Oz* (“Rights of Man”)<sup>42</sup> seems to be a formula for total individual sovereignty devoid of social restraint, Crowley stated: “This statement must not be regarded as individualism run wild.”<sup>43</sup>

In what might appear to be his own effort at a “papal encyclical” on good government, Crowley explains:

*I have set limits to individual freedom. For each man in this state which I propose is fulfilling his own True Will by his eager Acquiescence in the Order necessary to the Welfare of all, and therefore of himself also.*<sup>44</sup>

Crowley’s rejection of democracy and anything of what might be termed a “slave morality”<sup>45</sup> necessitated a new view of the state. Like others of his time, including fellow mystics such as Evola and Yeats,<sup>46</sup> Crowley was concerned with the future of

culture under the reign of mercantilism, materialism, and industrialism. He feared that an epoch of mass uniformity was emerging. He saw equality as the harbinger of uniformity, again drawing on biology:

*There is no creature on earth the same. All the members, let them be different in their qualities, and let there be no creature equal with another. Here also is the voice of true science, crying aloud: "Variety is the key of evolution." Know then, o my son, that all laws, all systems, all customs, all ideals and standards which tend to produce uniformity, being in direct opposition to nature's will to change and develop through variety, are accursed. Do thou with all thou might of manhood strive against these forces, for they resist change which is life, and they are of death.*<sup>47</sup>

This biological rather than metaphysical approach was emphasized by reference to differences among humanity being caused by "race, climate, and other such conditions. And this standard shall be based upon a large interpretation of Facts Biological."<sup>48</sup>

Referring to the passage in *Liber Legis* that states: "Ye are against the people, o my chosen!"<sup>49</sup> Crowley explained:

*The cant of democracy condemned. It is useless to pretend that men are equal: facts are against it. And we are not going to stay dull and contended as oxen, in the ruck of humanity.*<sup>50</sup>

### **Thelema and Corporatism**

The democratic state as a manifestation of equality and consequent uniformity was to be replaced by what is often termed the "organic state" or the "corporatist state." This state conception may be viewed both biologically as in the organism of the body (hence "corporatist") with the separate organs (individuals, families, crafts, etc) functioning according to their own nature while contributing to the health of the whole organism (society), with the state playing the role of the "brain," the organ that coordinates the separate parts. In England corporatism was called "guild socialism,"

among the Continental Left “syndicalism.”

Corporatism also had a metaphysical aspect, being the basis of social organization in traditional societies, including the guilds of Medieval Europe and the corporations of ancient Rome. In traditional societies, guild or corporatist social organization was, like all else, seen as a terrestrial manifestation of the cosmic order, the divine organism, and castes were primarily spiritual, ethical, and cultural organs, as distinct from the economic “classes” of debased secular societies. Hence, corporatism was advocated by Evola as the traditionalist answer to class society.<sup>51</sup>

Crowley’s conception of an organic state is described in *De Ordine Rerum*:

*In the body every cell is subordinated to the general physiological Control, and we who will that Control do not ask whether each individual Unit of that Structure be consciously happy. But we do care that each shall fulfill its Function, with Contentment, respecting his own task as necessary and holy, not envious of another’s. For only mayst thou build up a Free State, whose directing will shall be to the Welfare of all.*<sup>52</sup>

Hence Crowley, far from being a misanthrope, was concerned with freeing the individual from being part of a nebulous mass and providing sustenance for his material and thereafter cultural well-being as far as his nature allows. The deliberate cultivation of his image as “evil” must be viewed primarily as a perverse quirk, and in particular a result of his perverse sense of humor, his narcissistic personality, and his strict upbringing among the Plymouth Brethren, where he was delighted to have a mother who called him the Anti-Christ, which seems to have had a lasting effect on his thoughts and deeds throughout his life.

### **Leisure, the Basis of Culture**

Crowley addressed himself to a major problem for unorthodox economic and social theorists, that of the reduction of working hours when a new economic system had secured physical abundance for all, and freed humanity from the economic treadmill.



Once the obligations to the social order had been met, there should be “a surplus of leisure and energy” that can be spent “in pursuit of individual satisfaction.”<sup>53</sup> Sufficient amount of leisure time free from strictly material pursuits is the basis of culture, and a flowering of culture in the Medieval era for example was a product of this, coupled with the spiritual basis of society.

Crowley, like the Social Crediters and certain non-Marxian socialists or social reformers, wished to change the economic system to reduce working hours. His comments about the role of money are astute. Like the Social Crediters, Crowley believed that a change in the role of money is necessary for changing the social and economic system. He was certainly aware of A. R. Orage’s *New Age* magazine, where the minds of Social Crediters, guild socialists, and literati met. (Crowley referred to the journal in another context in his autobiography.<sup>54</sup>) Crowley rather perceptively set out his economic and financial policy:

*What IS money? A means of exchange devised to facilitate the transaction of business. Oil in the engine. Very good then: if instead of letting it flow as smoothly and freely as possible, you baulk its very nature; you prevent it from doing its True Will. So every “restriction” on the exchange of wealth is a direct violation of the Law of Thelema.*<sup>55</sup>

Once the material welfare of the citizen is secured, then the energy expended on economic necessities can be turned to the pursuit of culture. Under the Thelemic state the citizen would be directed by the ruling caste to pursue the higher aspects of life leading to the flowering of culture: “And because the people are oft-time unlearned, not understanding pleasure, let them be instructed on the Art of Life.”<sup>56</sup> From this regime would follow a high culture in which each citizen would have the capacity to participate or at least appreciate: “These things [economic welfare] being first secured, thou mayst afterward lead them to the Heavens of Poesy and Tale, of Music, Painting and Sculpture, and into the love of the mind itself, with its insatiable Joy of all Knowledge.”<sup>57</sup>

Under the Thelemic state every individual would be given the opportunity to fulfill his true will. Crowley maintained, however, that most true wills or “stars”

would be content with a satisfying material existence, having no ambition beyond “ease and animal happiness,” and would thus be content to stay where they are in the hierarchy. Those whose true will was to pursue higher aims would be given opportunities to do so, to “establish a class of morally and intellectually superior men and women.” In this state, while the people “lack for nothing,” their abilities according to their natures would be utilized by the ruling caste in the pursuance of a higher policy and a higher culture.<sup>58</sup>

### **Crafts and Guilds**

Crowley also addressed the problem of industrialization and the role of the machine in the process of dehumanization, or what might also be termed by Traditionalists *desacralisation*,<sup>59</sup>:

*Machines have already nearly completed the destruction of craftsmanship. A man is no longer a worker, but a machine-feeder. The product is standardized; the result, mediocrity. . . . Instead of every man and every woman being a star, we have an amorphous population of vermin.*<sup>60</sup>

Consistent with his advocacy of an organic state and with the re-sacralization of work as craft, Crowley expounded the guild as the basis of a Thelemic social organization. The guild was the fundamental unit of his own esoteric order, Ordo Templi Orientis (OTO):

*Before the face of the Areopagus stands an independent Parliament of the Guilds. Within the Order, irrespective of Grade, the members of each craft, trade, science, or profession form themselves into a Guild, making their own laws, and prosecute their own good, in all matters pertaining to their labor and means of livelihood. Each Guild chooses the man most eminent in it to represent it before the Areopagus of the Eighth Degree; and all disputes between the various Guild are argued before that Body, which will decide according to the grand principles of the Order. Its decisions pass for ratification to the Sanctuary of the Gnosis, and thence to the Throne.*<sup>61</sup>

This guild organization of the OTO thus represents society as a microcosm as the ideal social order that Crowley would have established under a Thelemic regime: “For, in True Things, all are but images one of another; man is but a map of the universe, and Society is but the same on a larger scale.”<sup>62</sup>

In Crowley’s blueprint of the corporatist state, each self-governing profession is represented in a “parliament of guilds.” This corporatist system was widely supported as an alternative to both capitalism and Marxism and was advocated by Evola and D’Annunzio, syndicalists, and Catholic traditionalists. It was embryonically inaugurated under Mussolini. Ironically from a Crowleyan perspective, Dollfuss’ Austria and Salazar’s Portugal embraced corporatism as applications of Catholic social doctrine.

### **The Hierarchy of the Thelemic State**

Crowley calls the mass of people under his system of governance “the Men of the Earth” who have not yet reached a stage of development to participate in government, and would be represented before the Kingly head of state by those who are committed to service.<sup>63</sup> The governing caste comprises a Senate drawn from an Electoral College,<sup>64</sup> those individuals committed to service through personal “renunciation,” including the renunciation of property and wealth, having taken a “vow of poverty.”<sup>65</sup> Of course the universal franchise has no place in the selection of Thelemic government:

*The principle of popular election is a fatal folly; its results are visible in every so-called democracy. The elected man is always the mediocrity; he is the safe man, the sound man, the man who displeases the majority less than any other; and therefore never the genius, the man of progress and illumination.*<sup>66</sup>

The Electoral College is selected by the King from volunteers who must show acumen in athletics and learning, a “profound general knowledge” of history and the art of government and a knowledge of philosophy.<sup>67</sup>

This corporatist and monarchical system was designed to “gather up all the

threads of human passion and interest, and weave them into a harmonious tapestry . . .” reflecting the order of the cosmos.<sup>68</sup>

### **Crowley and Fascism**

The Italian poet and war veteran D’Annunzio might have come closest to the Thelemite ideal with his short-lived Free City of Fiume, a regime governed by the arts that attracted numerous rebels, from anarchists and syndicalists to nationalists.<sup>69</sup> Crowley does not mention D’Annunzio in his autobiography, even though Crowley was in Italy in 1920, and D’Annunzio’s enterprise ended in December of that year.<sup>70</sup>

As for the Italian Fascists, Crowley wrote: “For some time I had interested myself in *Fascismo* which I regarded with entire sympathy even excluding its illegitimacy on the ground that constitutional authority had become to all intents and purposes a dead letter.”<sup>71</sup> Crowley saw the *Fascisti* in a characteristically poetic way, describing the blackshirts patrolling the railway as “delightful.” “They had all the picturesqueness of opera brigands.” As for the “March on Rome,” Crowley stated that he thought the behavior of the *Fascisti* “admirable.”

Crowley quickly became disillusioned, however, and regarded Mussolini as a typical *politico* who compromised his principles for popular support. The mass nature of Fascism caused suspicion among many of the literati who had originally supported it, such as Wyndham Lewis and W. B. Yeats. Crowley observed developments in Rome for three days, and was disappointed with Mussolini’s compromises with the Catholic Church, which Crowley regarded as Mussolini’s “most dangerous foe.”<sup>72</sup> Of course such criticisms are common among observers of events rather than participants. Critics from afar can afford the luxury of theorizing without having to test their theories, and themselves, in the practicalities of office.

Crowley moved to Cefalu where he established his “Abbey of Thelema” in a ramshackle house. The death of follower Raoul Loveday resulted in Crowley’s expulsion from Italy in 1923, by which time he had become an embarrassment to the Fascist regime.<sup>73</sup>

However, one eminent individual who must have discerned a proto-fascist element in Thelema, before himself becoming one of the more significant spokesmen of Sir Oswald Mosley's British fascism was J. F. C. Fuller, who achieved fame as the architect of modern tank warfare and as a military historian. Fuller had heard of Crowley in 1905, and was therefore one of Crowley's earliest devotees. He was, like Crowley, a Nietzschean with occult interests who regarded socialism as a leveling creed: "the scum on the democratic cauldron." His opposition to Christianity was likewise Nietzschean.<sup>74</sup>

Fuller met Crowley in London in 1906 and wrote Crowley's first biography, *The Star in the West*, which was the winner (and only entrant) of a competition to promote Crowley's poetry. Although Fuller's interest in the occult and mysticism was life-long, he had broken with Crowley in 1911, embarrassed by Crowley's escapades that drew blazing headlines from the tabloid press.

In 1932 Fuller was still writing in Nietzschean terms of socialism and democracy as products of Christianity. Joining the British Union of Fascists and becoming Mosley's military adviser, Fuller remained a lifelong Mosleyite, even after World War II, but refused any further contact with Crowley.

\* \* \*

While Fascists (particularly "clerical-fascists"), guild socialists, Social Crediters, Distributists, syndicalists *et al.* attempted to resolve the problems of the machine age, and Evola offered something of a practical plan in his *Men Among the Ruins*, Crowley's Thelemic social conceptions remained as otherworldly as his mysticism, and few of his followers seem to have given much attention to the political implications or implementation of Thelema.

Crowley, a poet and a mystic, not an agitator or a politician, had his own conception of historical cycles, albeit somewhat limited, in which the Aeon of Horus, a the new age of "force and fire," would emerge with Crowley as its "prophet." As Marx assured us that the victory of communism was the end of an inexorable

historical process, Crowley thought the Thelemic world order would arise as a product of inexorable cosmic laws. Nonetheless, like Marx who called upon socialists to become active agents of this historical process, Crowley envisioned that the ordeals demanded by his Holy Order would give rise to Thelemic Knights who would wage *jihad* against all old creeds:

*We have to fight for freedom against oppressors, religious, social or industrial, and we are utterly opposed to compromise, every fight is to be a fight to the finish; each one of us for himself, to do his own will, and all of us for all, to establish the law of Liberty. . . . Let every man bear arms, swift to resent oppression . . . generous and ardent to draw sword in any cause, if justice or freedom summon him.*<sup>75</sup>

## Notes:

- 1 - Note for example the embalming of Lenin and his entombment at an edifice reminiscent of the stepped pyramids of ancient priest-kings.
- 2 - Aleister Crowley, *Magick* (Maine: Samuel Weiser, 1984), p. 430.
- 3 - Guénon, René, *The Reign of Quantity & the Signs of the Times* (New York: Sophia Perennis, 2002).
- 4 - Pen name for Alphonse Louis Constant.
- 5 - Lévi makes an allusion to having taken the oath of the “Rosy Cross,” indicating he had been initiated into the quite high degree of Rosicrucian in Freemasonry. Eliphas Lévi, *The History of Magic* (London: Rider, 1982), p. 286.
- 6 - Eliphas Lévi, p. 287.
- 7 - Julius Evola, *Revolt Against the Modern World* (Vermont: Inner Traditions, 1995).
- 8 - In this writer’s opinion in regard to Freemasonry, it is all a bunch of scabrous bastardy, which should be treated with suspicion, whether in its Grand Orient, “irregular” or United Grand Lodge forms. Westcott, founder of the Golden Dawn, for example regarded the “true religion” of Freemasonry to be Cabbalism. R. A. Gilbert, *The Magical Mason: Forgotten Hermetic Writings of William Wynn Westcott, Physician and Magus* (Northamptonshire: The Aquarian Press, 1983), Westcott, “The religion of Freemasonry illuminated by the Kabbalah,” ch. 21, pp. 114–23.
- 9 - Julius Evola, “Aleister Crowley,” *Mask and Face of Contemporary Spiritualism*, (Bocca, 1932), chapter IX, <http://www.counter-currents.com/2010/08/aleister-crowley/>
- 10 - Julius Evola, “Aleister Crowley.”
- 11 - The most comprehensive examination of Evola’s political and social views available in English translation is *Men Among the Ruins*, (Vermont: Inner Traditions, 1992).
- 12 - Robison John, *Proofs of a Conspiracy* (Boston: Western Islands, 1967).
- 13 - Eliphas Lévi, *The History of Magic*, (London: rider, 1982), p. 44.
- 14 - Crowley, *Liber Legis* (“The Book of the Law”), (Maine: Samuel Weiser, 1976), 2: 25.
- 15 - Crowley, *The Law Is For All* (Arizona: Falcon Press, 1985), p. 192.

- 16 - Crowley was also however to call Aiwaz his own “Holy Guardian Angel,” or in mundane psychological terms his unconscious; therefore *Liber al Legis* could be regarded as an example of automatic writing, a likely explanation given that the writing styles of Aiwaz and Crowley are remarkably similar.
- 17 - For an account of Crowley’s occult career and the so-called “Cairo Working” where *Liber Al Legis* was written, see Colin Wilson, *Aleister Crowley: The Nature of the Beast*, (Northamptonshire: The Aquarian Press, 1987).
- 18 - Crowley, *Magick* (Maine: Samuel Weiser, 1984), p. 430.
- 19 - Part 3 of *Liber Legis* is the revelation of Horus as the God of the New Aeon , which aeonically follows that of Isis (matriarchy), and the present Aeon of Osiris, the religions of the sacrificial god, including Christianity. Horus is described as the god of war and vengeance. (*Liber Legis* 3:3).
- 20 - “There is no law beyond do what thou wilt.” *Liber Legis* 3: 60.
- 21 - Crowley, *The Law is for all*, p. 321.
- 22 - *Liber Legis*, 1: 3.
- 23 - *The Law is for all*, pp. 72–75.
- 24 - *Liber Legis* 2: 58.
- 25 - Crowley, *The Law is for all*, pp. 143–45.
- 26 - Crowley, *The Law is for all*, pp. 143–45
- 27 - Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathustra* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1969), pp. 136–38.
- 28 - “There is a master morality and slave morality...” Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 175.
- 29 - *Liber Legis* 2:58.
- 30 - *Magick*, p. 430. Other “Thelemic saints” listed in the Gnostic Mass from whom Crowley claimed to be reincarnated included Mohammed and Swinburne. Thankfully, Weishaupt is not among the lineage.
- 31 - Evola, *The Hermetic Tradition* (Vermont: Inner Traditions, 1995), pp. 89–100.
- 32 - *Liber Legis* 2: 17–21.
- 33 - Crowley, *Magick*, “Gnostic Mass,” “The Saints,” p. 430.
- 34 - “I am the Hawke-headed god of silence and of strength.” (*Liber Legis* 3:70).
- 35 - *The Law is for all*, p. 175.
- 36 - *The Law is for all*, p. 175.
- 37 - *The Law is for all*, p. 192.
- 38 - *The Law is for all*, p. 192.
- 39 - *The Law is for all*, p. 193.
- 40 - *Liber Legis*, 1: 42.
- 41 - *The Law is for all*, p. 101.
- 42 *The Law is for all*, p. 321 *Liber Oz*.
- 43 *The Law is for all*, p. 321
- 44 Crowley, *The Book of Wisdom or Folly* (Maine: Samuel Weiser., Maine 1991), clause 39, *Liber Aleph Vel CXI*.
- 45 Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1991), p. 175.
- 46 K. R. Bolton, *Thinkers of the Right* (Luton: Luton Publications, 2003).
- 47 - *The Law is for all*, p. 228.
- 48 - *The Law is for all*, p. 228.
- 49 - *Liber Legis* 2: 25
- 50 - *The Law is for all*, p. 192.

- 51 - Evola, *Men Among the Ruins*, pp. 224-34
- 52 - *The Law is for all*, pp.251-52
- 53 - *The Law is for all*, p. 230.
- 54 - Crowley, *The Confessions of Aleister Crowley* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul,1986), p.544.
- 55 - Crowley, *Magick Without Tears* (Arizona: Falcon Press, 1983), p. 346
- 56 - *The Law is for all*, p. 251
- 57 - *The Law is for all*, p. 251
- 58 - *The Law is for all*, p.227
- 59 - Evola, *Men among the ruins* (Vermont: Inner Traditions, 2002), p. 224
- 60 - Crowley, *The Law is for all*, p. 281.
- 61 - Crowley, *Liber CXCIV*, "O.T.O. An Intimation with Reference to the Constitution of the Order," paragraph 21, *The Equinox*, vol. III, no. 1, 1919.
- 62 - An Intimation, paragraph 1.
- 63 - An Intimation, paragraph 5.
- 64 - An Intimation, paragraph 9.
- 65 - An Intimation, paragraph 30.
- 66 - An Intimation, paragraph 10.
- 67 - An Intimation, paragraph 12 and 13.
- 68 - An Intimation, concluding remarks.
- 69 - Anthony Rhodes, *The Poet As Superman – D'Annunzio* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1959).
- 70 - Rhodes, p. 221
- 71 - Crowley, *Confessions*, p.911
- 72 - Crowley, *Confessions*, p. 911
- 73 - Wilson, *Aleister Crowley: The Nature of the Beast*, p.133
- 74 - Anthony Trythall, *Boney Fuller: The Intellectual General* (London: Cassell, 1977).
- 75 - *The Law is for all*, p. 317



## 25. **LENIN**

As contradictory as it might seem, the physiology of the human brain was of significant interest to the early Soviet leadership. A collection of brains was preserved, with a focus on that of Russians remarkable in the arts and sciences, with an Institute of the Brain which was created for the primary purpose of studying Lenin's brain, comparing it to that of Russian geniuses, with the intention of declaring that Lenin was the greatest genius of them all. What is also notable is that Lenin's brain was not compared to the brains of ordinary folk, such as proletarians or peasants, but that of the culturally and academically accomplished, thereby implying:

- (1) an elitist assumption,
- (2) that accomplishment is based on inherited neuro-physiology

The question arises as to how is it possible to reconcile this implicit elitism and hereditarianism with the fundamental Marxian-communist doctrine of the malleability of the human personality through environmental reconditioning? The task was to prove that Lenin was an innate genius. However, the endeavour ran into major difficulties because, at the beginning, the German Oskar Vogt, an internationally eminent scientist, was asked to head the examination, and the project was

uncharacteristically placed outside of Soviet hands.

The preliminary step was the creation of the V I Lenin Institute, shortly after Lenin's death in 1924,<sup>1</sup> which was to collect material for the elevation of Lenin to Soviet godhood, which would be symbolised with the embalming of his body<sup>2</sup> and its display in a stepped pyramid in Red Square.<sup>3</sup>

With the direction of the study being given to a non-communist German scientist, there were problems insofar as the Soviet apparatus could not control his findings and make them conform to their political requirements. The report on the brain, issued under the auspices of the Institute of the Brain, especially created for this project, was not released to the Politburo until 1936, citing indices that show Lenin's supposedly remarkable neuro-physiology behind his genius.<sup>4</sup> However, Vogt had the year before been citing different conclusions.

The first error in the matter was for Nikolai Semashko, Soviet minister of health, and Ivan Tovstukha, deputy director of the Lenin Institute, to jointly propose that Lenin's brain be sent to Berlin for study to prove Lenin's genius. The chosen expert, Professor Vogt, worked with the Neurobiological Institute of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Berlin, and he was described by Semashko and Tovstukha as 'the only world expert on this question'. Vogt, who had met with Soviet scientists in February 1924, had stated that it was possible for such studies to 'provide a material basis for determining the genius of Lenin'.<sup>5</sup> Rather than the entire brain, Vogt was sent a single preliminary sample. Two 'communist-physicians' (sic) were selected to study under Vogt. In 1926, with studies also taking place by Vogt-trained Communist scientists in Moscow, the Institute of the Brain was established so that Lenin's brain could be compared with those of other eminent Russians.<sup>6</sup> Over the course of several years, Vogt's predominate role was slowly shifted to the Soviet researchers, and by 1932 the Soviet regime was declaring its antagonism towards Vogt. The criticism of Vogt was directed by A Stetskii, not a scientist or a physician but the head of Soviet propaganda for the Central Committee of the Communist party. In his report on 10 April 1932, Stetskii condemned Vogt, stating that,

*Vogt's presentations are of a questionable nature; he compares Lenin's brain*

*with those of criminals and assorted other persons. Professor Vogt has a mechanical theory of genius using an anatomic analysis based on the presence of a large number of giant cortical pyramidal cells. In the German Encyclopaedia of Mental Illness, a German authority (a Professor Spielmaier<sup>7</sup>) claims that such pyramidal structures are also characteristic of mental retardation. In this connection, a number of evil remarks about comrade Lenin have been placed in the bourgeois press.<sup>8</sup>*

Stetskii recommended that contact be severed with Vogt and that the specimen of Lenin's brain be returned to the USSR.<sup>9</sup> While having problems with the Hitler regime, and no longer holding his position with the Neurobiological Institute in Berlin, Vogt was pushed aside.

On 27 May 1936 the Brain Institute in Moscow issued its 153 page report to the Politburo confirming what the party had demanded, that Lenin's brain showed 'exceptionally high functioning of the nervous system', as shown by the large pyramidal cells from the third layer of the cerebral cortex.<sup>10</sup>

In regard these pyramidal neurons, they were discovered by the Ukrainian anatomist and histologist, Vladimir Betz (*cells of Betz*).

Although the Soviet scientists heralded the finding of these cells in Lenin's brain as proof of genius, such large neurons are related to mental diseases, such as schizophrenia, where large cell density occurs on both hemispheres of the brain,<sup>11</sup> and focal cortical dysplasia in epileptics.<sup>12</sup>

## **Neurosyphilis**

Lenin was treated for syphilis as early as 1895, at the age of 25, although it is still debated as to whether neurosyphilis was the cause of his death.

In 1923 Lenin was treated with salvarsan, which was the only medication specifically used to treat syphilis at that time. Prof. Witztum writes: 'The trial was successful, but it was stopped because of severe side effects'. Potassium iodine was used with salvarsan; then the usual method of treating syphilis.<sup>13</sup>

Chief pathologist, Alexei Abrikosov, was ordered to prove that Lenin had *not* died of syphilis. Abrikosov did not mention syphilis in his autopsy. However, the blood-vessel damage he cites in the autopsy and the paralysis are symptomatic of syphilis. Of the 27 physicians who treated Lenin, only eight signed the autopsy report, despite the tremendous pressure they must have been under. A second report was issued, which does not cite any of the organs, major arteries, or brain areas usually affected by syphilis.

Lertner et al, state:

*Lenin's personality clearly changed years before more obvious illness. Early on, he found loud noise unbearable, a symptom I have heard many Lyme (or toxic mold) people report. He also became quick-tempered, irritable and sometimes lost self-control (a norm in spirochete infection).<sup>14</sup>*

### **Post Traumatic Stress Disorder: Death of Brother Shaped Lenin's Life**

Lenin's family upbringing does not include the dysfunction of that often marks the background of sociopaths. However, a trauma in Lenin's youth did provide the catalyst for his life's course.

Born Vladimir Ulyanov to a close-knit, middle class, liberal family,<sup>15</sup> yet one in which the parents were neither radicals nor antagonistic towards the Czar, the man who became Lenin was as a youth apolitical, and proudly described himself as a 'squires son'.<sup>16</sup> Despite the closeness and adulation he held towards his eldest brother, Alexander, neither Vladimir nor anyone else in the family knew that Alexander was involved in revolutionary activities, until he was hanged for plotting the assassination of Czar Alexander III, in 1887.<sup>17</sup>

Dr James D White writes of the impact of Alexander's execution on Vladimir and his sister Olga:

*Anna Ulyanova records that Sasha's<sup>18</sup> arrest and execution served to revolutionize both Lenin and – more noticeably – Olga. The actions of Lenin and Olga in the period following Sasha's execution suggest that they had*

*resolved that their brother's death would not be in vain and that they would serve the cause for which he had sacrificed himself – just as soon as they could discover what that cause had been. ...*

*The task facing Lenin and Olga was to piece together what the ideas were that had inspired Sasha to become a revolutionary. Some light would be thrown on this by Sasha's friend Mark Elizarov, who had also become Anna's fiancé. Both Mark Elizarov and Ivan Chebotarev had been expelled from the university. Chebotarev recalls that when he returned to Simbirsk at the beginning of June 1887 he went to visit the Ulyanov family and was questioned by them, especially by Lenin, about the last days he spent in Sasha's company. Chebotarev says that Lenin was especially interested to know about what had made his brother a revolutionary. We know what Chebotarev thought about this question because he wrote about it in his memoirs published in 1927. In those memoirs he gave prominence to Sasha's membership of the economics study group, and must certainly have mentioned this to the Ulyanovs forty years earlier. What he said could be supplemented by Mark Elizarov, who had also been a member of the study group. From these sources it would be possible to establish Sasha's programme of reading and what the direction of his thinking had been. These were the tracks that Lenin and Olga were to follow.<sup>19</sup>*

From the contemporary accounts Dr White shows that the only revolutionary in the Ulyanov family had been Alexander, and that it was only due to his execution that Vladimir and Olga, who obviously knew nothing of radical politics and doctrines, sought out those ideas with the intention of redeeming their brother's death. Dr White states further of this:

*The Ulyanovs were a family that had flourished under the tsarist regime, and the Ulyanov children could look forward to careers which would build on their father's success. After the death of Alexander Ulyanov his sister Anna went over in her mind for many years what it could have been in his early life that had inclined Sasha towards terrorism, but could find nothing of significance. Neither Sasha nor Lenin became revolutionaries through any personal grievance. Sasha became a revolutionary through his sense of loyalty to friends,*

*and Lenin became a revolutionary through his loyalty to his brother. From the time of Sasha's death Lenin tried to model himself on his brother. He had associated with the same people as Sasha, had read the same books as Sasha, joined the same revolutionary organizations as Sasha. He could not be a terrorist like Sasha, because the revolutionary organisations that he joined had rejected terrorism, largely as a result of Sasha's unsuccessful attempt. It cannot be any coincidence that Lenin took the same approach to the future of the Russian economy as Sasha had as conveyed to him by Chebotarev, Elizarov and Bartenev. He knew that Sasha had been impressed by Plekhanov's arguments and that he shared Plekhanov's views on the imminent disintegration of the peasant commune and the prospective development of capitalism in Russia. Lenin's first major theoretical work, his study of the development of capitalism in Russia, would adopt these views and give them a polemical edge.<sup>20</sup>*

Nothing had impelled Lenin to become a revolutionary, neither in terms of his family circumstances, which were comfortable and stable, nor in terms of an independent analysis of Czarist society. Dr Figes states that the suggestion that the liberal father exerted influence on his sons and daughters to become revolutionaries is erroneous. Anna Ulyanova recalled that her father was a religious man who admired the reforms of Alexander II during the 1860s and, as a provincial school inspector, sought to keep the young from radicalism.<sup>21</sup>

The rest of the life of the once apolitical youth who became Lenin was fanatically devoted to avenging his brother's death, and 'Lenin' was the persona that was adopted for the purpose. Lenin had an entire state, and even the prospect of an entire world, upon which to inflict he compulsion to exact a bloody tribute, projecting the responsibility of his brother's execution onto entire social classes that had to be executed as his bother had been. In Marxism Lenin found a ready-made doctrine of revenge, hatred and destruction with which to wreak vengeance, which had been formulated precisely for that purpose by Karl Marx<sup>22</sup> as vent for his own personal 'demons' (to use his father Heinrich's term).

Lenin was expelled from the University of Kazan in 1887 for involvement in a student riot, briefly jailed along with several other students, and expelled from the

university several days later. He spent the next few years attempting to get back into university, but was known as the brother of Alexander Ulyanov, and kept under police surveillance. However, he was able to resume studies at St Petersburg University in 1890. Such circumstances could only have reinforced Vladimir's feelings of persecution, martyrdom and resentment, and would further identify him personally with the martyrdom of his brother.

How these factors shaped Lenin's personality is indicated from a reliable source, Peter Struve, originally a seminal influence in Russian Marxism although later rejecting the doctrine, who knew Lenin well. Struve observed that the most prominent traits of Lenin's personality were hatred, anger and the need for revenge. He wrote:

*The terrible thing in Lenin was that combination in one person of self-castigation, which is the essence of all real asceticism, with the castigation of other people as expressed in abstract social hatred and cold political cruelty.*<sup>23</sup>

As has been seen with the other Leftist ideologues that have been previously considered, including Marx and Trotsky, and here, Lenin, the concern with humanity is as an abstract concept. There is no personal empathy, and therefore classes and individuals are consigned to death, torture and famine in the interests of an idealised future society that can only be achieved by the destruction of hated normative conventions that have somehow oppressed the mattoid personality. The masses of victims are given impersonal labels such as 'bourgeois' and 'kulak' and are identified as social pathogens for elimination. Even the sufferings of those who are at the lowest end of the socio-economic scale should not be alleviated, as such reformism would only interfere with the dialectical processes necessary for revolution. Hence of the famine of the Volga peasantry in 1891, Lenin opposed any suggestion within the socialist movement that they should be assisted. In fact, unlike his father, he cared nothing for the peasantry, and according to Dr Figes:

*He once even signed himself before the police as 'Hereditary Nobleman Vladimir Ul'ianov'. In his private life Lenin was the epitome of the heartless squire [of the type] his government would one day destroy. In 1891, at the height of the famine, he sued his peasant neighbours for causing damage to the*

*family estate. And while he condemned in his early writings the practices of 'gentry capitalism', he himself was living handsomely on its profits, drawing nearly all his income from the rents and interest derived from the sale of his mother's estate.*<sup>24</sup>

This discrepancy between Lenin's personal views and life, and his public persona was a trait also possessed by Marx, who, as considered previously, treated his maid in an exploitive manner, and looked upon relatives as sources of inheritance.<sup>25</sup> As a political doctrine Lenin expressed mass suffering as an impersonal historical necessity, stating in regard to the peasantry and the 1891 Volga famine:

*By destroying the peasant economy and driving the peasant from the country to the town, the famine creates a proletariat... Furthermore the famine can and should be a progressive factor not only economically. It will force the peasant to reflect on the bases of the capitalist system, demolish faith in the tsar and tsarism, and consequently in due course make the victory of the revolution easier... Psychologically all this talk about feeding the starving and so on essentially reflects the usual sugary sentimentality of our intelligentsia.*<sup>26</sup>

### **Post Traumatic Embitterment Disorder**

In "[Leftist Personality Types](#)" I have attempted diagnostic descriptions of several Leftist luminaries, identifying Karl Marx for example as having Necrophilous Personality Disorder,<sup>27</sup> and Leon Trotsky as having Narcissistic Personality Disorder.<sup>28</sup>

It is only in recent years that a category of mental dysfunction has been posited which identifies embitterment caused by perceived personal injustice: Post Traumatic Embitterment Disorder (PTED).<sup>29</sup> Dr M J S Wong,<sup>30</sup> writes: 'This type of reaction is thought to be universal and frequently seen in patients who have had to cope with events of personal injustice, humiliation, frustration, and helplessness'.<sup>31</sup>

*Feeling embittered is a prolonged emotional state of hate and anger caused by the belief that one has been treated unfairly. Emotional embitterment exists in a dimension similar to depression and anxiety, and therefore, when it is most*



*intense, it can become pathological and lead to devastating personal, social, and occupational impairment.*<sup>32</sup>

This is termed 'post-traumatic' because it is instigated by a 'single precipitating life stressor' leading to feelings of unfair treatment.<sup>33</sup> PTED, as distinct from life-threatening stressors that cause Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), occur when an event causes disruptive life changes. PTSD causes feelings of fear; PTED causes feelings of revenge. The execution of Vladimir's brother is the type of stressor that could cause PTED. While PTED, which has not yet been listed as a disorder in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, would seem to be an apt description for those lone killers who, for example, undertake multiple killings in revenge for being bullied at High School or dismissed from employment.

Vladimir Ulyanov found in Marxism both a rationalisation and a method of satisfying his impulse for revenge and destruction against a society, that he perceived since he was a teenager, had caused the death of his brother. Leftism, epitomised in Marxism, is the doctrine of the sociopath and provides a rationalisation and modus operandi for the type of revenge on a mass scale that the average sociopath can only vent on an individual basis. Behind the multitude of words that have been written and spoken on Marxist and other socialistic doctrines, in the most convoluted terms of intellectual sophistry, stands a drive to wreak destruction upon the normative values that form the basis of civility, which Winston S Churchill described cogently as 'this world-wide conspiracy for the overthrow of civilisation and for the reconstitution of society on the basis of arrested development, of envious malevolence, and impossible equality'.<sup>34</sup>

## **Notes:**

1 - Paul R Gregory, *Lenin's Brain and other Tales from the Soviet Secret Archives* (Hoover Institution Press, publication no. 55, 2008), pp. 24-25.

2 - Lenin's body: <http://blogs.funeralwise.com/dying/2010/10/30/mummy-found-in-suburban-los-angeles-has-communist-roots/>

3 - Lenin's Tomb: [http://severinghaus.org/gallery/places/russia/kremlin/P3284560\\_lenins\\_tomb\\_sm.jpg.html](http://severinghaus.org/gallery/places/russia/kremlin/P3284560_lenins_tomb_sm.jpg.html)

4 - Paul R Gregory, op. cit., p. 25.

5 - Ibid., p. 25.

- 6 - Ibid., , p. 27.
- 7 - Walther Spielmeier (1879-1935), an authority on the nervous system, and first director of the histology section of the Deutsche Forschungsanstalt für Psychiatrie (German Institute for Psychiatric Research).
- 8 - Paul R Gregory citing Stetskii, *ibid.*, p. 29.
- 9 - *Ibid.*, p. 29.
- 10 - *Ibid.*, , p. 31.
- 11 - Thomas J Cullen et al, 'Anomalies of asymmetry of pyramidal cell density and structure in dorsolateral prefrontal cortex in schizophrenia', *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, No. 188, 2006, pp. 26-31.
- 12 - F Colciaghi, et al, 'Status epilepticus-induced pathologic plasticity in a rat model of focal cortical dysplasia', *Brain: The Journal of Neurology*, Vol. 134, Issue 10, 2011, pp. 2828-2843.
- 13 - V Lerner , Y Finkelstein, E Witztum, 'The Enigma of Lenin's (1870-1924) malady', *European Journal Neurology*, Vol. 11, 2004, pp. 371-6.
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- 16 - Orlando Figes, Professor of Russian History, Birbeck College in *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution 1891-1924* (Penguin Books, 1998), p. 152.
- 17 - James D White, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
- 18 - Alexander Ulyanov.
- 19 - James D White, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
- 20 - *Ibid.*, p. 39.
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- 22 - K R Bolton, 'Psychopathology of the Left: Some Preliminary Notes, Part I', *op. cit.*
- 23 - Peter Struve, 'My Contacts and Conflicts with Lenin', cited by Orlando Figes, *op. cit.*, p. 389.
- 24 - Orlando Figes, *op.cit.*, p. 152.
- 25 - K R Bolton, *Psychopathology of the Left, Part I*, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.
- 26 - Cited by Michael Ellman, 'The Role of Leadership Perceptions and of Intent in the Soviet Famine of 1931-1934', *Europe-Asia Studies*, September 2005, p. 823.
- 27 - K R Bolton, 'Psychopathology of the Left, Part I', *op. cit.*, p. 42.
- 28 - *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- 29 - Michael Linden, Max Rotter, Kai Baumann, Barbara Lieberei, *Posttraumatic Embitterment Disorder: Definition, Evidence, Diagnosis, Treatment* (Hogrefe & Huber Publishers, 2007).
- 30 - Department of Psychiatry, Tai Po Hospital, Hong Kong.
- 31 - M J S Wong, 'Review: Posttraumatic Embitterment Disorder: Definition, Evidence, Diagnosis, Treatment', *Hong Kong Journal of Psychiatry*, Hong Kong College of Psychiatrists, No. 17, 2007, p. 103.
- 32 - *Ibid.*
- 33 - *Ibid.*
- 34 - Winston S Churchill, 'Zionism vs. Bolshevism: A Struggle for the Soul of the Jewish People', *Illustrated Sunday Herald*, February 8, 1920, page 5.

26.  
**GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO**

*“We artists are only then astonished witnesses of eternal aspirations, which help raise up our breed to its destiny.”—Gabriele D’Annunzio<sup>1</sup>*



Gabriele D’Annunzio, 1863–1938, a unique combination of artist and warrior,

was born into a merchant family. He was a Renaissance man *par excellence*. This warrior bard was to have a crucial impact upon the rise of Fascism despite his not always being in accord with the way in which it developed.

### **Early Life**

The lad who in later years was to be heavily influenced by Friedrich Nietzsche displayed an iron will at an early age. Learning to swim, he would go against the current or head for the biggest waves to discover his limits.<sup>2</sup> His career as a poet began early. At 16, he was known in Rome as an up-and-coming poet. At 19, D'Annunzio traveled to Rome, leading a bohemian lifestyle, working as a gossip columnist,<sup>3</sup> and writing his first novel *Il Piacere*. A set of short stories followed, *Tales of the Pescara*, celebrating the sensual and the violent. Then came his novel *Le Vergini Delle Rocce*, which was important because it introduced Italy to the ideal of the Nietzschean Overman.<sup>4</sup>

D'Annunzio's first visit to Greece in 1895 inspired him to write a national epic that he hoped would bring Italy into the twentieth century as a great nation. "I was to write a volume of poetic prose which will be a war cry of the Latin peoples." *Laus Vitae* expressed a pagan, Nietzschean ethos of "Desire, Voluptuousness, Pride and Instinct, the imperial Quadriga."<sup>5</sup>

### **New Ideals**

Around this time, new ideals for the coming century were emerging, especially among young artists who were rejecting the bourgeois liberalism of the nineteenth century. In response to the comfort-seeking, security-conscious bourgeois and merchant-minded politicians, the young artists, writers and poets were demanding nationalism and empire. They were represented by the Futurist movement with its provocative style and abrasive manifestos, and led by the poet Marinetti demanding a rejection of "pastism." They stood for a new age based on speed, dynamism, and martial valor.<sup>6</sup>

Within this tumult for a New Italy that rejected the bourgeois values of the nineteenth century, D'Annunzio wrote his play *La Nave* that celebrated the Venetian city-state of the Renaissance and called for action with the slogan: "Arm the prow and sail toward the wind."<sup>7</sup>

The impact of the play was so powerful that the actors came to real blows and the populace of Rome shouted its slogans. The King congratulated D'Annunzio, and Austria officially protested to the Italian Foreign Office. D'Annunzio was now a major influence on Italian youth and on the Futurists. The climate created by D'Annunzio, the Futurists, and the Italian Nationalists enabled the Prime Minister Crispi to embark upon imperial adventures in Africa, which culminated in the resurgence of an African Italian empire under Mussolini several decades hence. D'Annunzio inspired both the general population and the Italian soldiers with his writings.

### **Politics**

Although he did not fit into the conventional Left or Right—which can also be said of the emerging Italian nationalist movement—D'Annunzio entered Parliament in 1899 as a non-doctrinaire conservative with revolutionary ideas.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, he had contempt for Parliament and for parliamentarians as "the elected herd." He had written in 1895, "A State erected on the basis of popular suffrage and equality in voting, is not only ignoble, it is precarious. The State should always be no more than an institution for favoring the gradual elevation of a privileged class towards its ideal form of existence."<sup>9</sup>

He took his seat and forced a new election in 1900 by crossing the floor and joining with the Left to break a political impasse. He then stood for the Socialist Party, among whose leadership at the time was Mussolini,<sup>10</sup> although continuing to speak of a "national consciousness" that was contrary to the internationalism of the mainstream Socialists, as indeed Mussolini was to do.<sup>11</sup> Although he was not re-elected, D'Annunzio had contributed to the formation of an ideological synthesis, along with the nationalists and the Futurists, that was several decades later to transcend both Left and Right and emerge as Fascism. D'Annunzio expressed the new synthesis of the

coming politics thus: “Everything in life depends upon the eternally new. Man must either renew himself or die.”

### **The First World War**

D’Annunzio was living in France when the war broke out.<sup>12</sup> He visited the front and resolved to return to Italy to agitate for his country’s entry into the war. Like Mussolini and Marinetti, D’Annunzio saw the war as the opportunity for Italy to take her place among the great powers of the twentieth century. D’Annunzio was invited to speak before a crowd at an official opening of the Garibaldi monument, declaring his own “Sermon on the Mount”:

*Blessed are they, who having yesterday cried against this event, will today accept the supreme necessity, and do not wish to be the Last but the First! Blessed are the young who, starved of glory, shall be satisfied! Blessed are the merciful, for they shall be called on to quench a splendid flow of blood, and dress a wonderful wound . . .*<sup>13</sup>

The crowd was ecstatic.

At 52 and considered a national treasure, having re-established an Italian national literature, there was pressure to dissuade him from enlisting in the army, but he was commissioned in the Novara Lancers, and saw more than 50 actions. Such was the daring of his ventures that Italy’s leading literary figure soon became her greatest war hero. He flew many times over the Alps at a time when such a feat was considered extraordinary. The Austrians put a bounty on his head. He responded by entering Buccari harbor with a small band of handpicked men in a motorboat, firing his torpedoes, and leaving behind rubber containers, each containing a lyrical message in indelible ink.

D’Annunzio was especially noted for his air excursions over enemy lines dropping propaganda leaflets. It was during a bombing flight over Pola that he and his airmen first used the war cry “Eja! Eja! Eja! Alala!”<sup>14</sup> This was said to be the cry used by Achilles to spur on his horses. It was later adapted by D’Annunzio’s Legionnaires

when they took Fiume and eventually by the Fascists. After serious damage to an eye, he was told not to fly again, but within several months had returned to the air and was awarded a silver medal. He then slogged it out on foot in the assault from Castagna to the sea. He returned from the war an international hero; having been awarded a gold medal, five silver medals, a bronze medal, and the officer's cross of the Savoy Military Order. He also received the Military Cross from Britain with many other countries adding to his honors.

## **Fiume**

After the Allied victory, Italy did not receive the rewards she had expected. Fiume was a particular point of contention. Venetian in culture and history, the city port had been occupied by the French, English, American, and Italian troops; yet the Italian government favored turning its administration over to Yugoslavia. Mussolini, Marinetti, and D'Annunzio again joined forces to agitate on the common theme that Italy should annex Fiume. Young officers formed an army with the motto: "Fiume or death!" D'Annunzio was asked to lead an expedition to take the city for Italy.

At dawn on September 12, 1919, D'Annunzio marched off at the head of a column of 287 veterans. As they marched through Italy towards Fiume, they picked up soldiers and supplies along the way. By the time D'Annunzio reached the city, he had gathered an army of 1,000. D'Annunzio confronted General Pittaluga, the Italian commander of the city and, pointing to his medals declared, "Fire first on this." The General's eyes filled with tears, and he replied: "Great poet! I do not wish to be the cause of spilling Italian blood. I am honored to meet you for the first time. May your dream be fulfilled."<sup>15</sup> The two embraced and entered Fiume together. Once D'Annunzio had taken Fiume, others from all over Italy flocked to him, including nationalists, anarchists, futurists, syndicalists, soldiers, and men of the arts. "In this mad and vile world, Fiume is the symbol of liberty," declared D'Annunzio.<sup>16</sup>

However, the Free State was not completely isolated in the world and caught the imagination of others outside Italy who desired to see the overthrow of the bourgeois order. Soviet Russia granted official recognition to the Free State. The day after the

seizure of Fiume, the Dada Club in Berlin sent a telegram to *Corriere della Sera* stating: “Conquest a great Dadaist action, and will employ all means to ensure its recognition. The Dadaist world atlas Dadaco already recognises Fiume as an Italian city.” Günter Berghaus has written:

Between December 1919 and December 1920 Fiume became a little world of its own, a little microcosm where radical dreams and aspirations were given an unprecedented opportunity to be lived out and experimented with. . . . Groups of revolutionary intellectuals managed to assume control over the city and created a political culture where spontaneous expression of beliefs replaced the tendentious procedures of parliamentary democracy. Artistic fantasy and energy gave birth to a new “aesthetics” of communal life where the fusion of political and artistic *avant-garde* became a reality. A festive lifestyle replaced conventional social behavior.<sup>17</sup>

While D’Annunzio’s Fiume has often been regarded as the forerunner of Fascism, the atmosphere, organization, and aesthetics of the Free State suggests a synthesis of the Renaissance, Futurism, and syndicalism, which drew the support of an eclectic bunch of rebels. The anarchist Hakim Bey called Fiume the first “temporary autonomous zone,” run on “pirate economics,” and based on an “intensity of living.”<sup>18</sup>

### **Renaissance City-State**

D’Annunzio recreated Fiume as a twentieth-century Renaissance city-state. It would be the catalyst for a “League of Oppressed Nations” to counter the League of Nations of the bourgeois powers.<sup>19</sup> The Free State of Fiume was proclaimed with the *Statute of the Carnaro*, co-authored by D’Annunzio and the revolutionary syndicalist Alceste de Ambris, attesting to the Fiume venture as being the harbinger of the revolutionary syndicalist and nationalist synthesis that gave birth to Fascism.

The *Statute of the Carnaro* instituted physical training for youth, old age pensions, universal education, aesthetic instruction, and unemployment relief. Private property was recognized but on the condition of its “proper, continuous, and efficient use.” Corporations and guilds after the medieval manner were established to represent workers and producers in place of the old political parties. Both freedom of religion



and atheism were protected. A College of Ediles was “elected with discernment from men of taste and education,” who would maintain aesthetic standards in the architecture and construction of the city-state. The parliament, or Council of the Best, was enjoined to minimize chatter, with sessions held with “notably concise brevity.” A higher chamber was called the Council of Providers. D’Annunzio oversaw the whole edifice as the Commandante. Music was elevated as “a religious and social institution” by statute.<sup>20</sup> For 15 months, the Commandante held out against allied protests and the blockade erected by the Italian government.

### **Blockade**

The Italian government eventually tightened its blockade, which resulted in food shortages at the time of the European-wide influenza epidemic. To counter the blockade, D’Annunzio formed the *Uscocchi* (from an old Adriatic name for a type of pirate), who captured ship, raided warehouses, stole coal, arms, meat, coffee, and ammunition, even army horses, in daring raids all over Italy.<sup>21</sup>

D’Annunzio planned to march on Rome and take the entire country. Indeed, the Legionnaire’s song had the refrain, “with the bomb and the dagger we will enter the Quirinale.”<sup>22</sup> D’Annunzio had hoped for the support of Mussolini’s Fascists, who had been propagandizing for D’Annunzio’s occupation of Fiume,<sup>23</sup> but Mussolini considered such a march on Rome premature, and possibly looked upon D’Annunzio as a rival to his own aims.

Italian troops now moved on Fiume. D’Annunzio ordered a general mobilization. He hoped that Italian troops would not fire on fellow Italians. Such a notion was repugnant to D’Annunzio, as it had been to General Pittaluga when he gave way to D’Annunzio’s occupation. Military operations began on December 24, 1920. “The Christmas of Blood” as D’Annunzio called it. Twenty thousand troops began to move against D’Annunzio’s 3,000. The *Andrea Dona* sailed within firing range. D’Annunzio was given an ultimatum to surrender or suffer bombardment. After some shelling of the balconies of the city began, the women came forth holding aloft their babies, shouting, “This one Italy! Take this one. But not D’Annunzio!”

The Commandante gathered his Cabinet together and announced his capitulation. Although his men had repulsed the government's troops for five days, the city could not withstand heavy shelling. "I cannot impose on this heroic city its ruin and certain destruction," said D'Annunzio.<sup>24</sup>

## **Fascism**

D'Annunzio retired to a secluded house he called "The Shrine of Italian Victories." He resumed his writing. He remained the most popular figure in Italy whom both Fascists and anti-Fascists tried to recruit. Despite what he considered Mussolini's betrayal over Fiume, he refused to assist the anti-fascists. On October 27, 1922, the Fascists marched on Rome. The new regime was established on a more realistic and pragmatic basis than the romantic and visionary ideals that D'Annunzio had briefly realized at Fiume.

Many of the trappings of the Fascist movement were first used by D'Annunzio, including the revival of the Roman salute and the wearing of the blackshirt. Mussolini adopted D'Annunzio's style of speaking to the populace from balconies with the crowds responding. Italy was organized as a Corporate (guild) state as Fiume had been, and cultural figures were especially esteemed.

In 1924, most of Fiume was secured from Yugoslavia. This and the withdrawal from the League of Nations, and in particular the invasion of Abyssinia, drew D'Annunzio closer to Mussolini.<sup>25</sup> Although he refrained from participation in public life, the regime showered D'Annunzio with honors, made him a prince, published his collected works, and made him an honorary general of the air force and president of the Italian Academy.<sup>26</sup> On March 1, 1938, D'Annunzio died suddenly of a cerebral hemorrhage. At D'Annunzio's funeral, Mussolini said: "You may be sure Italy will arrive at the summit you dreamed of."<sup>27</sup>

The legacy of the Free City of Fiume became an important part of the Fascist mythos. Mussolini as editor of *Il Popolo d'Italia* gave Fiume moral support and also launched a subscription to give financial support. But at the time of the bombardment of Fiume, D'Annunzio's desperate efforts to get Fascist support failed. From a

Fascist perspective the venture would have been considered heroic but unrealistic, and the Fascists were not then in a position to stage a revolt. Sarfatti writes of “the beacon of the Adriatic had been extinguished in blood. Fiume had been taken and evacuated, the *Commandante* had been wounded, and, brother fighting against brother, forty legionaries had fallen at the hands of their brother-soldiers of Italy.”<sup>28</sup>

Mussolini however responded that at no time had he indicated the Fascisti would be in a position to launch a revolution in the event of Fiume being attacked: “Revolution will be accomplished with the army, not against the army; with arms, not without them; with trained forces, not with undisciplined mobs called together in the streets. It will succeed when it is surrounded by a halo of sympathy by the majority, and if it has not that, it will fail.”<sup>29</sup>

Mussolini saw in the legionaries that dispersed from Fiume and scattered throughout Italy the inspiration for a New Italy and the cause of Fiume. “On the 3rd of March, 1924, Mussolini was to sign the treaty of annexation whereby Fiume was joined to the kingdom of Italy!”<sup>30</sup>

## Notes:

- 1 - Anthony Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman: D'Annunzio* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1959), p. 108.
- 2 - Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman*, p. 21.
- 3 - Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman*, pp. 25–26.
- 4 - Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman*, p. 48.
- 5 - Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman*, p. 51.
- 6 - Filippo Marinetti, “The Futurist Manifesto,” Adrian Lyttelton (ed.), *Italian Fascisms from Pareto to Gentile, Roots of the Right* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1973), pp. 209–15. Marinetti, “Old Ideas which always go hand in hand and must be separated,” (*L'Ardito*, March 1919), *Italian Fascisms*, pp. 216–21.
- 7 - Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman*, p. 69.
- 8 - Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman*, p. 79.
- 9 - D'Annunzio, *La Vergini della Rocce* (1895).
- 10 - Margherita Sarfatti, *The Life of Benito Mussolini* (London: Thornton and Butterworth, 1927), pp. 162–200.
- 11 - Sarfatti, *The Life of Benito Mussolini*, pp. 207–12.
- 12 - Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman*, p. 141.
- 13 - Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman*, p. 147.
- 14 - Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman*, p. 161, footnote 1. Interestingly the war cry was revived in 1985 by the Slovenian “collectivist” industrial music group Laibach in the lyrics of “Nova Akropola,” a clear tribute to

D'Annunzio's Pola air raid. Perhaps Laibach might be considered the heirs to the Marinetti Futurists, and are part of a broader movement, *Neue Slowenische Kunst*, which also includes theatre, dance, fine art, philosophy and architecture. See *New Collectivism, Neue Slowenische Kunst* (Los Angeles: Amok Books, 1991).

15 - Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman*, pp. 175–77.

16 - Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman*, p. 179.

17 - Gunter Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics, Between Anarchist Rebellion and Fascist Reaction 1909–1944* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1995), p. 139.

18 - Hakim Bey, *T.A.Z. The Temporary Autonomous Zone: Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism* (1985).

19 - Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman*, p. 183.

20 - Gabriele D'Annunzio and Alceste de Ambris, "The Constitution of Fiume," September 8 1920. Roger Griffin (ed.) *Fascism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 35–37.

21 - Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman*, pp. 190–200.

22 - The Quirinal Palace in Rome was then the official residence of the King of Italy. It is now the official residence of the President of the Italian Republic.—Ed.

23 - Sarfatti, *The Life of Benito Mussolini*, pp. 269–270.

24 - Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman*, p. 220.

25 - Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman*, p. 236.

26 - Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman*, p. 233.

27 - Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman*, p. 242.

28 - Sarfatti, *The Life of Benito Mussolini*, p. 280.

29 - Sarfatti, *The Life of Benito Mussolini*, p. 281.

30 - Sarfatti, *The Life of Benito Mussolini*, p. 282.

## 27. **FILIPPO MARINETTI**

Filippo Marinetti, 1876–1944, was unlike most of the post-19th century cultural *avant-garde*. They were rebelling against the spirit of several centuries of liberalism, rationalism, the rise of the democratic masses, industrialism, and the rule of the moneyed elite. His revolt against the leveling impact of the democratic era was not to hark back to certain perceived “golden ages” such as the medieval eras upheld by Yeats and Evola, or to reject technology in favor of a return to rural life, as advocated by Henry Williamson and Knut Hamsun. To the contrary, Marinetti embraced the new facts of technology, the machine, speed, and dynamic energy, in a movement called Futurism.

The futurist response to the facts of the new age is therefore a quite unique reaction from the anti-liberal literati and artists and one that continues to influence certain aspects of industrial and post-industrial sub-cultures.<sup>1</sup>

Marinetti was born in Alexandria Egypt in 1876. He graduated in law in Genoa in 1899. Although the political and philosophical aspects of the course held his interest, he traveled frequently between France and Italy and interested himself in the *avant-garde* arts of the later 19th century, promoting young poets in both countries. He

was already a strong critic of the conservative and traditional approaches of Italian poets. He was at this time an enthusiast for the modern, revolutionary music of Wagner, seeing it as assailing “equilibrium and sobriety . . . meditation and silence . . .”<sup>2</sup>

By 1904, Futurist elements had manifested in his writing, particularly in his poem “Destruction” that he called “an erotic and anarchist poem,” a eulogy to the “avenging sea” as a symbol of revolution. After an apocalyptic destruction, the process of rebuilding begins on the ruins of the “Old World.” Here already is the praise of death as dynamic and transformative.<sup>3</sup>

With the death of Marinetti’s father in 1907, his inheritance<sup>4</sup> allowed him to travel widely and he became a well-known cultural figure throughout Europe. Nietzsche was at this time one of the most well-known intellectuals who desired liberation from the old order. Nietzsche was widely read among the literati of Italy, and Marinetti’s future interventionist colleague, D’Annunzio, was the most prominent in promoting him in that country.<sup>5</sup>

Among the other philosophers of particular importance whom Marinetti studied was the French syndicalist theorist Georges Sorel.<sup>6</sup> This Sorelian syndicalism rejected Marxism in favor of a society comprised of small productive, cooperative units or syndicates, and founded a new myth of heroic action and struggle. Eschewing the pacifism of the Left, Sorel viewed war as a dynamic of human action. Sorel in turn was himself influenced by Nietzsche, and applying the Nietzschean Overman to socialism, states that the working class revolution requires heroic leaders.

Sorel became influential not only among Left-wing syndicalists but also among certain radical nationalists in both France and Italy. A manifestation of this was the Proudhon Circle in France comprising Maurrassian Rightist monarchists and Sorrelian revolutionary syndicalists, and named after the so-called “father of anarchism,” in a synthesis that was to give rise to Fascism in that country at the same time as it appeared in Italy.<sup>7</sup>

## **The Futurist Manifesto**

Marinetti's artistic ideas crystallized in the Futurist movement that originated from a meeting of artists and musicians in Milan in 1909 to draft a Futurist Manifesto.<sup>8</sup> With Marinetti were Carlo Carra, Umberto Boccioni, Luigi Russolo, and Gino Severini. The manifesto was first published in the Parisian paper *Le Figaro*,<sup>9</sup> and exhorted youth to, "Sing the love of danger, the habit of energy and boldness." The initial movement drew the interest of anarchists and syndicalists of the non-orthodox Left which sought a revolt against bourgeois democratic "safety."<sup>10</sup>

In 1913 the Futurist Political Program was published, which served as the basis for the establishment of the Futurist Political Party in 1918; that is, after Marinetti had undertaken a campaign for Italian entry in the world war, along with Mussolini and D'Annunzio.

The First Fascist Congress was held in Florence in 1919, and Marinetti remarked that the atmosphere was thoroughly Futurist in sentiment, but an electoral pact between the Futurists and the Fascists was abortive, and Marinetti insisted on adhering to the radical Left, while he maintained a large element of support among the Fascists.<sup>11</sup>

In contrast to those Fascists and Nationalists who sought inspiration from Classical Rome, the Futurists were contemptuous of all tradition, of all that is past: "We want to exult aggressive motion . . . we affirm that the magnificence of the world has been enriched by a new beauty: the beauty of speed."<sup>12</sup>

The machine was poetically eulogized. The racing car became the icon of the new epoch, "which seems to run as a machine gun."<sup>13</sup> The Futurist aesthetic was to be joy in violence and war, as "the sole hygiene of the world." Motion, dynamic energy, action, and heroism were the foundations of "the culture of the Futurist future. The fisticuffs, the sprint, and the kick were expressions of culture. The Futurist Manifesto is as much a challenge to the political and social order as it is to the *status quo* in the arts.

It declared:

1. *We intend to sing the love of danger, the habit of energy and fearlessness.*
2. *Courage, audacity, and revolt will be essential elements of our poetry.*
3. *Up to now literature has exalted a pensive immobility, ecstasy, and sleep. We intend to exalt aggressive action, a feverish insomnia, the racer's stride, the mortal leap, the punch and the slap.*
4. *We affirm that the world's magnificence has been enriched by a new beauty: the beauty of speed. A racing car whose hood is adorned with great pipes, like serpents of an explosive breath—a roaring car that seems to ride on grape shot is more beautiful than the victory of Samothrace.*
5. *We want to hymn the man at the wheel, who hurls the lance of his spirit across the Earth, along the circle of its orbit.*
6. *The poet must spend himself with ardor, splendor, and generosity, to swell the enthusiastic fervor of the primordial elements. Except in struggle, there is no more beauty. No work without an aggressive character can be a masterpiece. Poetry must be conceived as a violent attack on unknown forces, to reduce and prostrate them before man.*
7. *We stand on the last promontory of the centuries. Why should we look back when what we want is to break down the mysterious doors of the impossible? Time and space died yesterday. We already live in the absolute, because we have created eternal, omnipresent speed.*
8. *We will glorify war—the world's only hygiene—militarism, patriotism, the destructive gesture of freedom-bringers, the beautiful ideas that kill, and scorn for women.*
9. *We will destroy the museums libraries academies of every kind, will fight moralism, feminism, every opportunistic or utilitarian cowardice.*
10. *We will sing of great crowds excited by work, by pleasure, and by riot. We will sing of the multi-colored, polyphonic tides of revolution in the modern capitals, we will sing of the vibrant nightly fervor of arsenals and shipyards blazing with violent electric motors, greedy railway stations that devour smoke-*



*plumed serpents, factories hung on clouds by the crooked lines of their smoke; bridges that stride the rivers like giant gymnasts, flashing in the sun with a glitter of knives; adventurous steamers that sniff the horizon: deep-chested locomotives whose wheels paw the tracks like the hooves of enormous steel horses bridled by tubing: and the sleek flight of planes whose propellers chatter in the wind like banners and seem to cheer like an enthusiastic crowd.*

*It is from Italy that we launch through the world this violently upsetting incendiary manifesto of ours. With it, today, we establish Futurism, because we want to free this land from its smelly gangrene of professors, archaeologists, ciceroni and antiquarians. For too long has Italy been a dealer in second-hand clothes. We mean to free her from the numberless museums that cover her like so many graveyards.*

*Museums: cemeteries! . . . Identical, surely, in the sinister promiscuity of so many bodies unknown to one another. Museums: public dormitories where one lies forever beside hated or unknown beings. Museums: absurd abattoirs of painters and sculptors ferociously slaughtering each other with color-blows and line-blows, the length of the fought-over walls!*

*That one should make an annual pilgrimage, just as one goes to the graveyard on All Souls' Day, that we grant. That once a year one should leave a floral tribute beneath the Gioconda, I grant you that . . . but I don't admit that our sorrows, our fragile courage, our morbid restlessness should be given a daily conducted tour through the museums. Why poison ourselves? Why rot? And what is there to see in an old picture except the laborious contortions of an artist throwing himself against the barriers that thwart his desire to express his dream completely? Admiring an old picture is the same as pouring our sensibility into a funerary urn instead of hurtling it far off in violent spasms of action and creation.*

*Do you then wish to waste all your best powers in this eternal and futile worship of the past, from which you emerge fatally exhausted, shrunken, beaten down?*

*In truth we tell you that daily visits to museums, libraries, and academies (cemeteries of empty exertion, Calvaries of crucified dreams, registries of aborted beginnings!) are, for artists, as damaging as the prolonged supervision by parents of certain young people drunk with their talent and their ambitious wills. When the future is barred to them, the admirable past may be a solace for the ills of the moribund, the sickly, the prisoner . . . But we want no part of it, the past, we the young and strong Futurists!*

*So let them come, the gay incendiaries with charred fingers! Here they are! Here they are! . . . Come on! set fire to the library shelves! Turn aside the canals to flood the museums! . . . Oh, the joy of seeing the glorious old canvases bobbing adrift on those waters, discolored and shredded! . . . Take up your pickaxes, your axes and hammers and wreck, wreck the venerable cities, pitilessly!*

*The oldest of us is thirty so we have at least a decade for finishing our work. When we are forty, other younger and stronger men will probably throw us in the wastebasket like useless manuscripts—we want it to happen!*

*They will come against us, our successors will come from far away, from every quarter, dancing to the winged cadence of their first songs, flexing the hooked claws of predators, sniffing dog-like at the academy doors the strong odor of our decaying minds which will have already been promised to the literary catacombs.*

*But we won't be there . . . At last they'll find us—one winter's night—in open country, beneath a sad roof drummed by a monotonous rain. They'll see us crouched beside our trembling aeroplanes in the act of warming our hands at the poor little blaze that our books of today will give out when they take fire from the flight of our images.*

*They'll storm around us, panting with scorn and anguish, and all of them, exasperated by our proud daring, will hurtle to kill us. Driven by a hatred the more implacable the more their hearts will be drunk with love and admiration for us.*

*Injustice, strong and sane, will break out radiantly in their eyes. Art, in fact, can be nothing but violence, cruelty, and injustice.*

*The oldest of us is thirty: even so we have already scattered treasures, a thousand treasures of force, love, courage, astuteness, and raw will-power, have thrown them impatiently away, with fury, carelessly, unhesitatingly, breathless, and unresting . . . Look at us We are still untired! Our hearts know no weariness because they are fed with fire, hatred, and speed . . . Does that amaze you? It should, because you can never remember having lived! Erect on the summit of the world, once again, we hurl our defiance at the stars.*

*You have objections?—Enough! Enough! We know them . . . We've understood! . . . Our fine deceitful intelligence tells us that we are the revival and extension of our ancestors—Perhaps! . . . If only it were so!—But who cares? We don't want to understand! . . . Woe to anyone who says those infamous words to us again! Lift up your heads. Erect on the summit of the world, once again we hurl our defiance after stars!<sup>14</sup>*

A plethora of manifestos by Marinetti and his colleagues followed, encompassing futurist cinema, painting, music (“noise”), prose, plus the political and sociological implications.

### **War, the World's Only Hygiene**

Marinetti's manifesto on war shows the central place violence and conflict have in the Futurist doctrine<sup>15</sup>, writing in the same manner as his manifesto to students the previous year:<sup>16</sup>

*We Futurists, who for over two years, scorned by the Lame and Paralyzed, have glorified the love of danger and violence, praised patriotism and war, the hygiene of the world, are happy to finally experience this great Futurist hour of Italy, while the foul tribe of pacifists huddles dying in the deep cellars of the ridiculous palace at The Hague. We have recently had the pleasure of fighting in the streets with the most fervent adversaries of the war and shouting in their*

*faces our firm beliefs:*

- 1. All liberties should be given to the individual and the collectivity, save that of being cowardly.*
- 2. Let it be proclaimed that the word Italy should prevail over the word Freedom.*
- 3. Let the tiresome memory of Roman greatness be canceled by an Italian greatness a hundred times greater.*

*For us today, Italy has the shape and power of a fine Dreadnought battleship with its squadron of torpedo-boat islands. Proud to feel that the martial fervor throughout the nation is equal to ours, we urge the Italian government, Futurist at last, to magnify all the national ambitions, disdaining the stupid accusations of piracy, and proclaim the birth of Pan-Italianism.*

*Futurist poets, painters, sculptors, and musicians of Italy! As long as the war lasts let us set aside our verse, our brushes, scapulas, and orchestras! The red holidays of genius have begun! There is nothing for us to admire today but the dreadful symphonies of the shrapnel and the mad sculptures that our inspired artillery molds among the masses of the enemy.<sup>17</sup>*

### **Artistic Storm Trooper**

Marinetti brought his dynamic character into an aggressive campaign to promote Futurism. The Futurists aimed to aggravate society out of bourgeoisie complacency and the safe existence through innovative street theater, abrasive art, speeches, and manifestos. The speaking style of Marinetti was itself bombastic and thunderous. The art was aggravating to conventional society and the art establishment. If a painting was that of a man with a moustache, the whiskers would be depicted with the bristles of a shaving brush pasted onto the canvas. A train would be depicted with the words “puff, puff.”

Both the words and deeds of the Futurists matched the nature of the art in expressing contempt for the *status quo* with its preoccupation with “pastism” or the

“*passe.*” Marinetti for example, described Venice as “a city of dead fish and decaying houses, inhabited by a race of waiters and touts.”

To the Futurist Boccioni, Dante, Beethoven and Michelangelo were “sickening,” whilst Carra set about painting sounds, noises and even smells. Marinetti traversed Europe giving interviews, arranging exhibitions, meetings and dinners. Vermilion posters with huge block letters spelling ‘futurism’ were plastered throughout Italy on factories, in dance halls, cafes and town squares. Futurist performances were organized to provoke riot. Glue was put onto seats. Two tickets for the same seat would be sold to provoke a fight. “Noise music” would blare while poetry or manifestos were recited and paintings shown. Fruit and rotten spaghetti would be thrown from the audience, and the performances would usually end in brawls.

Marinetti replied to jeers with humor. He ate the fruit thrown at him. He welcomed the hostility as proving that Futurism was not appealing to the mediocre.<sup>18</sup>

## **Politics**

The first political contacts of Marinetti and the Futurists were from the Left rather than the Right, despite Marinetti’s extreme nationalism and call for war as the “hygiene of mankind, and his support for Italy’s embryonic neo-imperial adventures, supporting the Italian invasion of Libya in 1912.”<sup>19</sup> There were syndicalists and anarchists who shared Marinetti’s views on the energizing and revolutionary nature of war and gave him a reception.

In 1909, Marinetti entered the general elections and issued a “First Political Manifesto” which is anti-clerical and states that the only Futurist political program is “national pride,” calling for the elimination of pacifism and the representatives of the old order. During that year, Marinetti was heavily involved in agitating for Italian sovereignty over Austrian-ruled Trieste. The political alliance with the extreme Left began with the anarcho-syndicalist Ottavio Dinale,<sup>20</sup> whose paper reprinted the Futurist manifesto. The paper, *La demolizione* was of a general combative nature, aiming to unite into one “fascio” all those of revolutionary tendencies, to “oppose with full energy the inertia and indolence that threatens to suffocate all life.” The phrase is

distinctly Futurist.

Marinetti announced that he intended to campaign politically as both a syndicalist and a nationalist, a synthesis that would eventually arise in Fascism. In 1910, he forged links with the Italian Nationalist Association,<sup>21</sup> which had a pro-labor, syndicalist program.<sup>22</sup> In 1913 a Futurist political manifesto was issued which called for enlargement of the military, an “aggressive foreign policy,” colonial expansionism, and “pan-Italianism”; a “cult” of progress, speed, and heroism; opposition to the nostalgia for monuments, ruins, and museums; economic protectionism, anti-socialism, anti-clericalism. The movement gained wide enthusiasm among university students.<sup>23</sup>

### **Intervention**

The chance for Italy’s “place in the sun” came with World War I. Not only the nationalists were demanding Italy’s entry into the war, but so too were certain revolutionary syndicalists and a faction of socialists led by Mussolini. From the literati came D’Annunzio and Marinetti.

In a manifesto addressed to students in 1914 Marinetti states the purpose of Futurism and calls for intervention in the war. Futurism was the “doctor” to cure Italy of “pastism,” a remedy “valid for every country.” The “ancestor cult far from cementing the race” was making Italians “anaemic and putrid.” Futurism was now “being fully realised in the great world war.”

His exhortation to Italian students to demand Italy’s place in the world via participation in the world war, provided an added poetical and romantic aspect to the interventionist campaign that was also taken up by D’Annunzio. However, far from drawing from Italy’s Roman heritage, Marinetti damned the great past as a hindrance to a greater future. His manifesto to students provides an insight into Marinetti’s revolutionary repudiation of “pastism,” because “an illustrious past was crushing Italy and an infinitely more glorious future.”

This “pastism” was condemned along with “archaeology, academicism,

senilism, quietism, the obsession with sex, the tourist industry, etc. “Our ultra-violent, anti-clerical and anti-traditionalist nationalism is based on the inexhaustibility of Italian blood and the struggle against the ancestor cult, which, far from cementing race, makes it anaemic and putrid . . .”<sup>24</sup>

Marinetti, like many syndicalists who broke from the internationalist outlook of orthodox socialism, saw the war as a revolutionary cause,<sup>25</sup> described the war as “the most beautiful Futurist poem which has so far been seen.” Futurism itself was artistic warfare, and “the militarization of innovating artists . . .” the war as a revolutionary act would sweep from power all the decrepit representatives of the past: “diplomats, professors, philosophers, archeologists, critics, cultural obsession, Greek, Latin, history, senilism, museums, libraries, the tourist industry, etc. “The war will promote gymnastics, sport, practical schools of agriculture, business and industrialists. The War will rejuvenate Italy, will enrich her with men of action, will force her to live no longer off the past, off ruins and the mild climate, but off her own national forces.”<sup>26</sup>

The Futurists were probably the first to organize pro-war protests, according to Professor Jesnen.<sup>27</sup> Mussolini and Marinetti held their first joint meeting in Milan on March 31st 1915. In April, both were arrested in Rome for organizing a demonstration.

Futurists were no mere windbags. The Futurists were among the first to enlist for active service.<sup>28</sup> Nearly all distinguished themselves in the war, as did Mussolini and D’Annunzio. The Futurist architect Sant Elia was killed, as was Boccioni<sup>29</sup> Marinetti enlisted with the Alpini regiment and was wounded and decorated for valor.

### **Futurist Party**

In 1918, Marinetti began directing his attention to a new postwar Italy. He published a manifesto announcing the Futurist political party, the name of which, interestingly, was the Fasci Politici Futuristi.. The manifesto, an elaboration of Marintetti’s Futurist Political Manifesto of 1913, called for “Revolutionary nationalism” for both imperialism and social revolution. “We must carry our war to total victory.”

Demands of the manifesto included the eight hour day and equal pay for women, the nationalization and redistribution of land to veterans; heavy taxes on acquired and inherited wealth and the gradual abolition of marriage through easy divorce; a strong Italy freed from nostalgia, tourists, and priests; and the industrialization and modernization of “moribund cities” that live as tourist centers. A Corporatist policy called for the abolition of parliament and its replacement with a technical government of 30 or 40 young directors elected from the trade associations.<sup>30</sup>

The Futurist party concentrated its propaganda on the soldiers,<sup>31</sup> and recruited many war veterans of the elite Arditi (daredevils), the black-shirted shock troops of the army who would charge into battle stripped to the waist, a grenade in each hand and a dagger between their teeth. While the program was too extreme for popular appeal, it did win over many of the Arditi veterans,<sup>32</sup> who became the basis of a Futurist political movement. In 1919 the Arditi veteran and Futurist, Mario Carli, founded the Arditi Association, with *Roma Futurist* as its organ, and the association soon had 10,000 members.<sup>33</sup>

In December 1919, the Futurists revived the “Fasci” or “groups,” which had been organized in 1914 and 1915 to campaign for war intervention,<sup>34</sup> and from which were to emerge the Fascists.

### **Futurists & Fascists**

The first joint post-war action between Mussolini and Marinetti took place in 1919 when a Socialist Party rally was disrupted in Milan, where the Socialist Bissolati was trying to advocate a program of Italian renunciation of claims to territories of mainly Italian-speakers under foreign sovereignty. Professor Jensen states that this was “the first planned political violence in post-war Italy.”<sup>35</sup>

That year Mussolini founded his own Fasci di Combattimento in Milan with the support of Marinetti and the poet Ungasetti. The Futurists and the Arditi comprised the core of the Fascist leadership. The first Fascist manifesto was based on that of Marinetti’s Futurist party.



In April, against the wishes of Mussolini who thought the action premature, Marinetti led Fascists and Futurists and Arditi against a mass Socialist Party demonstration. Marinetti waded in with fists, but intervened to save a socialist from being severely beaten by Arditi. (To place the post-war situation in perspective, the Socialists had regularly beaten, abused, and even killed returning war veterans). The Fascists and Futurists then proceeded to the offices of the Socialist Party paper *Avanti*, which they sacked and burned.<sup>36</sup>

Marinetti stood as a Fascist candidate in the 1919 elections in Milan and persuaded Toscanini to do so. The result was poor.<sup>37</sup>

While the basis for the foundation of the Fascist party had been the Futurist led Arditi veterans, the extreme rejection of tradition by the Futurists was always going to make for an uneasy alliance, despite the doctrinal basis of Fascism being one of dialectical synthesis. It is clear that Marinetti did not believe in any such synthesis, or what he would surely have regarded as compromise with “pastism.”

When the Fascist Congress of 1920 refused to support the Futurist demand to exile the King and the Pope, Marinetti and other Futurists resigned from the Fascist party. Marinetti considered that the Fascist party was compromising with conservatism and the bourgeoisie. He was also critical of the Fascist concentration on anti-socialist agitation and on opposition to strikes. Certain Futurist factions realigned themselves specifically with the extreme Left. In 1922, there were several Futurist exhibitions and performances organized by the Communist cultural association, Proletkult, which also arranged a lecture by Marinetti to explain the doctrine of Futurism, however the Leninist line, despite the pro-Futurist sentiments of Soviet education commissar Lunarcharsky, soon rejected Futurism and Futurist elements were purged from the Communist Party<sup>38</sup>

### **Futurism & the Fascist Regime**

When the Fascists assumed power in 1922 Marinetti, like D’Annunzio, was critically supportive of the regime. Marinetti considered: “The coming to power of the Fascists constitutes the realization of the minimum futurist program.”<sup>39</sup> He alluded to

the role Futurists played in founding the Arditi veterans associations and in being among the first members of the Fasci di combattimento.

Of Mussolini the statesman, Marinetti wrote: “Prophets and forerunners of the great Italy of today, we Futurists are happy to salute in our not yet 40-year-old Prime Minister of marvelous futurist temperament.”

In 1923, Marinetti began a rapprochement with the Fascists, by now Mussolini having assumed the Premiership of Italy. On May 1, 1923, Marinetti’s manifesto “Italian Empire” reminded Mussolini of the Futurist agitation for Italy’s imperial revival , and urged Mussolini to reject any alliance with conservatives, monarchists, clerics, or socialists.<sup>40</sup>

That year he also presented to Mussolini his manifesto “The Artistic Rights Promoted by Italian Futurists.”<sup>41</sup> Here he rejected the Bolshevik alignment of Futurists in the USSR. He pointed to the Futurist sentiments that had been expressed by Mussolini in speeches, alluding to Fascism being a “government of speed, curtailing everything that represents stagnation in the national life.” Under Mussolini’s leadership, writes Marinetti:

*Fascism has rejuvenated Italy. It is now his duty to help us overhaul the artistic establishment . . . . The political revolution must sustain the artistic revolutions Marinetti was among the Congress of Fascist Intellectuals who in 1923 approved the measures taken by the regime to restore order by curtailing certain constitutional liberties amidst increasing chaos caused by both out-of-control radical Fascist squadisti and anti-Fascists.*

At the 1924 Futurist Congress, the delegates upheld Marinetti’s declaration:

*The Italian Futurists, more than ever devoted to ideas and art, far removed from politics, say to their old comrade Benito Mussolini, free yourself from parliament with one necessary and violent stroke. Restore to Fascism and Italy the marvelous, disinterested, bold, anti-socialist, anti-clerical, anti-monarchical spirit . . . Refuse to let monarchy suffocate the greatest, most brilliant and just Italy of tomorrow . . . Quell the clerical opposition . . . With a steely and dynamic aristocracy of thought.<sup>42</sup>*

In 1929, Marinetti accepted election to the Italian Academy, considering it important that “Futurism be represented” He was also elected secretary of the Fascist Writer’s Union and as such was the official representative for Fascist culture.[43] Futurism became a part of Fascist cultural exhibitions and was utilized in the propaganda art of the regime. During the 1930s, in particular the Fascist cultural expression was undergoing a drift away from tradition and towards futurism, with the Fascist emphasis on technology and modernization. Mussolini had already in 1926 defined the creation of a “fascist art” that would be based on a synthesis culturally as it was politically: “traditionalistic and at the same time modern.”<sup>44</sup> However, Futurism never became the official “State Art” of the Fascist regime. Griffin states: “In stark contrast to the Third Reich, Fascist Italy accommodated various shades of modernism (including the international movement, Futurism, and abstraction) alongside neo-classical or openly anti-modernist ones.”<sup>45</sup>

Of the modernist movements, aside from Futurism, *Novecento* (“Twentieth Century”) seems to have been the most significant, which celebrated the dynamism of modern city life and developed a neo-classical architecture.<sup>46</sup> On the other side, there were those prominent Fascists who pursued a more familiar Rightist position in opposing aesthetic modernism as internationalistic, bastardous, foreign, “a racket manipulated by Jewish bankers, pederasts, war profiteers, brothel keepers,” which if adopted would corrupt the Italian race; as Mino Maccari, editor of *Il Selvaggio*, put it, with a specific reference to *Novecento*.<sup>47</sup>

Nonetheless, Futurism retained its position among the other aesthetic schools, modernist and traditional, and Marinetti himself remained faithful to the regime when the collapse approached.

In 1943, with the Allies invading Italy, the Fascist Grand Council deposed Mussolini and surrendered to the occupation forces. The Fascist faithful established a last stand, in the north, named the Italian Social Republic, or the Republic of Salo.

With a new idealism, even former Communist<sup>48</sup> and liberal leaders were drawn to the Republic. The Manifesto of Verona was drafted, restoring various liberties, and championing labor against plutocracy within the vision of a united Europe.<sup>49</sup>

Marinetti continued to be honored by the Social Republic. He died in 1944.

## Notes:

1 - An example of a contemporary cultural movement analogous to Futurism is *Neue Slowenische Kunst*, which like futurism embraces music, graphic arts, architecture, and drama. It is a movement whose influence is felt beyond the borders of Slovenia. The best-known manifestation of its aesthetic is the industrial music group Laibach. *New Collectivism, New Slowenische Kunst* (Los Angeles: Amok Books, 1991). A specifically neo-Futurist movement, aborted by the suicide of its founder, was Sarote Industries. This writer's collection of Sarote and "Book and Sword" memorabilia was donated to the Sarote Industries Memorial Website: <http://www.sarote.org/>

2 - Günter Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996), p. 18.

3 - Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics*, p. 20.

4 - He became a millionaire. Richard Jensen, "Futurism and Fascism," *History Today*, November, 1995, p. 36.

5 - It was D'Annunzio's novel *Le Vergini delle Rocce* that introduced Italians to Nietzsche's ideal of the Overman. Anthony Rhodes, *The Poet as Superman: D'Annunzio* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1959), p. 48.

6 - Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics*, p. 25.

7 - Zeev Sternhell, *Neither Left nor Right: Fascist Ideology in France* (New Jersey: Princeton University, 1996). The situation is ironic, given the vigor that present-day adolescent bourgeois "anarchists" try to attack anything of an even vaguely Rightist or "fascist" nature.

8 - Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics*, p. 9.

9 - Adrian Lyttelton, ed., "Italian Fascisms," *Roots of the Right* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1975), p. 207.

10 - For the ideological crisis in the Left in France and Italy resulting from dissatisfaction with the Marxian materialist conception of history, see Sternhell, *Neither Left nor Right*.

11 - Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics*, p. 9.

12 - Marinetti, "The Futurist Manifesto," Point 4 (1909), *Roots of the Right*, p. 211.

13 - Marinetti, "The Futurist Manifesto," Point 4 (1909), *Roots of the Right*, p. 211.

14 - Marinetti, "Manifesto of Futurism," Lyttelton, pp. 211–15.

15 - As it was to have in the syndicalist movement under the influence of Sorel. See Sternhell, *Neither Left nor Right*.

16 - Marinetti, "Manifesto agli student."

17 - Marinetti, "War, The World's Only Hygiene," 1915.

18 - Jensen, "Futurism and Fascism," p. 37.

19 - Jensen, "Futurism and Fascism," p. 37.

20 - Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics*, pp. 54–55.

21 - Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics*, p. 59.

22 - Enrico Corradini, *The Principles of Nationalism*, Report to the First Nationalist Congress, Florence, December 3, 1910. Lyttelton, *Roots of the Right*, pp. 146–48. "Italy is, material and morally, a proletarian nation." Also: Corradini, "The Proletarian Nations and Nationalism (1911), Lyttelton, *Roots of the Right*, pp. 148–51.

23 - Marinetti, "Political Program of Futurism," October 11, 1913.

24 - Marinetti, "Manifesto agli studenti," November 29, 1914; Roger Griffin, ed., *Fascism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 25–26.

- 25 - Mussolini, "Courage," *Il Popolo d'Italia*, November 15, 1914; Griffin, *Fascism*, "The War as a Revolutionary Event," pp. 27–27.
- 26 - Marinetti, "Manifesto agli student."
- 27 - Jensen, "Futurism and Fascism," p. 37.
- 28 - Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics*, p. 81.
- 29 - Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics*, p. 83.
- 30 - Marinetti, "Manifesto of the Futurist Political Party" (September 1918), Griffin, *Fascism*, pp. 29–31.
- 31 - Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics*, p. 101.
- 32 - Jensen, "Futurism and Fascism," p. 38.
- 33 - Jensen, "Futurism and Fascism," p. 38.
- 34 - The Leagues (Fascio) of Revolutionary Action, revolutionary syndicalists who agitated for Italian entry into the war. Their appeal for war as a revolutionary cause, "To the Workers of Italy," October 10, 1914, can be read in Griffin, *Fascism*, pp. 24–25.
- 35 - Jensen, "Futurism and Fascism," p. 38.
- 36 - Jensen, "Futurism and Fascism," p. 39. The riot became known as the "Battle of Via Mercanti."
- 37 - Alastair Hamilton, *The Appeal of Fascism: A study of Intellectuals and Fascism 1919–1945* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1971), p. 21.
- 38 - Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics*, p. 209.
- 39 - Marinetti, "Benito Mussolini," appendix to Antonio Beltramelli, *L'uomo nuovo* (Milan, 1923); Griffin, *Fascism*, p. 45.
- 40 - Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics*, pp. 219–20.
- 41 - Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics*, pp. 194–96.
- 42 - Hamilton, *The Appeal of Fascism*, pp. 51–52.
- 43 - Hamilton, *The Appeal of Fascism*, p. 65.
- 44 - Mussolini, speech at the opening of the Novecento Italiano exhibition, Milan, 1926. Margherita Sarfatti, a Jewess, Mussolini's first biographer, a writer and art critic, was a luminary in the Novecento movement, and also worked for Mussolini's newspaper *Il Popolo d'Italia*, as well as being Mussolini's mistress. The movement vied with the Futurists to become the state's official "Fascist Art," but Mussolini left the issue open.
- 45 - Griffin, *Fascism*, pp. 60–61.
- 46 - Griffin, *Fascism*, p. 61.
- 47 - Mino Maccari, *Il Selvaggio*, No. 2, 1927; Griffin, *Fascism*, p. 60.
- 48 - Ex-Communist ideologue Nicola Bombacci was a prominent supporter of the Social Republic, and co-authored the new program of the Fascist Republican Party. Griffin, *Fascism*, p. 86.
- 49 - Griffin, *Fascism*, pp. 86–87.

## 28. **EZRA POUND**

*“A slave is one who waits for someone else to free him.”—Ezra Pound<sup>1</sup>*

Ezra Loomis Pound, 1885–1972, heralded as “a principal founder and moving spirit of modern poetry in English,”<sup>2</sup> was born in a frontier town in Idaho, the son of an assistant assayer and the grandson of a Congressman.

He enrolled at the University of Pennsylvania in 1901 and in 1906 was awarded his MA degree. He had already started work on his *magnum opus*, *The Cantos*. An avid reader of Anglo-Saxon, classical, and medieval literature, Pound continued postgraduate work on the troubadour musician-poets of medieval Provence.

Pound scholar and biographer Noel Stock was to write that Pound, when introduced to the works of Dante and of the troubadours, “wanted to devise a means of entering into the Middle Ages so as to bring them to bear upon the present,”<sup>3</sup> at an early stage being skeptical about the path of “progress.”

In 1908 Pound traveled to Venice. There he paid \$8.00 for the printing of his first volume of poetry, *A Lume Spento (With Tapers Quenched)*.

Pound then went to London to meet W. B. Yeats and became a dominant figure in Yeats's Monday evening circle, serving for a time as Yeats's secretary. He quickly gained recognition in London with the publication in 1909 of his poem *Personae* which caused a "small but definite stir."<sup>4</sup> He came into contact with *The English Review*, which was publishing the works of D. H. Lawrence and the author, painter, and critic Wyndham Lewis. In 1911, Pound launched his campaign for innovative writing in *The New Age* edited by the guild socialist A. R. Orage. For Pound the new poetry of the century would be "austere, direct, free from emotional slither." In considering Pound's association with T. S. Eliot, another "Rightist,"<sup>5</sup> Stock writes:

*The Pound-Eliot "revolution" was a return to the past in order to renew the links connecting past and present, but it also provided a new means of advance which was not available in such clear-cut form to any previous age.*<sup>6</sup>

The following year Pound founded the Imagist movement in literature. He was by now already helping to launch the careers of William Carlos Williams, T. S. Eliot, Ernest Hemingway, and James Joyce. He was now also the mentor of Yeats, Pound's senior by 20 years who enjoyed world recognition.

In 1914 Pound started the Vorticist movement, and although Giovanni Cianci insists that Filippo Marinetti's Futurism had a major impact on the founding of Vorticism, Futurism providing the dynamic to move beyond Imagism,<sup>7</sup> the English Vorticists soon broke with Marinetti, and there was frequent feuding between the two movements.<sup>8</sup> As Cianci concludes: "Pound was deeply immersed in the past, so that he could not welcome the Futurists' famous *antipasséism*."<sup>9</sup>

The original impetus for Vorticism came from the *avant-garde* sculptor Henri Gaudier-Brzeska. With Wyndham Lewis and others, he launched the magazine *Blast*. This was also the year of the world war, which took its toll on many Vorticists. The original *Blast* only went to two issues, and among the dead of the Great War was Gaudier-Brzeska. Pound was to look back, during a wartime radio address in Italy, at the Vorticist movement as an attempt at "reconstruction" in response to the "crisis OF, not IN the system . . ." But England was "too far descended into a state of flaccidity to be able to react to the medicine."<sup>10</sup>

Vorticism was for Pound the first major experience in revolutionary propagandizing and the first cause that placed him outside of orthodoxy. It was also Pound's last effort at "group participation in the arts, before he retreated to a position of individualism . . ." <sup>11</sup>

### **Democracy and the Rise of Mass Man**

Pound regarded commercialism as the force preventing the realization of his artistic-political ideal. Many others in his entourage and beyond, including Yeats and Lewis, regarded the rise of materialism, democracy, and the masses as detrimental to the arts, as newspapers and dime novels replaced literature, and the mass market determined cultural expression. Pound saw artists or what we might call the "culture-bearing strata" as a class higher than the general run of humanity who, under the regime of the democratic era, had been leveled down to a "mass of dolts," a "rabble," whose redeeming feature was to be "the waste and manure" from which grows "the tree of the arts." <sup>12</sup>

This revolt *against* the masses (contra the "revolt *of* the masses") at this epochal juncture became "an important linguistic project among intellectuals." <sup>13</sup> Virginia Woolf descried "that anonymous monster the Man in the Street" as "a vast, featureless, almost shapeless jelly of human stuff, occasionally wobbling this way or that as some instinct of hate, revenge, or admiration bubbles up beneath it." <sup>14</sup> Hence, many of the cultural elite were to seek a counter-revolution in the return of aristocratic societies or saw a modern alternative in Fascism.

Pound saw it as the duty of the culture-bearing strata to rule, even dictatorially, to ensure that the arts were not swamped by mediocrity amidst the drive of business to market "culture" as another mass commodity. <sup>15</sup> Writing in *The Egoist* in 1914 Pound stated:

*The artist no longer has any belief or suspicion that the mass, the half-educated simpering general . . . can in any way share his delights . . . The aristocracy of the arts is ready again for its service. Modern civilization has born a race with brains like those of rabbits, and we who are the heirs of the witch doctor and*



*the voodoo, we artists who have been so long despised are about to take over control.*<sup>16</sup>

## **Social Credit**

Pound embraced the Social Credit economic theory of Major C. H. Douglas, whom Pound met in 1917,<sup>17</sup> which was being promoted by A. R. Orage of *The English Review* and *The New Age*. Not only was Orage a guild socialist, but he was a primary mentor of new artists, some of whom understood the need for a new economic system in order to address their concerns with the crisis in culture engendered by industrialization and plutocracy. T. S. Eliot expressed the matter cogently: “any real change for the better meant a spiritual revolution [and] that no spiritual revolution was of any use unless you had a practical economic system.”<sup>18</sup>

Orage’s backing of Douglas’ monetary theory had a particularly seminal influence on Pound. Interestingly, Orage was the chief proponent of guild socialism, and his journals were considered among the foremost socialist periodicals of the day, yet even the name “Social Credit,” which is generally depicted by its foes as “anti-Semitic” and crypto-Nazi,<sup>19</sup> was coined not by Douglas but by Orage.<sup>20</sup> Orage’s advocacy of guild socialism, having its roots in English tradition rather than alien theorizing, would have been welcomed by certain traditionalists as providing an alternative to Marxism and capitalism, both of which are united in their materialism.

By subordinating money to the interests of society rather than allowing the power of the bankers to run unfettered, money would become the servant of society and not the master. Money, or more correctly, credit, would be the lubricant of commerce, a means of exchanging goods and services, rather than a profit-making commodity in itself. Hence the corrupting influence of the power of money on culture and work would be eliminated.

During the 1930s and 1940s Pound wrote a series of booklets on economics, “Money Pamphlets by £,” lucidly describing economic theory and history.

*Social Credit: An Impact*<sup>21</sup> was dedicated “to the Green Shirts of England.”<sup>22</sup> In

the opening lines, Pound states that “No one can understand history without understanding economics. Gibbon’s History of Rome is a meaningless jumble till a man has read Douglas.”<sup>23</sup>

Pound pointed out the fundamentals of economic realism: that “the state has credit” and that although the sword can protect against foreign invasion, it cannot protect against the serfdom of usury, of which Pound stated: “Usury and sodomy, the Church condemned as a pair, to one hell, the same for one reason, namely that they are both against natural increase.”<sup>24</sup>

He stated that the truth about “the principles of honest issue of money” have been known throughout history, but are repeatedly forgotten (or willfully obliterated), pointing to examples in history where currency has been issued without recourse to state debt. Marco Polo, for example, observed that Kublai Khan’s “stamped paper money” “costs the Khan nothing” to fund his state.<sup>25</sup> The much-lauded “New Deal” of Pound’s home country, on the other hand, indicated no comprehension of “the basic relations of currency system, money system, credit system to the needs and purchasing power of the *whole* people.”<sup>26</sup>

Pound pointed out what should be obvious to all, namely that money—or more accurately *credit*<sup>27</sup>—should properly serve as a means of exchanging goods and services, and that “money is not a commodity.”<sup>28</sup> He wrote:

*Four things are necessary in any modern or civilized economic system:*

*1. the labourer; 2. the product; 3. the means of transport; and 4. the monetary carrier.*

*Inadequate monetarization has made “inaccessible islands” of fields laying adjacent one with the other; it has erected barriers between garden and factory.*<sup>29</sup>

*The reason for growing food is to feed the people. The reason for weaving cloth is to clothe them. The function of a money system is to get the goods from where they are to the people who need them . . .*<sup>30</sup>

*Money has been treated not only as if it were goods, but it has been given*

*privileges above all other goods. This was flagrant injustice. Free men will not tolerate it for one hour after they understand it.*<sup>31</sup>

Pound next alludes to a factor in the Great Depression that epitomizes the *criminality* of the economic system: the phenomenon of “poverty amidst plenty,” which during the 1930s saw the destruction of meat and crops by government order—while people starved—because the people had no money or credit to purchase the food. One might wonder whether this was any less criminal than the planned famine in the USSR in order to destroy the *kulaks* as a class. Pound wrote of this “New Deal” economics that was supposed to secure social justice under Roosevelt: “If the American government OWNED crops sufficiently to order their destruction, it owned them quite enough to order their delivery.”<sup>32</sup>

### **Fascism**

Pound considered Fascist Italy to be partially achieving Social Credit aims in breaking the power of the bankers over politics and culture, writing:

*This will not content the Douglasites nor do I believe that Douglas’ credit proposals can permanently be refused or refuted, but given the possibilities of intelligence against prejudice in the year XI of the fascist era, what other government has got any further, or shows any corresponding interest in or care for the workers?*<sup>33</sup>

He also saw Fascism as the culmination of an ancient tradition continued in the personalities of Mussolini, Hitler,<sup>34</sup> and the British Fascist leader Sir Oswald Mosley.

Pound had studied the doctrines of the ethnologist Leo Frobenius during the 1920s,<sup>35</sup> which gave a mystical interpretation to race and had influenced Oswald Spengler. Cultures were the product of races, and each race had its own soul, or *paideuma*, of which the artist was the guardian. In Mussolini, Pound saw not only a statesman who had overthrown the money power, but also someone who had returned culture to the center of politics. He said: “Mussolini has told his people that poetry is a necessity of state, and this displayed a higher state of civilization than in London or

Washington.”<sup>36</sup> In *Jefferson and/or Mussolini*, Pound explained:

*I don't believe any estimate of Mussolini will be valid unless it starts from his passion for construction. Treat him as artifex and all the details fall into place. Take him as anything save the artist and you will get muddled with contradictions . . .*<sup>37</sup>

*. . . The Fascist revolution was FOR the preservation of certain liberties and FOR the maintenance of a certain level of culture, certain standards of living . . .*<sup>38</sup>

In *Social Credit: An Impact*, published the same year, Pound wrote of Fascism in relation to economic reform:

*Fascism has saved Italy, and saving Italy bids fair to save part of Europe, but outside Italy no one has seen any fascism, only the parodies and gross counterfeits. Douglas for seventeen years has been working to build a new England and enlighten England's ex- and still annexed colonies. The corporate state<sup>39</sup> has invented a representative body that should function in the age of correlated machinery better than the old representation of agricultural districts.*<sup>40</sup>

Pound saw both Italy and Japan trying to throw off the system of usury, writing: “Japan and Italy, the two really alert, active nations are both engaged in proving fragments of the Douglas analysis, and in putting bits of his scheme into practice . . .”<sup>41</sup>

*. . . The foregoing does not mean that Italy has gone “Social Credit.” And it does not mean that I want all Englishmen to eat macaroni and sing Neapolitan love songs. It does mean or ought to mean that Englishmen are just plain stupid to lag behind Italy, the western states of America and the British Dominions . . .*

<sup>42</sup>

*As to your “democratic principles,” the next ten years will show whether your groggy and incompetent parliament “represents” the will of the English people half as effectively as the new Italian Consiglio of the Guilds, where men are, at*

*least in terms of the programme, represented by men of their own trade.*<sup>43</sup>

It is interesting that Pound mentions Japan as having implemented some of Douglas' methods of economic policy, considering the knowledge of Japan's economic system is even more obscure to most people than those of Fascist Italy and National Socialist Germany.<sup>44</sup>

Douglas had toured Japan in 1929 where, as in his New Zealand tour, he was enthusiastically received. Douglas' works were published in Japan more so in any other country. In 1932 the Imperial Bank was organized as a fully state bank, and in 1942 the Bank of Japan Law was enacted, based on the 1939 Reichsbank Act in Germany.<sup>45</sup>

Pound and his wife Dorothy settled in Italy in 1924, "to remove himself from the deadening influence of the twentieth century's mass man." [46] He met Mussolini in 1933.<sup>47</sup> He also became a regular contributor to the periodicals of Mosley's British Union of Fascists,<sup>48</sup> first writing to Mosley in 1934 and meeting him in 1936, [49] the latter recalling that Pound was "exactly the opposite of what I expected from the abstruse genius of his poetry. He appeared as a vivacious, bustling, and practical person . . ." <sup>50</sup>

Writing in Mosley's *BUF Quarterly*, Pound stated that Roosevelt and his Jewish advisers had betrayed the American Revolution.<sup>51</sup> It was a theme he returned to in more detail during the war: The American Revolution of 1776 had been a revolt against the control by the Bank of England of the monetary system of the American colonies. Benjamin Franklin had stated in his diary that the colonists would have gladly borne the tax on tea. They had issued their own colonial scrip. This had resulted in prosperity with a credit supply independent of the private banking system. The Bank of England intervened to compel the colonies to withdraw the scrip at a rate of devaluation that caused depression and unemployment. The colonists rebelled. But people such as Alexander Hamilton ensured that an independent America was soon again subject to the orthodox financial system of private banking control. Lincoln attempted the same resistance to the bankers and issued his famous "Lincoln Greenbacks."<sup>52</sup>

Pound pointed out that Mussolini had instituted banking reform in 1935 and

deplored the lack of knowledge and understanding around the world of what Italy was achieving. The US Constitution provided for the same credit system, giving the government the prerogative to create and issue its own credit and currency. Pound saw parallels between Fascist Italy and the type of economic system sought by certain American statesmen such as Jefferson and Jackson. The war was being fought in the interests of usury:

*This war was not caused by any caprice on Mussolini's part, nor on Hitler's. This war is part of the secular war between usurers and peasants, between the usurocracy and whoever does an honest day's work with his own brain or hands.*<sup>53</sup>

In the British Union of Fascists Pound found a congenial home for his economic theories. While the policy of “state credit” advocated by fascists and National Socialists, and indeed by Pound, was not in accord with *orthodox* Social Crediters,<sup>54</sup> opposition to usury was a prime element of British Fascism as it was of generic fascism in most countries.

The British Union of Fascists’ “director of policy,” Alexander Raven Thomson, an economist who had been educated in Scotland, Germany, and the US,<sup>55</sup> explained that a “Fascist Government would issue the new currency and credit direct, without charge of usury . . .”<sup>56</sup>

Only a strong state could break the rule of the usurers, explained Thomson in a further policy pamphlet, where he pointed out that merely “nationalizing” the Bank of England would be of little use, as the bank would still be part of the international financial system, as are numerous central banks, which merely serve as the means by which the state continues to borrow from international finance. Therefore a Fascist government would bring the “control of currency out of the hands of the financial tyrants,” basing credit issue on the needs of production and consumption.<sup>57</sup>

W. K. A. J. Chamber-Hunter<sup>[58]</sup> advocated Social Credit as the means by which the British Union should implement a new financial system in place of usury.<sup>59</sup> Thomson stated that Social Credit “deserves consideration,” but that its followers failed to recognize that only strong authority could “overthrow the present financial

dictatorship.”<sup>60</sup> BUF woman’s organizer Anne Brock Griggs, pointed out the suffering of mothers and children caused by the financial system due to the lack of purchasing power to buy basics such as milk, of which there was an abundance.<sup>61</sup> Henry Swabey traced the long tradition of the Church in condemning usury and advocating the principle of the “just price,” also alluding to Douglas, and stated that the fault lies with the system that allows bankers to create credit “out of nothing as a book entry.” He pointed out that in 1936 “the Bank Acts of March” in Italy enabled the state to issue credit, and not the usurer.<sup>62</sup>

It seems logical that Pound would have perceived the British Union as the most militant means by which to overthrow the usurers and establish a just social system, together with the examples of Germany and Italy as having introduced measures in that direction. Hence he wrote in 1939: “USURY is the cancer of the world, which only the surgeon’s knife of Fascism can cut out of the life of nations.”<sup>63</sup>

Pound’s Canto XLV, “With Usura,” is a particularly lucid exposition of how the usury system infects social and cultural bodies. He provides a note at the end defining usury as “a charge for the use of purchasing power, levied without regard to production: often without regard even to the possibilities of production.”

With usura . . .  
no picture is made to endure nor to live with  
but it is made to sell and to sell quickly  
with usura, sin against nature,  
is thy bread ever more of stale rags  
is thy bread dry as paper, . . .  
and no man can find site for his dwelling.  
Stone cutter is kept from his stone  
weaver is kept from his loom  
WITH USURA  
wool comes not to market  
sheep bringeth no gain with usura . . .  
Usura rusteth the chisel  
It rusteth the craft and the craftsman

It gnaweth the thread in the loom . . .  
Usura slayeth the child in the womb  
It stayeth the young man's courting  
It hath brought palsey to bed, lyeth  
between the young bride and her bridegroom  
CONTRA NATURAM  
They have brought whores to Eleusis  
Corpses are set to banquet  
at behest of usura.[64]

“With Usura” precisely reflects Pound’s position that the financial system denies the cultural heritage and creativity of the people, creates poverty amidst plenty, and fails to act as a mechanism for the exchange of the productive and cultural heritage, by making credit a commodity instead of a means of exchange. Creativity either fails to reach its destination or is stillborn. We might with this poem in particular understand why Pound felt the problem of banking and credit to be of crucial concern to artists.

### **Caged**

From the late 1930s Pound began to look with favor at the economic system created by Hitler’s regime and regarded the Rome-Berlin Axis as “the first serious attack on usurocracy since the time of Lincoln.” Several years after referring to “hysterical Hitlerian yawping,”<sup>65</sup> and by this time aware of the war that was being agitated against Germany, Pound quoted from *Mein Kampf* in regard to usury:

*The struggle against international finance and loan capital has become the most important point in the National Socialist programme: the struggle of the German nation for its independence and freedom.*<sup>66</sup>

In April 1939 Pound went to the US to try and garner support against America’s entry into a war that he saw was approaching against Germany. He told Archibald MacLeish<sup>67</sup> during an interview for the *Atlantic Monthly*, that he had not come to the US to talk about literature, but to convince his countrymen to keep out of any European conflagration, in the hope that if war could not be averted, it could at least



be confined.<sup>68</sup>

In 1940, after having returned to Italy, Pound offered his services as a radio broadcaster. The broadcasts, called “The American Hour,” began in January 1941.<sup>69</sup>

In July 1943 Mussolini was deposed, and Pound was indicted for treason by a grand jury in the District of Columbia, along with seven Americans who had been broadcasting for Germany. Hemingway, concerned at the fate of his old mentor after the war, suggested the possibility of an “insanity” plea,<sup>70</sup> and the idea caught on among some of his literary friends who had obtained good jobs in the US government.<sup>71</sup> Other interests were pressing for the death penalty.

With the American invasion, Pound headed for the Salò Republic, the Fascist last stand, where he wrote a flow of articles, mostly on economic reform, and in December, 1943 resumed his radio broadcasts.

Mussolini was murdered on April 28, 1945. On May 2, Pound was taken from his home by Italian partisans after he had unsuccessfully attempted to turn himself over to the American forces. Putting a book of Confucius into his pocket, he went with the partisans expecting to be hanged, as a bloodlust was now turned against those who had been loyal to Mussolini.<sup>72</sup> Instead, he ended up in an American camp at Pisa constructed for the most vicious military prisoners. Pound was confined in a bare iron cage in the burning heat, sleeping on the concrete floor, brilliantly lighted throughout the night. This was what Pound later called the “gorilla cage.” *Esquire* commented: “The dust and the light soon became intolerable; he became physically very weak; he lost his memory, eventually he broke down.”<sup>73</sup>

He was transferred to a medical facility and lived in a small tent. “Despite his extraordinary predicament, Pound’s native spirit soon returned and he was writing his new Cantos.”<sup>74</sup>

In November 1945, he was flown to Washington and jailed. While Hemingway, *et al.* had planned to have Pound declared “insane” to avoid treason charges, the conditions he had been subjected to had in fact caused him to mentally and physically break down, and by the time he reached Washington his lawyer, Julien Cornell, described Pound as being “in a rather desperate condition.”<sup>75</sup> On December 21 he was

sent to St. Elizabeths mental hospital. Again, conditions were atrocious. The ward was for the criminally insane, and “reeked of sweat and urine.” He lived in fear of the other inmates. On February 13, 1946, formal hearings declared him to be of unsound mind, and was kept at St. Elizabeths for eleven years.<sup>76</sup> Here his literary output continued, and he translated 300 traditional Chinese poems that were published by Harvard University Press in 1954.<sup>77</sup> He was awarded the Bollingen Prize for Poetry in 1949 for the “Pisan Cantos,” the award causing uproar amidst accusations of “Fascist infiltrators,” but scholarly interest in Pound increased widely.<sup>78</sup> Others tried to consign him to oblivion.<sup>79</sup>

In 1958, the indictment for treason was dropped, after years of campaigning for his release by influential friends such as Eliot, MacLeish, Robert Frost, Congressman Usher L. Burdick,<sup>80</sup> and even UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld who maintained a correspondence with Pound and was among those campaigning for Pound’s nomination for the Nobel Prize in Literature.<sup>81</sup>

Throughout his ordeal, Pound maintained his political beliefs, and among the visitors to St. Elizabeths seeking the wisdom of “Granpaw” was John Kasper, a fiery young intellectual and admirer of Pound’s poetry who became well-known for his tours of the South defending segregation. Kasper saw Pound frequently and maintained a weekly correspondence. Kasper became Pound’s protégé. He established a right-wing bookshop and a publishing venture under Pound’s guidance, the “Square Dollar Series.” Kasper’s strident pro-segregation leaflets, which he distributed throughout the South, were inspired by Pound’s poetic style.<sup>82</sup>

When Pound was released after thirteen years of confinement, eleven in an asylum, journalists who interviewed him concluded that Pound, while eccentric, did not display any signs of insanity.<sup>83</sup>

On June 30, 1958, Pound set sail for Italy. When he reached Naples, he gave the Fascist salute to journalists and declared, “all Americas an insane asylum.”<sup>84</sup> He continued with *The Cantos* and stayed in contact with political personalities such as Kasper and Mosley. He remained defiantly opposed to the American system when giving interviews, despite the protests of US diplomats to the Italian government.

In 1951, Peter Russell, a London publisher, reprinted many of Pound's pamphlets on economics, which he stated was "essential to the full understanding of [Pound's] major poetical work, *The Cantos*." Russell commented that although the publication of the pamphlets had no political motive, they are "a healthy reaction . . . to the vicious plutocracy and the destructive bureaucracy which seem today to be the twin tyrants of our uneasy world."<sup>85</sup>

Pound continued to write for Mosley as he had before the war, which drew the interest of a new generation of admirers of Pound's poetry,<sup>86</sup> including the scholars Alan Neame, Noel Stock,<sup>87</sup> and Denis Goacher.<sup>88</sup> A 1959 issue of Mosley's journal, *The European*,<sup>89</sup> carries Pound's "Ci de los Cantares," a mixture of Chinese characters and terms as well as references to Yeats, bygone statesmen, percentages and prices, and non-usurious banking practices: "Gaudin did not pay interest on government credit. Nor did Kang Hi."

Pound died on November 1, 1972, "the last of a generation which had tried to create art and literature on an heroic scale."<sup>90</sup>

## Notes:

1 - Ezra Pound, *Impact: Essays on Ignorance and the Decline of American Civilization*, ed. Noel Stock (Chicago: Regnery, 1960), p. 209.

2 - *Who's Who in America*, 1969–1970.

3 - Noel Stock, *Poet in Exile: Ezra Pound* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1964), p. 10.

4 - Stock, *Poet in Exile*, p. 30.

5 - Eliot, like most of the individuals considered in this book, was concerned that industrialism molded "bodies of men and women—of all classes—detached from tradition, alienated from religion, and susceptible to mass suggestion: in other words a mob." Eliot advocated an organic society based on the maintenance and invigoration of classes, including the aristocratic, each with its own valuable social function. T. S. Eliot, *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* (London: Faber & Faber, 1948), p. 48. He was not however an advocate of Fascism for Britain but believed in "Toryism," founded on religion and monarchism (Eliot, *The Criterion*, October 1931, p. 71).

6 - Stock, *Poet in Exile*, p. 55.

7 - Giovanni Cianci, "Pound and Futurism," *Blast 3* (Santa Barbara: Black Sparrow Press, 1984), p. 63. *Blast 3* is a 1984 compilation of Vorticist articles by admirers of Wyndham Lewis.

8 - Eliot wrote that Pound had perhaps done more than anyone to keep Futurism out of England, and had objected to it as being "incompatible with any principle of form." Eliot, "Ezra Pound: His Metric and Poetry," 1917, reprinted in *To Criticize the Critic* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), pp. 174–75.

9 - Cianci, "Pound and Futurism," *Blast 3*, p. 66.

10 - *Blast 3*, "Ezra Pound, Radio Speech #30," April 26, 1942, p. 60.

- 11 - Eustace Mullins, *This Difficult Individual: Ezra Pound* (Hollywood: Angriff Press, 1961), p. 88.
- 12 - John Carey, *The Intellectuals and the Masses: Pride and Prejudice Among the Literary Intelligentsia, 1880–1939* (London: Faber and Faber, 1992), p. 25.
- 13 - Carey, *The Intellectuals and the Masses*, p. 25.
- 14 - *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, vol. III, 1919–1924, ed. Andrew McNeillie (London: The Hogarth Press, 1988), p. 3.
- 15 - That is to say, precisely the situation that has emerged, when one talks for example of the “music industry,” or the “movie industry.” One might just as well also state: the “art industry,” and the “literature industry,” as culture is now all but dominated by commercial interests.
- 16 - Ezra Pound, “The New Sculpture,” *The Egoist*, February 16, 1914, pp. 67–68.
- 17 - Mullins, *This Difficult Individual*, p. 194.
- 18 - T. S. Eliot, *The Criterion*, January 1935, p. 262.
- 19 - Janine Stingel, *Social Discredit: Anti-Semitism, Social Credit, and the Jewish Response* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000).
- 20 - Some prominent advocates of “Douglas Social Credit” contend that the theory cannot be considered without reference to guild socialism and to A. R. Orage, and state that the original Social Credit articles that appeared in *The New Age* were co-written by Douglas and Orage. Orage’s advocacy of Social Credit split the Fabian socialists. See Frances Hutchinson and Brian Burkitt, *The Political Economy of Social Credit and Guild Socialism* (London: Routledge, 1997). Hutchinson and Burkitt allude to the term “Social Credit” first being used by Orage. See their “Major Douglas’ Proposals for a National Dividend,” *International Journal of Social Economics*, 21 (1994): 19–28, n4.
- 21 - Ezra Pound, *Social Credit: An Impact* (1935) (London: Peter Russell, 1951).
- 22 - The Green Shirts, the militant arm of Social Credit in England, marched through the streets with drums beating and banners unfurled, holding mass street rallies, publishing a newspaper, and throwing green painted bricks through bank windows to publicize their views when charges brought the perpetrators before court. It was militancy on par with Sir Oswald Mosley’s Black Shirts. See K. R. Bolton, *John Hargrave and the British Greenshirts* (Paraparaumu, New Zealand: Renaissance Press, 2001).
- 23 - Pound, *Social Credit*, p. 1.
- 24 - Pound, *Social Credit*, p. 6.
- 25 - Pound, *Social Credit*, p. 6.
- 26 - Pound, *Social Credit*, pp. 6–7.
- 27 - There is a subtle difference between “money,” or notes and coins, and “credit” or book- (today, computer)-keeping entries; most commerce is undertaken with credit rather than with notes and coins.
- 28 - Pound, *Social Credit*, p. 9.
- 29 - Pound, *Social Credit*, p. 13.
- 30 - Pound, *Social Credit*, p. 15.
- 31 - Pound, *Social Credit*, p. 15.
- 32 - Pound, *Social Credit*, p. 15.
- 33 - Ezra Pound, *Jefferson and/or Mussolini*, 1935 (New York: Liveright, 1970), p. 126.
- 34 - Pound was not originally impressed by Hitler, referring in 1935 for example to “hysterical Hitlerian yawping” (*Jefferson and/or Mussolini*, p. 127).
- 35 - Ezra Pound, *A Visiting Card* (Rome, 1942) (London: Peter Russell, 1952), pp. 29, 33.
- 36 - E. Fuller Torrey, *The Roots of Treason: Ezra Pound and the Secrets of St. Elizabeths* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1984), p. 138.
- 37 - Pound, *Jefferson and/or Mussolini*, p. 34.
- 38 - Pound, *Jefferson and/or Mussolini*, p. 127.
- 39 - The “corporate state” was the parliamentary structure of Fascist Italy based on occupational and

professional representation rather than party representation. It was one of the syndicalist elements inherited by Fascism.

40- Pound, *Social Credit*, p. 7.

41 - Pound, *Social Credit*, p. 19.

42 - A clear reference to the use of state credit in New Zealand, and also in Australia and Canada.

43 - Pound, *Social Credit*, p. 19.

44 - Bertram De Colonna, "The Truth About Germany," *The Mirror* (Auckland, New Zealand), 1938. See K. R. Bolton, *Recovery: Hitler's Financial Policy Explained* (Paraparaumu, New Zealand: Renaissance Press, 2001).

45 - Stephen M. Goodson, "Why the USA Forced the Empire of Japan into World War II," *The Barnes Review*, vol. 14, no. 6, November–December, 2008.

46 - Mullins, *This Difficult Individual: Ezra Pound*, p. 154.

47 - Torrey, *The Roots of Treason*, p. 135.

48 - *British Union Quarterly* published eight of Pound's articles between 1936–1940 (Torrey, *The Roots of Treason*, p. 137).

49 - Torrey, *The Roots of Treason*, p. 137.

50 - Oswald Mosley, *My Life* (London: Nelson, 1968), p. 226.

51 - Ezra Pound, "The Revolution Betrayed," *BUF Quarterly*, 1938. Reprinted in *Selections from BUF Quarterly* (Marietta, Ga.: The Truth at Last, 1995), pp. 48–55.

52 - Ezra Pound, *America, Roosevelt and the Causes of the Present War* (Venice, 1944) (London: Peter Russell, 1951). In their enthusiasm for Lincoln's "Greenbacks," monetary reformers generally do not appreciate that the Confederacy also issued its own state credit, the "Graybacks."

53 - Pound, *America, Roosevelt and the Causes of the Present War*, p. 5.

54 - Orthodox Social Credit theory is *opposed* to "state credit" seeing this as akin to communism and leading to state serfdom. Any concentration of economic or political power is anathema to Social Credit orthodoxy. The orthodox viewpoint insists that "Social Credit" must be issued by an independent "credit authority" that is not associated with the state. This question however, causes considerable factionalism within Social Credit groups, which might seem analogous to the utter seriousness taken among socialist factions in their dispute over what constitutes "true Marxism." In New Zealand's successful experiment with "state credit" during the Great Depression, the primary advocate of state credit in the Labour Government, John A. Lee, commented that Douglas' *analysis* of the flaws of the financial system is valuable, and that his New Zealand tour served as the major impetus for the widespread demand for banking reform in 1934, but that the actual *methods* of implementation by the Government would have to be through a State-owned Reserve Bank. See John A. Lee, *Money Power for the People: A Policy for the Future Suggested* (Auckland: n.p., 1937), p. 4.

55 - Robert Skidelsky, *Mosley* (London: Macmillan, 1975), p. 345.

56- Alexander Raven Thomson, *The Economics of British Fascism* (London: Bonner and Co., n.d., ca. 1935), p. 7.

57 - Alexander Raven Thomson, *Our Financial Masters* (London: British Union of Fascists, 1937), pp. 15–16.

58 - BUF Aberdeen organizer. See Stephen M. Cullen, "The Fasces and the Saltire: The Failure of the British Union of Fascists in Scotland, 1932–1940," *The Scottish Historical Journal*, 83, 2008, p. 313. Chamber-Hunter's Aberdeen branch was one of the few that were successful in Scotland, and Mosley presented him with the BUF Gold Award in 1937. He resigned from the BUF in 1939 "to pursue his interest in Social Credit (*ibid.*, p. 316).

59 - W. K. A. J. Chamber-Hunter, *British Union and Social Credit* (London: British Union, ca. 1938).

60 - Alexander Raven Thomson, "Causes of the Slump," *BUF Quarterly*, 1937; *Selections from BUF Quarterly*, p. 20.

61 - Anne Brock Griggs, "Food or Usury?," *BUF Quarterly*, 1936; *Selections from BUF Quarterly*, pp. 34–37.

62 - Henry Swabey, "From Just Price to Usury," *BUF Quarterly*, 1939; *Selections from BUF Quarterly*, pp. 71–78.

- 63 - Ezra Pound, *What is Money For?* (1939) (London: Peter Russell, 1951), p. 12.
- 64 - Ezra Pound, *Selected Poems, 1908–1959* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), “Canto XLV: With Usura,” pp. 147–48.
- 65 - Pound, *Jefferson and/or Mussolini*, p. 127.
- 66 - Ezra Pound, *What is Money For?*, p. 12.
- 67 - MacLeish also supported Social Credit.
- 68 - Mullins, *This Difficult Individual*, pp. 196–97.
- 69 - Torrey, *The Roots of Treason*, p. 158.
- 70 - Torrey, *The Roots of Treason*, p. 175.
- 71 - MacLeish had become assistant secretary in the US State Department.
- 72- Torrey, *The Roots of Treason*, p. 176.
- 73 - Peter Ackroyd, *Ezra Pound and His World* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), p. 86.
- 74 - Ackroyd, *Ezra Pound and His World*, p. 86.
- 75 - Ackroyd, *Ezra Pound and His World*, p. 91.
- 76- Ackroyd, *Ezra Pound and His World*, p. 92.
- 77 - Torrey, *The Roots of Treason*, p. 222.
- 78 - Ackroyd, *Ezra Pound and His World*, p. 96.
- 79 - Random House refused to include any works by Pound in a poetry anthology, although one of the editors had chosen twelve of Pound’s poems for inclusion. Charles Norman, *Ezra Pound* (New York: Macmillan, 1960), p. 416.
- 80 - Ackroyd, *Ezra Pound and His World*, p. 98.
- 81 - Torrey, *The Roots of Treason*, pp. 254–55.
- 82 - Torrey, *The Roots of Treason*, pp. 228–29.
- 83 - Torrey, *The Roots of Treason*, p. 262.
- 84 - Torrey, *The Roots of Treason*, p. 263.
- 85 - Peter Russell, “Publisher’s Note,” 1950, Ezra Pound, *Social Credit: An Impact*.
- 86 - Skidelsky, *Mosley*, pp. 493–94.
- 87 - Stock authored *The Life of Ezra Pound* (New York: Random House, 1970) and *Poet in Exile: Ezra Pound*.
- 88 - Goacher, the British actor and poet, went to Washington in 1953 and became Pound’s secretary, typing his poetry and essays. He was important in campaigning for Pound’s release and thereafter visited Pound in Italy. Goacher became “drama critic” for Mosley’s *European*. See Nicholas Johnson, “Obituary: Denis Goacher,” *The Independent*, May 6, 1998.
- 89 - Ezra Pound, “Ci de los Cantares,” *The European*, vol. 12, no. 6, February 1959, pp. 382–84. This issue also carries a review by Alan Neame of Ronald Firbank’s play, “Valmouth” (p. 372). Also in this issue is a revisionist article by Noel Stock, citing Harry Elmer Barnes, discussing financial sources for the Russian Revolution, and alluding Poundian-style to usury as the cause of civilizational collapse (“Blackout on History,” pp. 337–43). Alan Neame’s poem “Levant Elevenes,” appears in the July 1958 issue of *The European*, vol. 11, no. 5, p. 305. Denis Goacher’s poem, “In Memoriam *New Statesman*,” satirizes the bourgeois liberal of that magazine, and spoofs their obliviousness to the cultural decay of Britain, with its “rock and roll” and “stereophonic crooning . . .” (vol. 12, no. 4, December 1958, pp. 250–51).
- 90 - Ackroyd, *Ezra Pound and His World*, p. 115.

29.

## WILLIAM JOYCE



William Joyce, more infamously known to history as “Lord Haw Haw,” the epitome of a British Traitor, was hanged on the basis of a passport technicality on January 3, 1946. Like the name “Quisling” (see Ralph Hewin’s excellent biography *Quisling: Prophet Without Honour*) much nonsense persists about Joyce.

The following is redacted from my introduction to William Joyce’s *Twilight*

*Over England* (London: Black House Publishing, 2013). The second part of the introduction, not included here, examines the primary points of Joyce's book, the continuing relevance of which is its cogent criticism of Free Trade liberalism and international finance.

\* \* \*

Twenty-five years ago I was told a little anecdote by a work colleague, a middle aged Englishman. He said that as a small lad in England he and his friends were one Christmas eve singing carols to earn some pocket money. One household they came to was particularly memorable for him during those Depression years. A gentleman answered the door, invited the children inside and gave them each not only a cake but also a shilling. What struck my work colleague all those years later, still, was not only the generosity of the amount each child had been given, but more particularly, that someone from the 'middle class', invited a group of working class children in to the household where they received their cakes and coins. Such lack of social snobbery was a rarity that my work colleague had never forgotten. My English friend concluded by stating that the kind benefactor was named William Joyce.

My English friend was no Nazi; not even vaguely 'right-wing'. His anecdote on this humanity of William Joyce, enduringly hated as a traitor, whose very name, as 'Lord Haw-Haw', as he was dubbed by the Allied propaganda machine, is Britain's equivalent to Norway's Quisling, and America's Benedict Arnold. Joyce, as a British 'Nazi', is automatically regarded as a rogue, a lunatic, an apologist for mass murder and aggression, a fool, or any combination thereof. Yet the anecdote from my English friend's childhood betrays a human side to the likes of William Joyce that just maybe indicates the he was none of those things, but a man of entirely different character. For in *Twilight Over England*, written while Joyce's beloved Britain – yes, beloved Britain – was at war with Germany, and while Joyce had made the fateful decision that siding with those who were fighting Britain was the greatest manifestation of that love of Britain, we have the testament of a man deeply anguished at the level to which his



people had been reduced by a rapacious system. That this system of international finance and Free Trade is more fully enthroned today and over more of the world than in Joyce's time shows the relevance of this volume for the present and foreseeable future. In *Twilight Over England* we might discern – if we open our minds, and for a little while at least, leave behind the prejudgements and the victor's hateful propaganda – the historical circumstances, centuries in the making, that brought this Briton to a martyr's death.

Indeed, J A Cole, as objective a biographer that one could expect, described Joyce as 'intelligent, well-educated, dedicated, hardworking, fluent and sharp-tongued'.<sup>1</sup> Although critical of Joyce, Cole also described him as 'so unlike the stereotype which fear and prejudice had created'.<sup>2</sup> As a paid broadcaster for the Germans during the war, Joyce retained a character devoid of egotism and vanity, living frugally, refusing pay raises and perks other than cigarettes, and only being persuaded with some difficulty to buy himself a smartly-cut suit.<sup>3</sup> How far away the reality of Joyce was from the character depicted, apparently without a shred of good conscience, by Rebecca West, who gloated at Joyce's trial, referring to him as opening 'a vista into a mean life', always speaking 'as though he was better fed and better clothed than we were, and so, we now know, he was',<sup>4</sup> going so far as to describe Joyce as 'a tiny little creature',<sup>5</sup> presumably confident that such was the hysteria that nothing she wrote against him would be challenged. It is as though West, and a gaggle of lesser slanderers, took all that Joyce truly was and turned it on its head. However, anyone with an eye to fame or money can still write whatever junk they can contrive on certain events related to the Second World War, and seldom are they called to account for their humbug. Indeed, to expose the lies can render one a jail sentence in many states and the destruction of one's reputation and career.<sup>6</sup>

Joyce was a rare combination in history: an activist, a revolutionary, and a tough fighter, scarred with a Communist-welded razorblade. He was not some sallow intellectual whose only battle was fought within the brain and with verbosity at a safe distance from one's targets. He had been the Director of Propaganda for a mass movement, Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists, which like Fascist movements across the world in the aftermath of the First World War, attracted

individuals of many types and classes in solidarity. In Britain these included the American expatriate poet Ezra Pound, a founder of modern English literature;<sup>7</sup> Wyndham Lewis, novelist, painter, philosopher and co-founder with Pound of the *Vorticist* arts movement; the British nature writer and Hawthorne Prize Winner Henry Williamson, who never repudiated his belief in the heroic virtues of Mosley or Hitler, even after the war and who, like many who joined Mosley, was a First World War veteran haunted by the prospect of another war, but also reminded of the Europe that might still be when on Christmas Eve 1914 Germans and Britons greeted each other in no-man's land to play football, returning to slaughter one another the following day; the military strategist, General J F C Fuller, father of modern tank warfare; and many others of the highest intellectual and cultural calibre.

William was born in New York on 24 April 1906, his father, Michael Francis Joyce, a Catholic, having migrated from Ireland in 1892, and marrying Gertrude Brooke, daughter of a Lancashire physician. In 1906 the family returned to Ireland, Michael having done well as a builder, and now becoming a publican and a property owner. William was educated at Catholic schools, and at an early age threw himself with gusto into whatever he did: When assisting at a service in the chapel he swung the censer with such force that the glowing incense flew down the aisle. He received his broken nose not through a fist fight with a Communist during the 1920s or 30s, but with a boy at school who had called him an 'Orangeman', because of the Joyce family's avidly pro-British sentiments at the time of Ireland's tribulations. His nose was not properly attended to, and hence William always had a distinctively nasal tone to his voice. During the Republican rebellion Michael's properties endured arson. Young William saw the body of his neighbour, a policeman, on the road, with a bullet through his head. On another occasion he witnessed a Sinn Feiner cornered and shot by police.<sup>8</sup>

In 1920 the British Government reinforced the Royal Irish Constabulary with the Black & Tan paramilitaries. At fourteen, William served as a spy for the authorities, keeping his eyes and ears open for snippets of information that might be of use, and ran a squad of sub-agents. With the truce of 1921, and the departure of the British, the Joyce family moved to England. At 15, eager to continue serving King and

Empire, he enlisted in the army at Worcester, giving his age as 18, but his real age was soon discovered and he was discharged. At 16 he joined the Officer Training Corps at the University of London, and after graduating from Battersea Polytechnic, enrolled at Birbeck College, part of the University.

Of Joyce's intellectual gifts, his lifelong friend and comrade, John MacNab related to Cole:

*'He kept no files, diaries or notes of any kind, but he could recall the date, place and circumstances of remote events and meetings with people. He never forgot a face or a name, and could give a full account, unhesitatingly, of almost anything that had ever happened to him. At intervals of years he would repeat the same account without the least variation. He could quote – always exactly – any poem he had ever read with attention, and even notable pieces of prose. As a Latin scholar his technical qualifications were inferior to my own, yet he was the one who could quote Virgil or Horace etc., freely and always to the point, not I'.<sup>9</sup>*

MacNab stated that Joyce was a multi-linguist, gifted in mathematics and his ability to teach it. 'He read widely in history, philosophy, theology, psychology, theoretical physics and chemistry, economics law, medicine, anatomy and physiology. When he broke his collarbone in 1936 while skating, he was able to set it himself due to his knowledge of physiology. He was a talented pianist'.<sup>10</sup>

### **British Fascisti**

While pursuing a BA in Latin, French, English and History, in 1923 he joined the British Fascisti, founded that year by Miss R L Linton-Orman, a member of a distinguished military family who had served with the Women's Reserve Ambulance during the First World War and had twice been awarded the Croix de Charité for gallantry for heroic rescues in Salonica.<sup>11</sup>

The first such body to be established in Britain, inspired by the assumption to power by Mussolini in 1922, and the destruction of Communism in Italy, there was not

much ideological substance to the British Fascisti (later 'British Fascists'), other than loyalty to 'King and Empire', a determination to form a paramilitary force to stop Communism in the event of revolution or strikes, and to maintain order at Conservative Party meetings when Communists and Labourites threatened violence. The membership was drawn mainly from the middle and upper classes, and included a good number of retired officers. The first president of the British Fascists was Lord Garvagh, who was succeeded by Brigadier-General Blakeney, later associated with both Arnold Leese's Imperial Fascist League, a small but persistent anti-Semitic group; and Mosley's British Union.<sup>12</sup> The presence of such personalities indicates the impression that Fascist Italy was making on important sections of Britain, and that it could never be dismissed as the collective delusions of a 'lunatic fringe'.

Despite the lack of ideological substance, many stalwart Fascists got their start with the British Fascisti, including those who were to play a prominent role in the British Union of Fascists (BUF). It was as leader of the 'I Squad' of the British Fascisti that on 22 October 1924 Joyce stationed his men at Lambeth Baths Hall in South-East London, to protect the election meeting of Jack Lazarus, Conservative party Parliamentary candidate for Lambeth North, from Communist attack. These were times in which electoral meetings not approved by the Left were subjected to attack from Communist and Labour party thugs armed with razors, often put into potatoes for throwing, and spiked sticks. Hence, the British Fascisti emerged at a time of a very real threat of violence by the Left against the Conservative and Unionist parties, regardless of the other shortcomings of the organisation as a serious political alternative.

The Communist assault on Lazarus' election meeting was 'vicious'.<sup>13</sup> A 'Jewish Communist', as Joyce described him, jumped on his back and tried to slash his throat with a razor, but only succeeded in cutting Joyce from mouth to ear, his neck protected by a thick woollen scarf. He did not realise he had been slashed until the crowd drew back aghast, and he attempted to stem the blood with a handkerchief given to him, then walked to the police station where he collapsed.

While active with the British Fascisti, Joyce was also president of the Conservative Society at Birbeck College, where he developed his oratory, seeing

Conservatism as the upholder of ‘Anglo-Saxon tradition and supremacy’.<sup>14</sup> Meanwhile, 1926 proceeded with a General Strike that did not result in the threat of a Soviet Britain, and the British Fascists went into decline. That year Joyce married Hazel Barr, while continuing to do well with his studies, and the following year obtained First Class Honours in English, but did not complete his MA. His attempts for several years to introduce the Conservative Party to ‘true Nationalism’ failed. Biding his time, as the several small Fascist groups that arose failed to impress him, Joyce taught at the Victoria Tutorial College, and then at King’s College.

The Red thuggery that the British Fascists had attempted to combat continued. A target was to be not a party from the Right but from the Left: the New Party, founded in 1931 by the Labour Party’s most promising young politician, Sir Oswald Mosley, after Labour Caucus refused to adopt Mosley’s bold plan for unemployment.<sup>15</sup> The New Party was regarded as traitorous by the Labour Party, and was subjected to violent attacks by Communists and Labourites. It was such violence that contributed to Mosley’s turning to Fascism and forming his Blackshirt squads to protect the meetings that he could not efficiently protect during the New Party electoral campaigns, although even then he had started forming a squad of stewards trained in boxing by Jewish boxing champion Ted ‘Kid’ Lewis. Mosley records that extreme Left reaction had been subdued until the promising results of the New Party vote came out in a by-election.<sup>16</sup> Mosley, referring to the General Election soon after, related: ‘All over the country we met a storm of organised violence. They were simply out to smother us, we were to be mobbed down by denying us our only resource: the spoken word; we were to be mobbed out of existence’.<sup>17</sup>

In 1932 Mosley visited Fascist Italy, and like many others was impressed by what he saw at a time when Britain continued to stagnate. Joyce read the news reports of Mosley’s visit with interest but, having long had an increasing animosity against Jewish influence in Britain, was more interested in the progress that the Hitler movement was making in Germany.<sup>18</sup> When Mosley re-established the New Party as the British Union of Fascists most of the adherents of other Fascist groups, particularly the British Fascists, joined him. Joyce joined the BUF in 1933,<sup>19</sup> and, fatefully, obtained a British passport by falsely claiming that he had been born a British subject,

with the expectation that he might accompany Mosley on a visit to Hitler.

Joyce was soon noted in the BUF for his oratory skills, and he resigned his teaching post at Victoria Tutorial College and his studies at London University to become the BUF's West London Area Administration Officer. He then became Propaganda Director, addressing hundreds of meetings. It was on hearing Joyce, then 28, speaking that ex-Labour MP John Beckett,<sup>20</sup> joined the BUF, and committed himself to National Socialism, having previously been impressed by what he had seen in Fascist Italy, declaring Joyce to be one of the greatest orators who had recruited thousands to Fascism.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, Joyce filled in for Mosley if the latter could not attend a function. Jeffrey Hamm, a young Mosleyite before the war, who became particularly active in Mosley's post-war Union Movement, reminisced on Joyce's oratory that 'his wit and repartee were proverbial'. 'On one occasion a buxom lady in the crowd was shouting abuse at him, culminating in an angry roar: "You bastard!" Quick as a flash Joyce gave her a cheerful wave, as he cried: "Hullo, Mother!"'<sup>22</sup>

Joyce divorced Hazel amicably in 1934. He had sired two daughters who were close to their father, despite his hectic life as a Fascist leader.

His BUF classes on Fascist ideology, held jointly with his closest colleague, John Angus Macnab, with whom he also established a private tutoring business, were used to propagate his own views on Fascism, and here he introduced the term National Socialism to the movement, which was renamed the British Union of Fascists and National Socialists in 1936.<sup>23</sup> Although Joyce believed that National Socialism was intrinsically based on the nation from which it arose, was more inclined to quote Thomas Carlyle than Hitler, and eschewed both the swastika and the fasces when creating his own movement, he saw Hitler as a closer example to consider than Mussolini, not least because Hitler dealt with the Jewish question head-on. It was Joyce who coined the BUF axiom: 'If you love your country you are National. If you love your people, you are Socialist. Be a National Socialist'. The reader will find this phrase cogently explained in *Twilight Over England*.

Joyce met Christian Bauer, who represented Goebbels' newspaper *Der Angriff*, in Britain, and at Bauer's request, after his return to Germany, Joyce maintained

contact with him,<sup>24</sup> although it transpired that Bauer was more important when in Britain than he was in Germany.

In 1937 Joyce married Margaret White, a Manchester BUF organiser, who had accepted his proposal at a party, even although the two hardly knew one another. It had been literally 'love at first sight' between the two, and a scholarly member of her branch remarked on the engagement that it 'may be uncomfortable being married to a genius. And William is a genius, you know!'<sup>25</sup> On the first day of the year, the Public Order Act was introduced banning the wearing of uniforms at public political functions; i.e. the black shirt, prohibiting the effective stewarding of open-air meetings, and other measures designed to impinge on the BUF campaign. As previously stated, Mosley had adopted a black shirt uniform to establish a disciplined and recognisable formation to keep order at his meetings having experienced Red thuggery at New Party meetings, as had the Conservative Party many years. The banning of the uniform saw a considerable rise in disorder at BUF functions. Despite the great deal of nonsense that had been alleged about 'Fascist violence,' the Blackshirts always answered the razorblade and the cosh with fists when necessary. One of these great myths is that Lord Rothermere, proprietor of the *Daily Mail*, who had supported the BUF during the first few years, withdrew his support in 1934 because of such Fascist violence. In fact, as related by Randolph Churchill some thirty years later, it was due to 'the pressure of Jewish advertisers'.<sup>26</sup>

By 1937, both Joyce and Beckett, editor of *Action* and *The Blackshirt*, had become increasingly critical of BUF administration. Matters were decided when Mosley was obliged through financial stringency to reduce the paid-staff by four-fifths. Among them were both Joyce and Beckett. Macnab, the editor of *Fascist Quarterly*, resigned in protest at Joyce's dismissal. Macnab & Joyce, Private Tutors, was a now established to earn a modest income to offer tuition for university entrance and professional preliminary examinations, and to teach English to foreign pupils of sound character.

## National Socialist League

Joyce's concerns were directed towards forming a new political organisation that would more precisely reflect his view on British National Socialism. Joyce, Beckett, McNabb and a few others founded the National Socialist League. Despite Joyce's admiration for Hitler, his organisation was based on British roots. That a front-group for the League was named the Carlyle Club after Thomas Carlyle, whom Joyce often cited as a precursor of British National Socialism, is indicative of the British character of his variation of National Socialism. After all the concept of the National and the Social synthesis is universal, and movements of such a type had been arising spontaneously and independently of one another since the immediate aftermath of the First World War. One might refer to the Legion of the Archangel Michael in Romania, the *Hungarist* movement in Hungary, National-Syndicalist *Falangism* in Spain, and many others throughout the world. The Israeli scholar Dr Zeev Sternhell provides a convincing argument for the emergence of proto-Fascism from a union of Left-wing syndicalist and Right-wing Monarchist theorists in France as early as the late 19th century.<sup>27</sup> Mosley's 'Fascism' had been based on his Birmingham manifesto to cure unemployment through a massive public works programme that had been rejected as too radical by the Labour Government, not by reading *Mein Kampf* or Mussolini's *Doctrine of Fascism*.

As for Joyce's National Socialist League, it was surprisingly 'democratic' in structure, with leaders elected at branch level, and no fuehrer-complex being evident in either Beckett or Joyce. Nor was there a paramilitary complexion to the group.<sup>28</sup> The symbol was a ship's steering wheel, the design of which is also suggestive of a Union Jack, below which was the motto: 'Steer Straight'. A newspaper was published, *The Helmsman*. Funding came from Alec Scrimgeour, an elderly stockbroker, whom Joyce had known since the BUF, and who treated Joyce as a son. Cole mentions that one supporter 'claimed to be the King of Poland'. This cannot be anyone other than the New Zealand poet Geoffrey Potocki de Montalk who, unlike his many contemporaries who were embracing Communism, being a Monarchist, embraced the Right, then Fascism and National Socialism, and never recanted. Indeed, even in December 1945, Potocki printed an 'Xmas card', the 'X' in the shape of a swastika,



with a poem that paid tribute to ‘our William Joyce’. As to his eccentric claim to the throne of Poland, it was as legitimate as any other, being descended from a Polish noble lineage.<sup>29</sup>

The primary ideological text of the League was *National Socialism Now*, published in September 1937. *National Socialism Now* is a cogent 57 pages defining the fundamentals of National Socialist ethos, method of statecraft, and type financial and economic systems. Joyce’s opening lines are that,

*‘We deal with National Socialism for Britain; for we are British. Our League is entirely British; and to win the victory for National Socialism here, we must work hard enough to be excused the inspiring task of describing National Socialism elsewhere’.*<sup>30</sup>

While National Socialism was forever linked with the name of Hitler, no matter where it arises it ‘must arise from the soil and people or not at all’.

*‘It springs from no temporary grievance, but from the revolutionary yearning of the people to cast off the chains of gross, sordid, democratic materialism without having to put on the shackles of Marxian Materialism, which would be identical with the chains cast off’.*<sup>31</sup>

Joyce returned to a theme that he had introduced to the BUF, that the synthesis of Nationalism and Socialism is a logical development; that ‘the people’ are identical with ‘the nation’, and anything else, whether called ‘nationalism’ or ‘socialism’, is a waste of time. It was Socialism that provided the foundation for class unity rather than class antagonism, which had been engendered by the dislocations caused by industrialism and usury. Such class division is aggravated rather than transcended by Marxism and other forms of materialistic socialism. Both Capitalism and Marxism are international. Indeed Marx pointed this out in *The Communist Manifesto*, and described anyone resisting this internationalising tendency of Capitalism as ‘reactionary’, because the historical process towards Communism is aided by Capitalist internationalisation, and what Marx called the ‘uniformity in the mode of production’ across the world.<sup>32</sup> Today we call this ‘globalisation’ and the process has been accelerating. What has emerged is not Communism, but a Capitalist ‘new world

order'. Communism is not even anti-Capitalist, but an extension of it, and hence, as Joyce explains in *Twilight*, it is Nationalism, intrinsically based on Socialism, that not only opposes Capitalism, but transcends it. Equally, any Socialism that embraces internationalism is not only hopeless in combating Capitalism, but assists in its victory. We are now able with both hindsight and observing present-day events, to confirm that this indeed the case. Communism, and Social Democracy literally failed to 'delver the goods', and now Free Trade Capitalism runs rampant over the entire world, imposed by US weaponry where, where debt to international finance and the opiate of the shopping mall and MTV are insufficient. The Socialism of Joyce's day, represented mainly by the Labour Party, did not oppose the system of international finance any more than the Conservative Party, that had long since forsaken its patriotic and rural origins, and both permitted a system of Liberal Free Trade that invested capital to build up cotton manufacturing in India for example, while allowing the mill workers of Lancashire to rot.<sup>33</sup> The same situation is visited upon us in recent years, with Tony Blair's 'New Labour' in Britain, and in New Zealand, the Labour Party during the 1980s, being in the forefront of inaugurating 'Free Trade' in the name of 'socialism'. Joyce saw it going on in his own day. We relive it today. The same old abandonment to Capitalism by Social Democracy, which had also obliged Mosley to resign from the Labour Party in disgust.

The weakness of Westminster parliamentary democracy allowed international finance to carry on unhindered. Joyce's British National Socialism advocated the 'leadership principle', with authority to act, but in Britain's case the symbol of unity within one personality had existed for centuries in the form of the Crown, and Joyce did not envisage a National Socialist Britain that need be under the dictatorship of a British 'fuehrer'. Indeed, he advocated the corporatist or organic state that he had alluded to in his BUF pamphlet, *Dictatorship*. In *NS Now* Joyce pointed to the guilds of Medieval Britain, and outlined a corporate state based on the revival of the guilds as taking over many functions of the state. Both employers and employees would be represented in the same corporative organs, which was the method of successful industrial organisation that would be enacted in Germany in the Reich Economic Chamber. Parliament would hence be a corporative body with representatives elected

from such guilds.

Joyce next turned his attention to the financial system. National Socialist banking reform is based the premise that money and credit should serve the people, and not master them. Hence, credit and currency should be issued by the state according to the production of the people, allowing the people to consume that production. Private financial interests should not issue credit and currency as a profit-making commodity. Currency and credit are only intended as a means of exchanging goods and services. That is the method that National Socialist Germany, Fascist Italy and Imperial Japan used and by which they flourished in the midst of the world Depression.<sup>34</sup> Again, there is nothing intrinsically ‘fascist’ or ‘nazi’ in such a banking system. The First New Zealand Labour Government had initiated the same type of policy, issuing 1% Reserve Bank state credit in 1935 for the construction of New Zealand’s iconic state housing project, which itself solved 75% of the unemployment rate.<sup>35</sup> Banking reformers around the world were demanding that the state assume its prerogative to issue the nation’s own credit and currency, without recourse to becoming indebted in perpetuity to international finance.<sup>36</sup> As Joyce was to emphasis in *Twilight*, it was this struggle between productive work and parasitism that led to the world war, the fact being that it was the Axis states that posed a deathly challenge to this parasitism the world over. New Zealand, despite the Labour Government measures in 1935, true to Social Democratic form, did not go beyond those limited measures, despite their success, and despite the promises the party had made in its 1934 election manifesto. Again, Social Democracy posed no real challenge to the system of world trade and banking that was – and remains – in the hands of a few parasites.

The League was ‘openly and unashamedly Imperialist.’ One of the primary aims of ‘Fascism’ was to create *autarchic* or self-sufficient economics states, or geo-political blocs. Of course, with Britain being the greatest imperial power, British Fascism or National Socialism sought to re-create the Empire as an *autarchic* bloc, where investments would be made only within the Empire, and not placed outside the Empire, only to undermine the manufacturing the agricultural sectors of the Empire peoples. Joyce pointed out that the system of international trade and finance was the

enemy of both the British and the Colonial peoples; that both were equally exploited, and granting independence to India was not going to change that situation a jot. National Socialism would end usury and exploitation in India with the same methods as in Britain.<sup>37</sup> What Fascism was trying to address was the iniquitous system that is today called 'globalisation', whereby investments can be moved out of states and indeed entire industries shut-down and relocated to cheap labour pools, and currency speculators can make vast fortunes overnight by destroying entire economies. That is the system that won the Second World War against the Axis and that is the system that has driven the world to the present debt crisis, as it inevitably would. That is the system for which the Allied troops fought and died, just as the same plutocratic wire-pullers of 'democracy' declare war on states that are problematic to the 'new world order'.

Finally, Joyce addressed the matter of foreign policy. Even then the war drums were being beaten against Germany, Italy and Japan. Joyce saw the keystone of world peace and order being an alliance between Britain and Germany with the assistance of Italy, which would form a bulwark against both international finance and Communism. From the 1920s, when Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf*, an alliance with Britain and Italy was envisaged as the cornerstone of Germany's future foreign policy, Hitler definitively stating: 'In the predictable future there can only be two allies for Germany in Europe: England and Italy'.<sup>38</sup> Was this mere cant, albeit dictated a decade before Hitler came to Office, while sitting in a jail following the abortive Munich *putsch*? Hitler in both public and private pronouncements always affirmed his admiration for the British Empire and the kinship that should have existed between the Third Reich and the Empire. Like Joyce, he believed that the two would be a great stabilising force in the world, and legitimate scholarship has only confirmed these views.

Captain A H M Ramsay, Conservative Member of Parliament for Midlothian and Peeblesshire from 1931 until his detention through 1940-1944, under Defence Regulation 18B along with Mosley and 1000 others, wrote after the war a volume much in the mode of Joyce's *Twilight* and *NS Now* not only in regard to the war but also the takeover of Britain by international finance. Joyce had been a member of Ramsay's Right Club that campaigned against war with Germany.<sup>39</sup> Like Joyce,

Ramsay pointed to the Judaic character of the Puritan revolutionary zealots, whose armies ‘marched around Scotland, aided by their Geneva sympathisers, dispensing Judaic justice’.<sup>40</sup> Ramsay proceeds to consider the formation of the Bank of England with the encumbering of Britain with a National Debt; a matter that is dealt with in relative detail by Joyce in *Twilight*. Ramsay points out that the officialdom of ‘world Jewry’ had ‘declared war’ on Germany as soon as Hitler assumed Office. An ‘international economic boycott’ was declared by the World Jewish Economic Federation, headed by Samuel Untermyer from the USA, who wrote in *The New York Times* of a ‘holy war’ against Germany, in which both Jew and Gentile must embark, while the Jews were the ‘aristocrats of the world’.<sup>41</sup> The Jewish leadership through its influence on politics, business and media the world over, hoped to economically strangle Germany. They could not ruin Germany through such means however, because the Hitler regime’s banking and trade reform not only withdrew Germany from the international finance system, but through barter proceeded to capture the markets of central Europe and South America. As Joyce was to emphasise in *Twilight*, this was the real cause of the world war; a conflict between two systems, one productive and creative, the other parasitic and exploitive.

It should be pointed out that Ramsay enjoyed the friendship and confidence of British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain in the months immediately preceding the World War. Ramsay alludes to Chamberlain’s guarantee to assist Poland in the event of invasion on the basis of a supposed Germany ultimatum that transpired to be fraudulent,<sup>42</sup> and that Germany had sought for months a negotiated solution for the return of Danzig and the ‘Polish Corridor’ to Germany, while Poland resorted to what today would be called ‘ethnic cleansing’ of the Germans within Poland; a matter which will be considered further.

Ramsay points out that Hitler had ‘again and again made it clear that he never intended to attack or harm the British Empire’.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, what is called the ‘Phoney War’ ensued, where no real fighting was taking place. The situation changed immediately Churchill became Prime Minister. Then the previous policy of only bombing military targets was reversed, and British Bomber Command was ordered to bomb civilian targets, a strategy that would eventually lead to the deaths of hundreds

of thousands of German civilians by the end of the war, the fire-bombing of Dresden,<sup>44</sup> Hamburg, Berlin and other German cities going down in infamy as obliterating in deadly infernos more victims than the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Actions speak louder than words, as it is said, and Hitler on numerous occasions offered his hand of friendship, while still in a position of strength, indeed winning the war. One of the most notable occasions is that involving the British invasion of Dunkirk, around which much nonsense about British heroism continues to be spoken. Ramsay cites the pre-eminent official British military historian Captain Liddell Hart. This nonsense continues despite Hart's book on World War II, *The Other Side of the Hill*, having been published in 1948, with chapter 10 entitled 'How Hitler beat France and saved Britain'. Ramsay comments that the chapter would 'astound all propaganda-blinded people... for the author therein proves that not only did Hitler save this country; but that this was not the result of some unforeseen factor, or indecision or folly, but was of set purpose, based on his long enunciated and faithfully maintained principle'. Hart details how Hitler halted the Panzer Corps on 22 May 1940, allowing the British troops to escape back to Britain. Hitler had cabled Von Kleist that the armoured divisions were not to advance or fire. Von Kleist ignored the order, and then came an 'emphatic order', according to Von Kleist, that he was to 'withdraw behind the canal. My tanks were kept halted there for three days'.<sup>45</sup> Hart records a conversation between Hitler and Marshall Von Runstedt two days later (24 May):

*'He [Hitler] then astonished us by speaking with admiration of the British Empire, of the necessity for its existence, and of the civilisation that Britain had brought into the world... He compared the British Empire with the Catholic Church – saying they were both essential elements of stability in the world. He said that all he wanted from Britain was that she should acknowledge Germany's position on the Continent. The return of Germany's lost colonies would be desirable but not essential, and he would even offer to support Britain with troops, if she should be involved with any difficulties anywhere. He concluded by saying that his aim was to make peace with Britain, on a basis that she would regard compatible with her honour to accept'.<sup>46</sup>*

Captain Hart comments on the above: 'If the British army had been captured at

Dunkirk, the British people might have felt that their honour had suffered a stain, which they must wipe out. By letting it escape, Hitler hoped to conciliate them'.<sup>47</sup> Hart alluded to the pro-British sentiments in *Mein Kampf* and the manner by which Hitler did not deviate from his desire for an alliance with Britain. As we now know, so far from the British people being cognisant of the equanimity of Hitler towards them, the propaganda machine merely used this to further inflame them toward war, and Dunkirk had ever since been portrayed as a great feat of British moral courage.

Even during the early 1920s, when Hitler was in jail dictating *Mein Kampf* he realised that any future goodwill between Germany and Britain relied on the question as to 'whether the exiting influence of the Jews is not stronger than any understanding or good intentions and will this frustrate and nullify all plans'.<sup>48</sup> Mosley, Ramsay, Admiral Sir Barry Domvile and hundreds of others jailed under 18B, who sought peace with Germany, were aware of this also. However, there were still prominent people within Britain who were free, to whom Hitler might appeal for peace, and it is presumably with these in mind that Hitler kept open the prospect of a negotiated peace with honour.

However, eminent people who hoped for a negotiated peace with Germany were no match for the war party and its backers. Winston Churchill, whose drunken, opulent lifestyle had got him into debt, led the war party. He had personal reasons for assuring the destruction of Hitler, even if that also meant the destruction of the British Empire; which, of course, it did. By 1938 Churchill was bankrupt, and Chartwell House was about to be put on the market. A few days before however Sir Henry Strakosch, the South African Jewish mining magnate and financial adviser, came to the rescue and agreed to pay off Churchill's debts.<sup>49</sup> Churchill had whored himself to international finance for the sake of £18,000, and in so doing doomed the lives of millions and the survival of the British Empire. Strakosch was financial adviser to General Smuts of South Africa, and in 1920 drafted the blueprint for the Reserve Bank of South Africa.<sup>50</sup> He has also served as adviser on setting up the Reserve Bank of India. Like the US Federal Reserve Bank and other central banks throughout the world, the reader should not be confused into thinking that these acted as state banks issuing state credit, even when they were, like the Reserve Bank of New Zealand, nationalised. These central

banks were based on plans provided by individuals such as Strakosch, the Bank of England's Sir Otto Niemeyer, and Warburg in the USA. The thralldom of most states to international finance, from which Germany, Italy and Japan had broken free, is the most significant cause of World War II, as explained by Joyce in *Twilight*.

Since the 1920s Churchill's financial adviser for his stock market dealings had been Bernard Baruch, the international financier who had run the US War Industries Board during the First World War I, and had become the virtual dictator of the USA during the war years.<sup>51</sup> Nothing would or could divert Churchill from leading Britain into war with Germany.

### **To Germany**

During the Munich crisis in 1938 Joyce foresaw the coming war, and the quandary that placed him as an avidly pro-British devotee of National Socialism and Anglo-German accord. He told Macnab that in the event of war, he could not fight against Germany in the service of international finance but neither could he be a conscientious objector and evade national service. He had already envisaged sending Margaret to Ireland with Macnab, while he would go to Germany, perhaps to fight the Russians.<sup>52</sup>

Mosley's answer was to immediately issue a call to his supporters to fully support the war effort once the war that he had vigorously campaigned against, had eventuated, while he and 800 of his followers were detained under Emergency Defence Regulation 18B. Mosley's order stated that 'Our members should do what the law requires of them; and, if they are members of the armed Forces or services of the Crown, they should obey their orders and, in every particular, obey the rules of the Service'. However, it was also a call to 'stand-fast' against the 'corrupt Jewish money-power' and 'to take every opportunity within your power to awaken the people and to demand peace'.<sup>53</sup>

Among the first to die in the war were two Blackshirts, Kenneth Day and George Brocking, while on an RAF daylight bomber raid on Brúnsubtlet.<sup>54</sup>



While Joyce campaigned with his National Socialist League, and Mosley held meetings attracting the largest audiences ever seen in Britain to the very eve of war, Joyce also sought to widen his campaign. He was involved in an anti-war campaign with Lord Lyvington, Conservative MP, and an early advocate of agricultural self-sufficiency and organic farming,<sup>55</sup> also a particular concern of both Joyce and the BUF.<sup>56</sup> Lord Lyvington and Joyce created the British Council Against European Commitments. Lyvington's group joined with a similar organisation founded by Hastings William Sackville Russell, Lord Tavistock (later Duke of Bedford) and emerged as the British People's Party (BPP), the policy of which not only included peace, but in particular advocacy of banking reform.<sup>57</sup> Joyce had confided in Beckett that he would probably go to Germany in the event of war, and Beckett left the League to become General secretary of the BPP. It is often commented that there was a fallen out between Joyce and Beckett, but, as will be seen, they remained steadfast friends.

As forebodings of war approached in 1939, one of the first to depart from Britain to Germany was Mrs Francis Dorothy Eckersley, a member of the BUF, whose son was at school there. Mrs Eckersley was to play a role in the Joyce's settling in Berlin. Before Macnab visited Berlin, Joyce had asked him to take a message to Christian Bauer, asking whether Goebbels would arrange for the immediate naturalisation of Joyce and his wife, should they settle in Germany.<sup>58</sup> Defence Regulation 18B was about to be passed when Joyce received news from Macnab that naturalisation would be granted. He then received news from an MI5 agent to whom he given information on Communist activities, that it was likely he would be arrest under 18B within a matter of days.<sup>59</sup> The Joyce's left for Germany on 26 August 1939, William convinced that imprisonment in Britain during the war would mean unbearable suffering for Margaret.

To the Joyce's dismay, Christian Bauer did not have the influence in Berlin that had been assumed, and he had been 'called up'. However, Mrs Eckersley did have connections with the Foreign Office, and Joyce was able to secure a part-time job as a translator of German scripts.<sup>60</sup> Within days, war had been declared by Britain against Germany, a declaration that was not met by the Germans with any more jubilation than it was met by the Joyces and many other Britons. In England, meanwhile Mosley was

holding the largest rallies in British Union history, and just two months previously the biggest indoor hall in England had been filled with 20,000 people to hear Mosley.<sup>61</sup> Mosley was arrested under 18B on 23 May 1940, and his wife Diana on 29 June.<sup>62</sup> Captain Ramsay MP, and Admiral Sir Barry Domvile CB, founder of the *Link*, which had also campaigned for Anglo-German cooperation, were among the 1000 others.<sup>63</sup>

Mrs Eckersley's friends had been at work to secure Joyce a position, and Dr Erich Hetzler, an official in the Foreign Office, who had studied economics in England, interviewed him. It is notable that during the interview Joyce explained he was a National Socialist and British, but that a National Socialist in Britain was not the same as in Germany.<sup>64</sup> Hetzler recommended Joyce to the English-speaking department of the Reich radio service. Norman Baillie-Stewart, a former Subaltern in the Seaforth Highlanders, headed the English news service, under the direction of Walter Kamm. Joyce's first broadcast, reading a news bulletin, took place on 11 September 1939. He did well, but drew the immediately jealousy of Baillie-Stewart.<sup>65</sup>

The disparaging nick-name of 'haw-haw', which was to become synonymous with Joyce, first appeared in the *Daily Express* on 14 September 1939 where the columnist, the pseudonymous Jonah Barrington, commented on a broadcast from Germany: 'A gent I'd like to meet is moaning periodically from Zeesen. He speaks English of the haw-haw, damit-get-out-of-my-way variety, and his strong suit is gentlemanly indignation'.<sup>66</sup> The name was picked up by British propaganda, and stuck, like the name of Quisling was to become synonymous with 'traitor'.

Ironically, Barrington was describing Baillie-Stewart. Barrington and the media ran with the typically banal propaganda image, and 'Lord Haw-Haw' was introduced to the public as a figure of ridicule. Lord Haw-Haw soon became conflated with Joyce and stuck, since Joyce would become the leading British broadcaster, despite his own voice, affected by the broken nose he had since childhood, not being suggestive of the 'Bertie Wooster' type figure that Barrington was trying to portray.<sup>67</sup> Other half-witted attempts at satire by Barrington, with names such as The Whopper, Uncle Boo-Hoo and Mopey, fell by the way, while Lord Haw-Haw remained. It was Lord Donegal, writing for the *Sunday Dispatch*, who suggested that Lord Haw-Haw might be Joyce. However, the voice that he asked Macnab, then a volunteer ambulance driver, to hear,

was Baillie-Stewart, and Macnab could reply honestly that it did not sound anything like Joyce.<sup>68</sup>

Joyce could now apply for naturalisation, and correctly recorded his birthplace as New York.<sup>69</sup> Margaret was employed writing women's features for the radio network, and became known as Lady Haw-Haw. The broadcasts were widely listened to in Britain. The matter of the identities of Baillie-Stewart and William Joyce were soon resolved by the British, but 'Lord Haw-Haw' stuck with Joyce rather than with Baillie-Stewart,<sup>70</sup> another reflection of the puerility of British war propaganda. Comedians began to lampoon Lord Haw-Haw. The deaths of millions of Britons and Germans were such a whopping good laugh for those who could avoid service by larking about on the Home Front, while Mosleyites were among the first to enlist and die.

Interestingly, Cole discusses the insistence of 'upper class' origins for William Joyce by the British propaganda machine, and hence the maintenance of the 'Lord Haw-Haw' myth as an aristocratic 'traitor', perhaps also reminding audiences of Sir Oswald Mosley's aristocratic birth, and the similar backgrounds of others who had sought conciliation with Germany and who had seen Fascism and National Socialism as a means of transcending class divisions. Cole writes: 'The theme of the aristocratic traitor aroused such an immense public response that the jeering appeared to be directed as much at the traditional British upper classes as at an unknown traitor in Germany'.<sup>71</sup> The irony was that Joyce was the very antithesis of the character portrayed by British propaganda, as indicated by the opening anecdote of this introduction, and he lived simply and without thought of his material well-being.

A survey by the BBC concluded that Joyce was getting six million regular listeners daily, and 18,000,000 occasional listeners. The reasons for this included not only the mirth that had been directed at Lord Haw-Haw, but also that the broadcasts focused on 'undeniable evils in this country... their news sense, their presentation', making them 'a familiar feature of the social landscape'.<sup>72</sup>

In early 1940 the Buro Concordia was formed under the direction of Dr Hetzler, which would focus on explaining National Socialism to English listeners. Joyce would

lead the team and write the programmes. He refused insistent offers of a salary increase. The first programme was aired in February 1940, under the name of the New British Broadcasting Station, transmitting for half an hour from East Prussia, albeit under sparse conditions and resources.<sup>73</sup>

It was at this time, in February 1940, that Joyce was asked by the Foreign Office to write a book, *Twilight Over England*. While Joyce addressed a British audience, which would have few chances to read the book, the Foreign Office, had intended an English language testament for audiences in the USA and India. *Twilight* also went into German and Swedish editions, at least. The book as will be seen, is largely an indictment of the English system of Free Trade, the influence of Jews and the iniquity of international finance.

On hindsight, reading the volume today, one might be struck by its current relevance, as the world is plunged into what American strategists approvingly call ‘constant conflict’, in extending in the hallowed name of ‘Democracy’ the system of debt and exploitation which the Axis fought seventy years ago. As Joyce tried to explain, Westminster democracy and party government is a system that has not brought any meaningful benefits to the people who have lived under the ‘Mother of all Parliaments’ for centuries, let alone to tribesmen from the deserts of Afghanistan to the jungles of New Guinea, who are having this odd system born from the merchant class of England, imposed on them by force of arms. We still live under the same system that Joyce exposed, because international finance won the war.

By mid 1940 the British had ceased considering Lord Haw-Haw as a joke and were worried by what they thought was his inside knowledge of events in Britain. Other secret Anglophone broadcasting stations were planned under Buro Concordia.<sup>74</sup> Meanwhile, Joyce’s commitment to Britain was indicated by his having defaced his British passport so that after it had expired it could not be used by German Intelligence, which was eager to obtain such passports.<sup>75</sup> So much for disloyalty.

In July 1940 Hitler made a peace offer to Britain, and Joyce was optimistic. On ‘Workers’ Challenge’, a broadcasting service pitched specifically to British workers, Joyce stated that British workers and German workers did not wish to fight each other.

The British Communists had been saying that the war was between capitalist powers and was not a workers' fight, until the party-line was reversed when Germany and the USSR came into conflict. 'Workers' Challenge' called for a workers' revolt against Churchill and a peace that would have nothing to do with the nazification of Britain. Of course, Churchill was committed to unconditional surrender, and the chance to save the Empire and Europe was rejected for the sake of Churchill's ego, or perhaps mainly due to his £18,000 debt to Strakosch and his friendship with 'Barney' Baruch (?). As Joyce commented on his programme on 23 July, the rejection of peace would bring tragedy to England, and if Britons remained silent then it must be assumed that they consented to their own annihilation.<sup>76</sup> Joyce was prescient. Is there still doubt? While it might be a cliché to say that British won the war but lost the peace, that is beyond rational doubt. As for the impact of 'Workers' Challenge', a BBC survey found that it had a 'heavy following', that 'the following grows', and that a lot of Joyce's remarks 'were true'.<sup>77</sup>

On 28 August the first air raid casualties in Berlin occurred. Both Joyce and the CBS foreign correspondent William Shirer, epitome of the anti-Nazi propagandist, were at the broadcasting house. Shirer, who had avoided meeting the 'traitor' for a year, noted in his diary that Lord Haw-Haw 'in the air-raids has shown guts'.<sup>78</sup> Joyce went out to see the damage and was 'profoundly moved' by the devastation. Already there were comments on the civilian targets of the British, in contrast to the military objectives of the Luftwaffe, but could anyone in Germany have envisaged the criminal fire-bombing of defenceless German cities that was to become the speciality of Bomber Command?

Shirer, the inveterate anti-Nazi whose book *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* became a classic history,<sup>79</sup> nonetheless observed Joyce as 'an amusing and even intelligent fellow', 'heavily built and of about five feet nine inches, with Irish eyes that twinkle'.<sup>80</sup> He noted that Joyce had a deep hatred of capitalism. 'Strange as it may seem, he thinks the Nazi movement is a proletarian one which will free the world from the bonds of "plutocratic capitalists"'. He sees himself primarily as a liberator of the working class'.<sup>81</sup>

Shirer's quip about the 'strangeness' of Joyce's view of National Socialism as a

movement fighting capitalism is perhaps best explained by Shirer's own ignorance as to the character of both National Socialism and the war.<sup>82</sup> The reader will see the anti-plutocratic character of National Socialism explained in *Twilight*, a copy of which Joyce gave to Shirer.

*Twilight* was published in September 1940, by Santoro, an elderly Italian who owned a Berlin publishing house, Internationaler Verlag, the English edition running to 100,000 copies.<sup>83</sup> They were distributed at POW camps, where there were efforts to recruit for a Legion of Saint George (also known as the British Free Corps) as a unit of the Waffen SS to fight on the Eastern Front (not against fellow Britons).<sup>84</sup>

After a year of delays, the Joyce's were German citizens. In 1941 Joyce registered for military service and was put in a reserved category. Joyce was now permitted to reveal his identity and stated:

*'I, William Joyce, left England because I would not fight for Jewry against Adolf Hitler and National Socialism. I left England because I thought that victory which would preserve existing conditions would be more damaging to Britain than defeat'.*<sup>85</sup>

On 11 May 1941 Deputy Fuhrer Rudolf Hess reached Scotland on his ill-fated peace mission. It was undertaken at a time when war between the USSR and Germany was approaching, and the German authorities were obliged to repudiate the Hess mission as the lone efforts of someone who had become mentally unhinged. Perhaps Hess was unbalanced if he thought he could overcome the war party led by Churchill, but there was still thought to be a prominent peace party within influential circles who aimed for a negotiated peace. Hess had flown to Scotland in the hope of talking with the Duke of Hamilton, who was thought to be among the peace party. It is known that Hess had long been discussing possibilities of a peace mission to Britain, with Hitler's knowledge, and that Hess' friend Albrecht Haushofer had been in contact with the Duke of Hamilton.<sup>86</sup> New evidence has come to light that Hess probably did fly to Britain with Hitler's approval. British historian Peter Padfield states that Hess brought with him to Britain detailed peace proposals from Hitler. The proposals asked for Britain's neutrality in a coming conflict with the USSR, in return for which Germany

would withdraw from Western Europe and would have no claims on Britain or the Empire.<sup>87</sup> Of course, such proposals were perfectly in keeping with the foreign policy aims that Hitler had desired since the 1920s, as we have seen previously. The proposals from Hitler specified German aims in Russia and even stated the precise time of the German offensive. Padfield remarks: 'This was not a renegade plot. Hitler had sent Hess and he brought over a fully developed peace treaty for Germany to evacuate all the occupied countries in the West'.<sup>88</sup> Padfield also remarks on a significant 'negotiated peace' faction in Britain, and the ruin that peace would have meant for Churchill's career. There is also allusion to this peace faction including the Royal Family.

Joyce expected he would soon die, whether fighting the Russians, during an air-raid or hanged. Awarded the War Merit Cross 1st Class, a civilian medal, which meant little to him, he was called up to the home guard, the *Volkssturm*, and he started training with weapons.<sup>89</sup> During the course of an air-raid, confined in a shelter, he proceeded to teach a French journalist English songs, which drew the attention of an air-warden. When Joyce refused the order to quieten a scuffle ensued, Joyce received a cut lip, and the warden a black eye. The air-raid warden stated that Joyce would be reported. Bellowing with laughter at the absurdity of the situation, Joyce was duly notified that he was charged with 'sub-treason', and that the warden had been the personal chauffeur of Freisler, president of the People's Court. His employers warned him that the charge was more serious than he assumed. However, the court and all traces of the documentation as well as Freisler's chauffeur were buried in rubble from an air-raid and so was the charge of 'sub-treason'.<sup>90</sup>

At the suggestion that the Joyces obtain false papers with the view to escaping as the war drew to a conclusion, Joyce was furious and adamant that 'soldiers cannot run away, so why should I?'<sup>91</sup> For Joyce, from boyhood to the end of his life, honour and integrity were paramount, courage an instinct.

With Berlin in ruins, the staff of Buro Concordia prepared to relocate. With the impending Russian occupation of the city, the staff of the English Language Services proceeded to Apen, a small town between Bremen and the Dutch border, although Joyce would have preferred the barricades with his *Volkssturm* colleagues.

## Finale

On 30 April 1945 the staff were called together and told of Hitler's death. Lord and Lady Haw-Haw made their final broadcasts that day. Joyce reiterated what he had always said:

*'Britain's victories are barren. They leave her poor and they leave her people hungry. They leave her bereft of the markets and the wealth that she possessed six years ago. But above all, they leave her with an immensely greater problem than she had then. We are nearing the end of one phase of Europe's history, but the next will be no happier. It will be grimmer, harder and perhaps bloodier. And now I ask you earnestly, can Britain survive? I am profoundly convinced that without German help she cannot.'*

Is there any reader who is so ignorant or so naïve, other than the ideologically or ethnically biased, who can deny that Joyce has been proved correct? Britain lost her Empire, lost her markets, the Commonwealth and colonial peoples were detached from her and left to wallow in Third World poverty, or become colonies of a US led world order, and debt became more than ever the preferred method of economics.

Orders came from Goebbels, the first from the Reichsminister that had acknowledged them, that the Joyces were not to fall into Allied hands. However, attempts to get them to neutral Sweden via Denmark or to Eire, were abortive. They ended up in Flensburg, back in the crumbling and occupied Reich. Joyce, as was his habit, adopted a rascally attitude even now, and played what he called 'Russian roulette' by greeting British soldiers, to see if they would recognise his voice. On a stroll back from the woods he encountered two officers collecting firewood, and approached them offering some sticks. One of the officers, Lieutenant Perry,<sup>92</sup> a returning Jewish refugee serving as an interpreter, a type that was now swarming over Germany in the wake of the Allied occupation, recognised Joyce's voice. They pursued Joyce in a vehicle, and Perry asked, 'You wouldn't happen to be William Joyce would you?' Joyce reached for the less than convincing fake identity papers that had been given to him by the Germans and was shot by Perry, the bullet entering through Joyce's right thigh and passing through the left.<sup>93</sup>



The military authorities promptly called on Margaret Joyce at the lodging of an elderly widow, who was also detained, but quickly released, albeit not before her household food rations had been looted by the liberators.

Joyce's first court appearance on treason charges was held at the Old Bailey on 17 September 1945. He entered a 'not guilty' plea. The main problem for the prosecution was in regard to whether Joyce was a British national under the protection of the Crown when he made his broadcasts in Germany. Joyce had never been a British citizen, and he had obtained a British passport for his move to Germany by making a false declaration. Two of the three charges could not be upheld. The case reached the House of Lords. However, Joyce was in no doubt that his hanging was required, and his defence team had even received death threats should he be acquitted. Joyce was hanged on the basis that because he had a British passport he was under the protection of the Crown when he started his broadcasts, and therefore committed high treason. The charge was dubious at best. He had never used his British status for protection at any time, and there is no reason to believe he would have in any circumstances. He moved to Germany with the intention of becoming a German citizen as promptly as possible, although German officialdom had been tardy in the process. Joyce was hanged on a passport technicality. Judgement was passed on 18 December 1945 to dismiss the appeal. Lord Porter dissented, stating that it was by no means clear that Joyce could have been considered to have owed allegiance to the Crown at the time of the broadcasts.<sup>94</sup>

Joyce on being told the decision wrote to Margaret that it was a relief the matter was over and that he found it undignified to have to plead for his life before his enemies, and to 'observe their pretence at "fair play"'. Amidst the petty vengefulness of a befuddled and war-worn people, *The Manchester Guardian* nonetheless questioned the appropriateness of death sentences for Joyce and John Amery (whose trial had lasted eight minutes) for views that 'were once shared by many who walk untouched among us'. Joyce appreciated the acknowledgment of his sincerity by the *Guardian*. His friends remained steadfast, and John Macnab was particularly active on Joyce's behalf. Macnab, an avid Catholic, remarked on his last visits to Joyce that 'being with him gave a sense of inward peace, like being in a quiet church'.<sup>[95]</sup> Some

of his former teachers at Birbeck College, remembering the likeable and hardworking student, asked the prison Governor to relay their well-wishes to Joyce. He handed his brother Quentin his final message:

*'In death, as in this life, I defy the Jews who caused this last war: and I defy the power of Darkness which they represent. I warn the British people against the aggressive Imperialism of the Soviet Union.*

*'May Britain be great once again; and, in the hour of the greatest danger to the West, may the standard of the Hakenkreuz be raised from the dust, crowned with the historic words "Ihr habt doch gesiegt". I am proud to die for my ideals; and I am sorry for the sons of Britain who have died without knowing why'.*

Joyce's old friend, the one-timer Labour Party stalwart John Beckett, wrote to him in his final days: 'Our children will grow up to think of you as an honest and courageous martyr in the fight against alien control of our country ... That is how we shall remember you, and what we will tell our people'.<sup>96</sup> It has only recently been known that Beckett's departure from the National Socialist League was for reasons other than a falling-out with Joyce. Beckett referred to this when writing to Joyce:

'No one knows better than myself the sincerity of the beliefs which led to the course of action you chose. You remember we discussed the position in 1938, and the disagreement and respect I showed for your opinion then, remains'.<sup>97</sup>

Joyce replied in a letter that was intercepted and never given to Beckett:

*'Of course I remember, quite vividly, how we discussed the situation in 1938. I do not, in the most infinitesimal degree, regret what I have done. For me, there was nothing else to do. I am proud to die for what I have done'.*<sup>98</sup>

Beckett in his farewell wrote to Joyce: 'Goodbye, William, it's been good to know you and there are few things in my life I am prouder of than our association. Yours always, John'.<sup>99</sup>

Joyce took holy communion, wrote to his wife and to Macnab, and at 9:00 am precisely he was taken from his cell by the hangman, Albert Pierrepoint and hanged.<sup>100</sup>

On the morning of 3 January 1946, the day of his execution, a crowd of 300

gathered outside Wandsworth prison; most to gloat but some to pay their final respects. Some of the crowd, on the notice of Joyce's execution being posted up, set themselves apart from the crowd and gave the Fascist salute in Joyce's honour.

## Notes:

1 - J A Cole, *Lord Haw-Haw: The Full Story of William Joyce* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), 307

2 - Cole, 16.

3 - Cole, 212.

4 - Rebecca West, *The Meaning of Treason* (London: The Reprint Society, 1952), 3.

5 - Ibid., 4.

6 - One might recall the fates of Dr Robert Faurisson in France, Fred Leuchter in the USA, David Irving in England, Dr Joel Hayward in New Zealand, Ernst Zundel in Canada, et al.

7 - K R Bolton, *Artists of the Right* (San Francisco, Counter-Currents Publications, 2012), 97-119. Pound, stranded in Italy with his wife when the USA entered the war, broadcast for Italy on a programme called 'Europe Calling', analogous to Joyce's broadcasts named 'Germany Calling'. Handed over to US troops after the war by Italian partisans, Pound was confined in an animal cage under the scathing Pisan sun. The embarrassment of trying and hanging for treason one of the world's greatest literary figures was avoided by declaring Pound unfit to stand trial, and he was confined to a mental asylum for thirteen years, after which, still undiagnosed or treated for any supposed 'mental illness', he was permitted to leave the USA and return to Italy.

8 - Cole, op. cit., 22-23.

9 - Ibid., 56.

10 - Ibid.

11 - Richard Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 51.

12 - Ibid., 53.

13 - Cole., op. cit., 30.

14 - Ibid., 31.

15 - Oswald Mosley (1968) *My Life* (London: Black House Publishing, 2012), 294.

16 - Ibid, 295.

17 - Ibid., 297.

18 - Cole, op. cit., 39.

19 - Thurlow, op. cit., 98.

20 - In 1925 Beckett became the youngest Labour MP of his time, at the age of 30. Becoming increasingly radical, he was expelled from the Labour party and lost his seat in 1931, joining the BUF two years later.

21 - Cole, op. cit, 45.

22 - Jeffrey Hamm, *Action Replay* (London: Howard Baker, 1983), 151.

23 - Cole, op.cit., 57.

24 - Cole, op. cit., 59.

25 - Ibid., 65.

26 - Randolph Churchill in letter to *The Spectator*, 27 December 1963, cited by Mosley, *My Life*, op. cit., 363.

27 - Zeev Sternhell, *Neither Left Nor Right: Fascist Ideology in France* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton

- University Press, 1986); *The Birth of Fascist Ideology* (Princeton, 1994).
- 28 - Cole, op. cit., 73.
- 29 - K R Bolton, 'Geoffrey Potocki de Montalk: New Zealand Poet, "Polish King", and "Good European"', Counter-Currents Publishing, <http://www.counter-currents.com/2010/08/count-potocki-de-montalk-part-iii/>
- 30 - William Joyce, *National Socialism Now*, 1939, Chapter 1.
- 31 - Ibid.
- 32 - Karl Marx, *The Communist Manifesto* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), 71-72.
- 33 - Joyce, *NS Now*, op. cit., Chapter 2.
- 34 - K R Bolton, *The Banking Swindle* (London: Black House Publishing, 2013), 103-120.
- 35 - Ibid., 96-100.
- 36 - Ibid, passim.
- 37 - W Joyce, *NS Now*, op. cit., Chapter 4.
- 38 - Adolf Hitler (1926), *Mein Kampf* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1969), 570.
- 39 - Ramsay was one of the many veterans who had served in the First World War 'with gallantry' (Griffiths, 353) who were imprisoned under Regulation 18B. Members of the Right Club included Admiral Wilmot Nicholson (another First World War hero), Mrs Frances Eckersley, who was to assist the Joyce's on their arrival to Germany; and the Duke of Wellington. Richard Griffiths, *Fellow Travellers of the Right* (London: Oxford University Press, 1983) 353-355.
- 40 - A H M Ramsay, *The Nameless War* (1952), 17.
- 41 - Ramsay, *ibid.*, 54.
- 42 - Ramsay, *ibid.*, 59-60.
- 43 - Ramsay, *ibid.*, 62.
- 44 - David Irving (1966), *The Destruction of Dresden* (London: Futura Publications, 1980).
- 45 - Ramsay, op. cit., 67.
- 46 - Cited by Ramsay, *ibid.*, 68.
- 47 - Ibid.
- 48 - Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, op. cit., 575.
- 49 - David Irving, *Churchill's War Vol. 1* (Western Australia: Veritas Publishing, 1987), 104.
- 50 - Stephen Mitford Goodson, *Inside the Reserve Bank of South Africa* (2013), 67-69.
- 51 - David Irving, op. cit., ., 14.
- 52 - Cole, op. cit., 77.
- 53 - Stephen Dorril, *Black Shirt: Sir Oswald Mosley and British Fascism* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), 466.
- 54 - Ibid.
- 55 - Griffiths, op. cit., 319.
- 56 - The BUF had its own notable agricultural expert, Jorian Jencks, author of BUF rural policies.
- 57 - Griffiths, op. cit., 352.
- 58 - Cole, op. cit., 82-83.
- 59 - Cole, *ibid.*, 86.
- 60 - Cole, 103.
- 61 - Robert Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley*, 440.
- 62 - Ibid., 449.
- 63 - Ibid., 455.
- 64 - Cole, op. cit., 108.

- 65 - Ibid., 113.
- 66 - Ibid., 115.
- 67 - Ibid.
- 68 - Ibid., 118.
- 69 - Ibid., 121.
- 70 - Ibid., 124.
- 71 - Ibid., 126.
- 72 - Ibid., 127.
- 73 - Ibid., 137.
- 74 - Cole, 159.
- 75 - Ibid. 161.
- 76 - Cole, 164.
- 77 - Cole, *ibid.*, 182.
- 78 - Cited by Cole, *ibid.*, 170.
- 79 - William L Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (Secker and Warburg, 1977).
- 80 - Recall the description of Joyce's appearance by Shirer with that of Rebecca West.
- 81 - Cited by Cole, *op. cit.*, 174-175.
- 82 - Shirer was listed as a Communist sympathiser in a 1950 US publication, *Red Channels: The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television*, based on FBI documents. Shirer had been a member of the Committee for the Prevention of World War III, founded in the USA in 1944, which lobbied for the elimination of Germany. Among its members were James P Warburg, 'ideologue' of the society and a scion of the influential Warburg banking dynasty. Did Shirer ever regard the alliance between plutocrats and Leftists against the Axis to be 'strange'? For several years after the war the Committee's aims were implemented under the so-called Morgenthau Plan, named after US Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr., a supporter of the society. The Morgenthau Plan attempted to exterminate the German people through starvation, until being reversed by the Marshall Plan several years after the war, when it was realised that the Germans might be needed to fight the Russians, again. See: James Bacque, *Crimes and Mercies: The Fate of German Civilians Under Allied Occupation 1944-1950* (London: Little, Brown & Co., 1997).
- 83 - Adrian Weale, *Renegades: Hitler's Englishmen* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1994), 36.
- 84 - Ibid., *passim*.
- 85 - Cole, *op. cit.*, 190.
- 86 - Wolf Rudiger Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess* (London: W H Allen, 1986), 66-67.
- 87 - Jasper Copping, 'Nazis "offered to leave Western Europe for free hand to attack USSR"', *The Telegraph*, 26 September 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/history/10336126/Nazis-offered-to-leave-western-Europe-in-exchange-for-free-hand-to-attack-USSR.html>
- 88 - Peter Padfield, *Hess, Hitler and Churchill* (Icon books Ltd., 2013), cited by Copping, *ibid.*
- 89 - Cole, 219.
- 90 - Cole, 221.
- 91 - Ibid., 222
- 92 - The large numbers of Jewish lawyers and interpreters who entered Germany with the Occupation forces were given false names. See Cole, *op. cit.*, 247.
- 93 - Ibid., 246.
- 94 - Ibid., 287.
- 95 - Cole, 300.
- 96 - Cited by Beckett's son, the author and journalist Francis Beckett, 'My Father and Lord Haw-Haw', *The*

*Guardian*, 10 February 2005, <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2005/feb/10/secondworldwar.world>

97 - Ibid.

98 - Ibid.

99 - Ibid.

100 - Adrien Weal, *op.cit.*, 195.

30.

**NELSON MANDELA: ANOTHER FALSE GOD**

Mandela's name cannot be spoken of by television and radio journalists other than with tone of utmost reverence. I recall when he was released from jail and women radio hosts were imparting the news while hardly holding back cries of joy. He has long been treated as godlike. As I am writing this, I am listening to television news stating that he is in deteriorating condition, and making the invariable references to having brought "freedom to the rainbow nation." I see his visage portrayed on the colored glass of a church in South Africa while a black congregation sings his praises.

How many times has hell on Earth has been created in the name of "democracy" and "human rights"? "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" brought the "Reign of Terror" to France and the genocide of the Vendée peasantry. The People's Republic of China brought deaths to some 80,000,000. More millions died in the name of the "people's democracy" in Bolshevik Russia and Cambodia. Every state claims to be a "democracy." The word, with associated clichés such as "human rights" and "freedom," means little or nothing in substance. The South Africa that was delivered up to Mandela has set about its onslaught of Whites, especially farmers, and over 3000 have been murdered since 1990, while the murder rate generally is one of the highest

in the world.<sup>1</sup>

For South Africa, “the long road to freedom” has meant hell’s pandemonium. So long as the Black can be said to have the vote, all else is permitted. Most South African Blacks seem incapable of laying blame for their plight where it belongs, ultimately on Mandela for bringing them to the cursed state of the rest of sub-Saharan Africa: the return to savagery and dysfunction wherever white rule was scuttled.

What has the post-apartheid regime ushered by Mandela offered the Blacks? Not only has life not improved, it has become much worse, and public services and utilities are barely functional. Crime is rampant, slums persist. Such is the existence of South Africa after the abdication of the Afrikaner that John Minto, perennial protestor and a leader in the anti-apartheid protests in New Zealand during the 1980s, declined to accept the Steve Biko Award for his services in helping to wreck South Africa because even he could not see any sign of the new Black utopia eventuating. In January 2008 Minto wrote to Mbeki: “Receiving an award would inevitably associate myself and the movement here with ANC government policies. At one time this may have been a source of pride but it would now be a source of personal embarrassment which I am not prepared to endure.”<sup>2</sup> How or why Minto believed that post-apartheid South Africa would be any better than any other Black state is unknown to this writer.

Like the image of Martin Luther King, who talked peace but practiced a strategy of tension, and lamented the leniency by which Black protesters were treated by police in the Southern States,<sup>3</sup> Mandela’s image is humbug. Mandela was committed to violence. It is assumed that Mandela was unjustly convicted and imprisoned, merely for standing up for “freedom,” as a “prisoner of conscience.” He was convicted for his involvement in a planned terror campaign. Hanging would have been appropriate.

A plan to unleash a terrorist campaign on South Africa had been hatched on the “Rivonia” farm near Johannesburg. The South African authorities had received information that leaders of the militant wing of the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), were ensconced at the farm, which was owned by Arthur Goldreich. On July 11, 1963, police raided the farm where they discovered another decidedly non-African “Black” leader, Denis Goldberg, and



outside in a thatched roofed building “two whites and one Bantu.” Eight suspects were caught during the raid: Goldberg, Rusty Bernstein, Raymond Mhlaba, Bob Hepple, Govan Mbeki, Arthur Goldreich, Ahmed Kathrada, and ANC leader Walter Sisulu.<sup>4</sup>

The raid discovered a plan for the terrorist campaign known as “Operation Mayibuye,” drafted by the National High Command. The defendants contended that Operation Mayibuye had not been formally adopted by the High Command and was only under consideration. That apparently is meant to be a cause for commendation and gratitude. Mandela, who was already in jail, insisted that it was a “draft document” which he did not consider realistic. However, Mandela always also insisted on not being a communist, a lie that has only recently been exposed by documents proving that Mandela was indeed a senior member of the Communist Party. The plan was designed to cause such chaos as to motivate military intervention from the United Nations, through South West Africa.<sup>5</sup>

Mandela had been jailed in 1962 for inciting a general strike in 1960, which had met with less support than expected, the failure of which prompted him to state that “the days of non-violent struggle were over.” Mandela was among first to urge the ANC to take a violent course. It was Mandela’s prompting that eventually persuaded the ANC to establish a separate guerrilla organisation, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Douglas Linder states of this:

*In June 1961, Mandela sent to South African newspapers a letter warning that a new campaign would be launched unless the government agreed to call for a national constitutional convention. Knowing that no such call would be forthcoming, Mandela retreated to the Rivonia hideout to begin planning, with other supporters, a sabotage campaign. The campaign began on December 16, 1961 when Umkhonto we Sizwe saboteurs lit explosives at an electricity sub-station. Dozens of other acts of sabotage followed over the next eighteen months. (Indeed, the government would allege the defendants committed 235 separate acts of sabotage.) The sabotage included attacks on government posts, machines, and power facilities, as well as deliberate crop burning.<sup>6</sup>*

It is no use debating here the legitimacy of Mandela’ call for violent struggle. What we

are concerned with is his portrayal as some Christ-like figure of “peace and goodwill to all men.”

In February 1962, Mandela left South Africa to gather support from states and to receive six months training in Ethiopia. He was arrested shortly after his return to South Africa.

In July 1963, Mandela was called into a Pretoria prison office where he met ten others. He and these others became known as the “Rivonia 11.” They included seven captured at Rivonia, two who were previously detained (Andrew Mlangeni and Elias Motsoaledi), and James Kantor, an attorney.[7] ANC lawyer Harold Wolpe and Arthur Goldreich had both evaded arrest.

Mandela’s own statement from the dock is a declaration of violent intent:

*At the beginning of June 1961, after a long and anxious assessment of the South African situation, I, and some colleagues, came to the conclusion that as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the Government met our peaceful demands with force. This conclusion was not easily arrived at. It was only when all else had failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle, and to form Umkhonto we Sizwe.<sup>8</sup>*

ANC chief Sisulu testified that Operation Mayibuye was formulated by Arthur Goldreich, a member of the High Command and a former member of the Zionist underground in Palestine. Sisulu stated that sabotage would be needed but that there was no intention to kill anybody. The judge pointed out that a passer-by had been killed by an explosion at a post office, but Sisulu was content to say what amounts to “shit happens.”

Justice de Wet concluded that “beyond doubt Nelson Mandela had been the leading spirit behind the creation of Umkhonto we Sizwe” and that “Operation Mayibuye comprised a detailed plan for waging guerrilla war intended to culminate in full scale revolt against the Government of South Africa.”<sup>9</sup> It was because of international pressure that the defendants were sentenced to life imprisonment rather

than hanged, Justice de Wet stating that he “decided not to impose the supreme penalty,” although it was “the proper penalty for the crime. . . . The sentence in the case of all of the accused will be one of life imprisonment.”<sup>10</sup> Of course such leniency did not do South Africa a jot of good, and one has heard nothing other than how Mandela was wronged because he was jailed for plotting violence. All the defendants broke into smiles, and Mandela gave the thumbs up to his supporters.<sup>11</sup> As the police wagon drove off, Mandela gave a clenched fist salute to his chanting supporters. In 1985, having already released Denis Goldberg, Prime Minister Botha offered Mandela his release if he renounced violence. He refused. The same year the Government entered into secret negotiations with Mandela to scuttle their own existence. By 1990, with negotiations ongoing, Mandela was living in a bungalow at Victor Verster prison, and was released that year and elected president in 1994.

The myth of Mandela has grown with time, as do many myths about figures acclaimed as Gods. Mandela the liar is not so well known. He always denied being a member of the Communist Party. While this writer does not care whether he was a party member, it is part of the myth that Mandela was not a Communist but just a sincere democrat who believed in justice for everyone. His denial also means that he was a liar, and if he lied about that, should his protestations about anything else, including those during the Rivoniam trial, where he insisted he was not a Party member, be trusted? The defendants in the Rivonia trial were very cagey in regard to their association with the Communist Party. It was only in 2012 that the minutes to a 1982 meeting of the Communist Party were found in private archives of a party official deposited at the University of Cape Town. These papers discuss Mandela’s party membership. Membership was kept secret so as not to jeopardise the ANC’s relationship with the West.

Umkhonto we Sizwe was established in 1961 after ANC leaders had gone to China and the USSR and obtained support for a guerrilla war. The first attacks were launched on December 16, 1961. “Its campaign of ‘sabotage’ and bombings over the subsequent three decades claimed the lives of dozens of civilians, and led to the organisation being classed as a terrorist group by the US.” Professor Stephen Ellis, a former researcher for Amnesty International, who is now at the Free University of

Amsterdam, having discovered the archives revealing Mandela's senior position in the party, wrote a book last year in which he also describes "how the ANC's military wing had bomb-making lessons from the IRA, and intelligence training from the East German Stasi, which it used to carry out brutal interrogations of suspected 'spies' at secret prison camps." Ellis writes that: "I think most people who supported the anti-apartheid movement just didn't want to know that much about his background. Apartheid was seen as a moral issue and that was that. But if real proof had been produced at the time, some might have thought differently." [12]

The ANC's "campaign of 'sabotage' and bombings over the subsequent three decades claimed the lives of dozens of civilians, and led to the organisation being classed as a terrorist group by the US,"<sup>13</sup> states *The Telegraph* report on Ellis' book. However, as should be known by now by observers of history and politics who are more astute than the average newspaper reader, such a designation by the US State Department means little or nothing, and such an organisation might nonetheless receive backing from the USA. Certainly, corporate interests both within South Africa and outside were eager to see the elimination of Apartheid in favour of an integrated workforce, and an additional legacy of Mandela has been to inaugurate the globalisation and privatisation of South Africa's economy in a manner reminiscent of Kosovo, where the KLA had also once been listed by the USA as a "terrorist organization."

*Angola was also the base for "Quatro," a notorious ANC detention centre, where dozens of the movement's own supporters were tortured and sometimes killed as suspected spies by agents from their internal security service, some of whom were "barely teenagers." East German trainers taught the internal security agents that anyone who challenged official ANC dogma should be viewed as a potential spy or traitor.*<sup>14</sup>

If anyone would be startled and perplexed that the ANC could do such things, it is only because generations have been reared on the fantasy that real angels have sooty faces—the sootiest of all being Nelson Mandela<sup>15</sup>—and the color of the Devil is white.

The Nelson Mandela Foundation went into denial mode when confronted with

the evidence:

*On Friday night, a spokesman for the Nelson Mandela Foundation said: “We do not believe that there is proof that Madiba (Mandela’s clan name) was a Party member. . . . The evidence that has been identified is comparatively weak in relation to the evidence against, not least Madiba’s consistent denial of the fact over nearly 50 years. It is conceivable that Madiba might indulge in legalistic casuistry, but not that he would make an entirely false statement.”*<sup>16</sup>

Whether Mandela was a Communist is largely an irrelevant point, however, in comparison to Mandela’s legacy of helping to bring ruin to the Afrikaners, who have spent most of their four centuries of existence fighting persecution, while South Africa was pushed onto the path to globalisation.

## Notes:

1 - Erin Conway-Smith, “South African farmers fearing for their lives,” *The Telegraph*, December 1, 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/southafrica/9716539/South-African-farmers-fearing-for-their-lives.html>

2 - “John Minto to Visit Abahlali baseMjondolo on Saturday, 17 April 2009,” Anti-Eviction Campaign, <http://antieviction.org.za/2009/04/18/>

3 - See King’s “Letter from a Birmingham Jail,” 1963.

4 - Douglas O. Linder, “The Nelson Mandel (Rivonia) Trial: An Account,” <http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/mandela/mandelaaccount.html>

5 - Operation Mayibuye, <http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/mandela/mandelaoperationm.html>

6 - Linder, op. it.

7 - Linder, op. cit.

8 - Quoted by Linder, *ibid.*

9 - *Ibid.*

10 - *Ibid.*

11 - *Ibid.*

12 - Colin Freeman and Jane Flanagan, “Nelson Mandela ‘proven’ to be a member of the Communist Party after decades of denial,” *The Telegraph*, December 8, 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/nelson-mandela/9731522/Nelson-Mandela-proven-to-be-a-member-of-the-Communist-Party-after-decades-of-denial.html>

13 - *Ibid.*

14 - *Ibid.*

15 - Only in a metaphorical sense, as Mandela is “high yellow” with a mongoloid eyefold indicating Hottentot descent.

16 - Colin Freeman and Jane Flanagan, op. cit.

### 31. **MIKHAIL GORBACHEV: GLOBALIST SUPER-STAR**

*“...he is a good-for-nothing-man [who] simply betrayed his people...”*

When the news media touts an individual as a great human being, one should immediately become cynical. When Hollywood touts an individual as a great human being, one should immediately become cynical. When the news media and Hollywood, in conjunction with a bunch of other luminaries, celebrates the birthday of such an individual with universal applause, one might ask what manner of evil this individual has done. While the reference could apply to Nelson Mandela, who is lauded as a latter-day-saint (with due apologies to the Mormon church) for the unique achievement of delivering South Africa to predatory international capital<sup>1</sup> while not delivering an iota of benefit to the Black masses, despite the miracles that are supposed to invariably attend universal franchise and equal rights, the bouquets are on this occasion going to Mikhail Gorbachev.

Gorbachev earned his sainthood for his role in dismantling the USSR, and

precipitating the fall of the Warsaw Pact. For this, people of goodwill throughout the world are supposed to be eternally grateful, as this ended the “Cold War” and achieved “peace,” so long as one has a very skewered definition of the word. While conservatives quoted Lenin that “peace simply means communist world rule,” today we might paraphrase, “peace simply means capitalist world rule,” or alternatively, “US global hegemony.” We have “peace” only insofar as there is no longer a specter of nuclear holocaust poised over the world. Harmony between nations, tribes, ethnicities, cultures, and religions remains elusive, however, and this in no small measure because those who hurraed the demise of the Soviet bloc have ever since been even more avid in promoting their globalist agendas by promoting wars, civil wars, and “spontaneous revolts” because they no longer have the restraining factor of the Soviet bloc. With the Soviet bloc gone the Yankee is now astride the Earth like a half-witted adolescent, devoid of tradition and High Culture;<sup>2</sup> a child cut free and told to do as it likes; a spoilt brat with weapons of mass destruction.

So against this background, we come back to Gorbachev.

### **Eightieth Birthday Celebration**

ABC News described the nature of the “gala celebration,” hosted by actors Sharon Stone and Kevin Spacey, aptly stating that the “movie stars, singers and politicians” who turned out for the show, “underlined the celebrity status Mr. Gorbachev enjoys in the West, where he is widely perceived as the man who freed Eastern Europe from Soviet rule and ended the Cold War.”<sup>3</sup>

Spacey opined that Gorbachev’s actions in helping to dismantle the Soviet bloc continue to reverberate, the latest manifestation being the “velvet revolutions” in the Near and Middle East. The analogy is apt, considering that the revolts that helped topple the Soviet regimes were encouraged, funded, and otherwise assisted by the same NGOs – with US Governmental backing – that are behind the present tumult in the Muslim states.<sup>4</sup>

The Reuters report states that the Russian view of Gorbachev is ambivalent. Quoted is a middle-aged Moscow lawyer who states: “To me he is a good-for-nothing-

man [who] simply betrayed his people, he destroyed the mechanism of the state and sold his country for nothing.”<sup>5</sup>

President Medvedev, on the other hand, awarded Gorbachev Russia’s highest honors, yet enigmatically stated that the “big work” Gorbachev did, “can be assessed in different ways.” What might one think of this “compliment” other than that Medvedev, while feeling obliged to pay tribute to someone so esteemed by the “rich and famous,” has to live with the quagmire that he inherited from Gorbachev.

### **From Communist Functionary to Global Elitist**

The gala celebration at the Royal Albert Hall, London, for “Gorby’s” eightieth was accurately labeled “The Man who Changed the World.” For his part, Gorbachev honored as “a man who changed the world” the “founder of the internet,” Sir Tim Berners-Lee. Others honored by Gorbachev with the annual “Gorbachev Awards” were CNN founder Ted Turner<sup>6</sup> and Kenyan engineer Evans Wadonongo. Lech Walesa, father of post-Soviet Poland, was also present.<sup>7</sup>

*Y-Net News*, one of the large Israeli media outlets, stated of the Gorbachev festivities that among the attendees were Israeli President Shimon Peres, and unnamed “oligarchs.” The Israeli account is more informative than other news outlets. Peres was a featured guest of the event, and presented the Kenyan engineer Wadonongo with his award. *Y-Net News* reporting on Peres’ speech states:

*In his speech, the Israeli president said Gorbachev fought to regain what his country had lost to communism, adding that the former Soviet leader changed history.*

*Peres also called Gorbachev a good friend to the Jewish people, saying many Soviet Jews were permitted to make aliyah under his rule.*<sup>8</sup>

It is evident from Peres’ statements that Gorbachev realigned the USSR in its official attitude towards Israel and Zionism, a factor in itself meriting his elevation to celebrity status among some influential quarters. Russia, more than any other state,<sup>9</sup> has historically given Jews a lot of worry. The Menshevik and subsequent Bolshevik



revolts were greeted by some sections of Jewry – high and low – with messianic fervor, but their hopes, along with those of international capital (Jewish and Gentile),<sup>10</sup> were soon dashed by the rise of Stalin and the exiling of Trotsky, et al. Especially after World War II and the creation of the Israeli State, the USSR viewed Zionism not only with suspicion, but as a primary world enemy. Soviet academe gave much attention to the international ramifications of Zionism. Just how well informed the Soviets were is indicated by the official publication of well-informed books such as *Caution: Zionism!* By Yuri Ivanov,<sup>11</sup> indicating that the upper echelons of the Soviet bloc knew precisely what the Zionists were up to. The Israeli media account continues:

*Leonid Shlachover, the event's general producer, said "this gala has been organized to honor Mikhail Gorbachev, a man who truly changed the world for the better through his actions and example. "This event will celebrate his achievements by bringing together major artists from East and West in a night of celebration."*<sup>12</sup>

Klaimant comments that,

*Gorbachev's perestroika and glasnost reforms altered the course of history by burying the Soviet Union and liberating eastern Europe.*

*He turned 80 on March 2, marking the occasion by advising Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin against running for a third term as president and warning about the dangers of Arab-style social revolt.*<sup>13</sup>

### **Gorbachev's Ultimatum**

Note the ominous warning from Gorbachev against Putin, the globalists' bugbear: do not run for the presidency again or you will face a "velvet revolution." In context, it could be seen as an ultimatum by the globalists. Since Yeltsin, matters have not gone at all as the globalist elite intended: Putin has been like the Bonaparte of the post-Soviet era, just as Trotsky accused Stalin of being the Bonaparte of the Bolshevik Revolution.<sup>14</sup> Putin halted the slide of Russia into globalization and has fought an ongoing battle with the oligarchs, whom those such as the National Endowment for

Democracy portray as persecuted dissidents.

The globalists just cannot trust the Russians to keep to the script. Hence, the globalist think tank, the Council on Foreign Relations,<sup>15</sup> opines that “Russia is heading in the wrong direction.”<sup>16</sup> One of the CFR recommendations is to directly interfere with the Russian political process, urging US Congress to fund opposition movements by increased funding for the *Freedom Support Act*, in this instance referring specifically to the 2007-2008 presidential elections.<sup>17</sup> Authors of the CFR report include Mark F Brzezinski, who served on the National Security Council as an adviser on Russian and Eurasian affairs under Clinton, as his father Zbigniew served in the Carter Administration; Antonia W Bouis, founding executive director of the Soros Foundations; and James A Harmon, senior advisor to the Rothschild Group, et al.

The US “Establishment” has boasted of its subversive role in out-bolshying the bolshies. The US globalists had been working away subverting the Soviet bloc since the aftermath of World War II, when Stalin repudiated the wartime alliance and rejected US proposals for both the United Nations Organization and for the “internationalization” of atomic energy, which was seen by the Soviets to be a ruse for subordinating the USSR to the USA.<sup>18</sup> The result was the “Cold War.”<sup>19</sup> For several decades the USA launched an intensive subversive campaign that has been called the “cultural cold war,” via the CIA front, Congress for Cultural Freedom.<sup>20</sup> This, significantly, emerged from out of the pre-war Committee for Cultural Freedom founded by Professor Sydney Hook, “life-long Menshevik” (and recipient of the Congressional Medal of Freedom from President Reagan), and his academic mentor Professor John Dewey. Both had led the campaign to exonerate Trotsky at the time of the Moscow Trials.<sup>21</sup>

With the eclipse of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, the cause was taken up and conflated by a myriad of NGOs and “civil society” organization, with the backing of US Congress and official US agencies such as USAID and the State Department, precisely in the manner being undertaken presently in North Africa. In particular, the mantle of the anti-Soviet crusade was assumed by the National Endowment for Democracy, founded in 1983 by Tom Kahn of the AFL-CIO, an adherent of the post-Trotskyite Shachtmanite line, in keeping with the anti-Soviet, pro-US party line

followed by many Trotskyites, including the Old Man's widow Sedova, who supported the US in the Korean War, and viewed the USSR rather than the USA as the prime obstacle to "world revolution."<sup>22</sup>

With Congressman George Agree, Kahn believed that the USA needed a means of supporting subversive movements against the USSR, aside from the CIA. Kahn was International Affairs Director of the AFL-CIO.<sup>23</sup> As the personal assistant to AFL-CIO president George Meany, Kahn was editor of *Free Trade Union News*, in which he continually attacked the Soviet Union. From 1977, in alliance with the League for Industrial Democracy,<sup>24</sup> Kahn built up an anti-Soviet network throughout the world in "opposition to the *accommodationist* policies of détente".<sup>25</sup> There was a particular focus on assisting *Solidarity* in Poland from 1980.<sup>26</sup>

President George W. Bush, speaking to the NED conference in 2003 on the war in Iraq being a continuation of the "world democratic revolution" that started in the Soviet bloc, credited the USA with the destruction of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact: "The revolution under former president Ronald Reagan freed the people of Soviet-dominated Europe, he declared, and is destined now to liberate the Middle East as well."<sup>27</sup>

Apart from the prescience of Bush in his prophesying the "spontaneous revolts" now taking place in the Middle East eight years before the tumult, the numerous scenes of Reagan and Gorbachev in moods of joviality take on more significant meaning: They were both having a good laugh at what was planned for the Soviet bloc.<sup>28</sup>

### **Gorbachev's 1988 U.N. Speech**

In 1988, Gorbachev gave the green light for the break-up of the Soviet bloc by stating before the UNO that the USSR would no longer defend pro-Soviet regimes. Analysts of the US National Security Archive have stated of Gorbachev's speech:

*Late October 1988 brought a major break with past Soviet positions, when Gorbachev decided to offer deep reductions in Soviet forces in Europe as a*

*unilateral initiative, and to deliver a major address at the United Nations. Gorbachev conceptualized this speech as an “anti-Fulton, Fulton in reverse” in its significance – comparing it with the historic Winston Churchill “Iron Curtain” speech of 1946 in Fulton, Missouri, at the beginning of the Cold War. Gorbachev wanted his speech to signify the end of the Cold War, offering deep Soviet reductions in conventional weapons as proof of his policy. These reductions would address the most important Western concern about the threat of war in Europe, where the Soviets enjoyed significant conventional superiority. This move, in Gorbachev’s mind, would build trust and open the way for a very fast progress with the new American administration. His meeting with President-elect Bush and President Reagan would take place immediately after the U.N. speech.*<sup>29</sup>

Gorbachev’s speech to the UNO reflected a palace coup that was taking place in the USSR, in opposition to the military, and involving only a small coterie:

*Gorbachev seemed well aware of the potential opposition to his initiative both in the Politburo and in the Armed Forces – a very sensitive issue to handle. The decision making on the U.N. speech involved a very narrow circle of advisers...*

30

The “green light” for the “velvet revolutions” assiduously prepared by NED and others was overtly declared by Gorbachev before the UNO, Savranskaya and Blanton stating of this:

*Gorbachev’s U.N. speech on December 7 explicitly endorsed the “common interests of mankind” (no longer the class struggle) as the basis of Soviet foreign policy and, significantly for Eastern Europe, declared “the compelling necessity of the principle of freedom of choice” as “a universal principle to which there should be no exceptions.” Gorbachev particularly surprised CIA and NATO officials with his announcement of unilateral cuts in Soviet forces totaling 500,000 soldiers, and the withdrawal from Eastern Europe of thousands of tanks and tens of thousands of troops.*<sup>31</sup>

The intentions were unequivocal: Gorbachev and his coterie were globalists who were

committed to bringing Russia into the “new world order” by scuttling the Warsaw Pact, and adhering to globalist aims. The reaction of the globalist press was expressed by *The New York Times*, which described Gorbachev as a “visionary.”<sup>32</sup> Sen. Daniel Moynihan called the speech “the most astounding statement of surrender in the history of ideological struggle.”<sup>33</sup>

The record of the meeting Gorbachev had with his coterie of advisers regarding the UN speech is essential reading for those wanting to understand his motives, not only back then, but now. Gorbachev intended to use the UNO speech to declare before the world that he was a globalist committed to making the UNO pivotal in the creation of what Bush was to later call a “new world order” in explaining the role of the war in Iraq and the opportunities provided for such global governance via the UNO with the demise of the Soviet bloc:

*...This is an historic moment. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war. We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order – a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. When we are successful – and we will be – we have a real chance at this new world order, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the UN’s founders...*<sup>34</sup>

However, Gorbachev’s UN speech pre-empted Bush’s in expressing the same doctrine. Gorbachev stated of the UNO:

*This organization is called the United Nations for a reason. In this context it should have a universally accepted doctrine, which would reflect the rights of the peoples, their right of free choice, human rights. Show the UN role as an instrument of the new world.*<sup>35</sup>

Perhaps beginning with US/NED support for Poland’s *Solidarity* movement since 1980, as stated previously, oppositionist groups had been cultivated within the Soviet bloc by globalist and US interests, and Gorbachev’s speech could only be interpreted positively by anti-Soviet dissidents as a policy of “scuttle,” no less so than Harold Macmillan’s “winds of change speech” had signaled the end of the British Empire. It

was a stab in the back for those who had for decades stayed firm against the USA. The year after Gorbachev's UN speech the *Solidarity* movement overthrew the Soviet regime in Poland. Carl Gershman, the Shachtmanist president of NED, remarked that *Solidarity* set in motion the "velvet revolutions" that would eventually collapse the Soviet bloc.<sup>36</sup> Gershman analyzed the impact in classically Trotskyite ideological mode,<sup>37</sup> showing how comfortably Trotskyism synthesizes with globalism:

*The most notable contribution of Solidarity, aside from precipitating the unraveling of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, has been the introduction of a new concept of incremental democratic enlargement, based on the idea of building on the gains in one country to extend support and solidarity to democracy movements in contiguous countries and beyond. In the NED we call this cross-border work, and it had its origins, at least in our own thinking and programs, in a conference that was sponsored by the Polish-Czech-Slovak Solidarity Foundation in Wroclaw in early November of 1989.*<sup>38</sup>

Gershman outlines the continuing role of these networks in the present-day undermining of Russia and those "contiguous countries" which have, in CFR parlance, "taken a wrong turn."

*And so cross-border work was born, and it has continued to expand ever since. The Polish-Czech-Slovak Solidarity Foundation went from providing support for desktop publishing in the Czech Republic and Slovakia to providing similar aid in Ukraine and Belarus, and today it works in Russia, Moldova, the Caucasus and Central Asia. Other Polish groups also engage in cross-border work, from the Foundation for Education for Democracy, an outgrowth of the Solidarity Teachers Union which provides training in civic education for teachers and NGO leaders throughout the former Soviet Union, to the East European Democratic Center which supports local media in Ukraine and Central Asia.*<sup>39</sup>

Gershman reminisced that the above-mentioned Polish-Czech-Slovak Solidarity Foundation was created in 1989 to spread the work of *Solidarity* to neighboring states, and had the support of NED. After the NED-backed Festival of Independent

Czechoslovak Culture at Wroclaw University, “The Velvet Revolution began two weeks after the festival and Vaclav Havel had declared that the festival was its ‘prologue.’”<sup>40</sup> Gershman stated that this “festival” had been funded with \$7,500 by NED, “dollar for dollar, the best grant NED has ever made.”[41] But the NED backing of the anti-Soviet dissident groups goes back to their beginning, Gershman stating in 1999 that:

*For example, in its early years NED was able to assist the Polish Solidarity movement through its trade union institute, while at the same time providing help to independent publishing and citizen groups in Poland through its discretionary program. Discretionary grants were also made to support dissident publishing in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, often through European-based NGOs.*<sup>42</sup>

There is much more that could be said about NED and many other NGOs and globalist foundations, such as those of George Soros, creating the anti-Soviet dissident movements, but the main point here is that the whole Soviet edifice had been destroyed within a short time of Gorbachev giving the go ahead with his UN speech. Like the present Arab revolts, there was nothing sudden or “spontaneous” about the “velvet revolutions.” They had been well-planned and funded, and Gorbachev gave the signal.

It is significant that among the “wrong directions” taken by Russia the most notable according to Gershman are the actions taken against the oligarchs. In a recent statement, Gershman considered that, “As 2010 drew to a close, the backsliding accelerated with a flurry of new setbacks – notably the rigged re-sentencing of dissident entrepreneur Mikhail Khodorkovsky in Russia.”<sup>43</sup> Gershman stated just a few weeks prior to Gorbachev’s warning about Putin’s standing for presidential re-election, that:

*...Putin may be in control in Russia, but he has lost the support of the political elite which fears that his return to the presidency will usher in a period of Brezhnev-like stagnation and continued economic and societal decline...*

*International groups should be prepared to provide whatever assistance is*

*needed and desired by local actors. Areas of support would include party development and election administration and monitoring, strengthening civil society and independent media, and making available the expertise of specialists in such fields as constitutionalism and electoral law as well as the experience of participants in earlier transitions.*<sup>44</sup>

Gershman is outlining a program that has been played repeatedly throughout the ex-Soviet bloc and central Asia and currently in the Near and Middle East: wholesale organization by NED and a myriad of other bodies such as Freedom House, the Soros networks, The Solidarity Center, International Republican Institute, *ad nauseam*, right down to creating political parties and formulating their programs.<sup>45</sup>

### **Gorbachev Foundation**

Gorbachev has created his own Foundation as befits a luminary in the globalist elite, operating in tandem with a gaggle of others.[46] His hopes for the UNO are precisely those that were rejected by Stalin when mooted by the USA. The full name of the Gorbachev flagship is the International Foundation for Socio-Economic and Political Studies, established in 1991. This is how its doctrine is self-described:

*...The Foundation's conceptual framework is based on the belief that in the age of globalization Russia and the rest of the world need new thinking – a new interpretation of the ideas of progress and humanism and evolving principles for a more equitable world order...*<sup>47</sup>

The ultimate goal is nothing less than a new civilization based on humanism: “The keynote of the Foundation’s activities is *Toward a New Civilization*.”<sup>48</sup>

The US branch is the Gorbachev Foundation of North America (GFNA), founded in 1997. The aim of GFNA is sated as being: “...to contribute to the strengthening and spread of democracy and economic liberalization through a program of advocacy, research, and education...”[49] Note that democracy is predicated on commitment to “economic liberalization.” Another way of phrasing this is that the propagandizing about “democracy” and concomitant slogans such as “equality,”



“human rights,” and the “open society” is as a façade for the plundering of a state by predatory international capital, as has been happening to the mineral wealth of Kosovo since its “liberation” from Serbia via NATO bombs.

Gorbachev, like Soros, has created a network of organizations and “spin-offs.” One of the first was the State of the World Forum (SWF), co-founded with James Garrison. Like the Bilderbergers and the Trilateralists, SWF brought together sundry luminaries to discuss how best to run the world. What was apparently pregnant with meaning for these world planners was that the inaugural gathering took place at “the historic Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco where in 1945 the UN Charter was negotiated.”<sup>50</sup>

*Convened by Mikhail Gorbachev and fellow Co-Chairs Oscar Arias, Ruud Lubbers, Thabo Mbeki, George Schultz, Rigoberta Menchu Tum, Maurice Strong and Ted Turner, more than 500 innovative leaders from 50 nations came together.*<sup>51</sup>

James Garrison, who originally chaired the GFNA, and now heads the SWF, stated the aim of the globalists unequivocally:

*We are going to end up with world government. It's inevitable ... There's going to be conflict, coercion and consensus. That's all part of what will be required as we give birth to the first global civilization.*<sup>52</sup>

Of other co-founders of the SWF, Maurice Strong was the Secretary General of the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (Earth Summit) that issued *Agenda 21*. Such is his influence that Strong was described by the *New York Times* as “the Custodian of the Planet”, being a principal advocate of “global governance” to overcome environmental and population problems, like others such as Gorbachev and his colleague Ted Turner. Strong served as Senior Advisor to UN Secretary General Kofi Annan; Senior Advisor to World Bank President Wolfensohn; and as Chairman of the Earth Council; Chairman of the World Resources Institute; Co-Chairman of the Council of the World Economic Forum; and member of Toyota’s International Advisory Board.<sup>53</sup> He served as an adviser to the Rockefeller Foundation, and on the Commission on Global Governance (CGG). He co-drafted the *Earth Charter* with

Mikhail Gorbachev for presentation at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, which Strong chaired. After the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 the Commission on Global Governance was established at the suggestion of former German Chancellor Willy Brandt, head of the Socialist International.<sup>54</sup> As per the formula of Gorbachev and others, in 1991 Strong stated that the Earth Summit would have a significant role in “reforming and strengthening the United Nations as the centerpiece of the emerging system of democratic global governance.” In 1995, the CGG stated in *Our Global Neighborhood*: “It is our firm conclusion that the United Nations must continue to play a central role in global governance.”<sup>55</sup> The environment is an important means by which the globalists aim to scare the world into “global governance” to give them enhanced power. Create the problem and offer the solution: a type of dialectics. Strong is one of nine directors of the privately owned Chicago Climate Exchange (CCX), the only such exchange in North America.<sup>56</sup> Carbon credits are the new form of international banking.

George Schultz, who has served as Secretary of Labor, Treasury and State under presidents Nixon and Reagan, and as an adviser to George W Bush, is the chairman of the JP Morgan Chase Bank’s International Advisory Council Board of Advisors, the New Atlantic Initiative,<sup>57</sup> Committee for the Liberation of Iraq, and Committee on the Present Danger, and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He is also a member of Soros’ Drug Policy Board, as is Vaclav Havel, first president of the post-Soviet Czech Republic in the wake of the “velvet revolution” orchestrated by Soros, et al.

In a scenario that has become familiar with globalist organizations, the SWF has engendered “spin-off organizations.” These include the Ethical Globalization Initiative. This in turn includes as its “institutional partners,” The Aspen, Institute, Columbia University, Sattachi & Saatchi and others. Global Security Institute deals with the problem of nuclear weapons, and in turn has a number of affiliated groups. Others are The Coexistence Initiative, and the Emerging Leaders Network, the latter to focus on influencing youth. Then there’s the Commission on Globalization. Each has their own programs and staff.<sup>58</sup>

Among the Foundations that fund SWF are: Ford Foundation, Rockefeller

Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation<sup>59</sup>  
Corporate sponsors include: American Express, Time Magazine/Time Warner, Royal  
Bank of Canada, PriceWaterhouseCoopers, Rabobank, KRW International...<sup>60</sup>

Gorbachev also founded the Club of Madrid, and Green Cross International. The Club of Madrid focuses on bringing together former heads of state, currently comprising 79 former presidents and prime ministers from 56 countries.<sup>61</sup> Green Cross International (GCI) was founded by Gorbachev in 1993.<sup>62</sup> Again, this has a series of programs advancing the globalist agenda on the pretext of environmental concerns.

The Gorbachev Foundation, like other NGOs, actively seeks to reformulate the political processes and ideology of Russia via affiliates. The Raisa Maximovna Club, founded by Raisa Gorbachev in 1997 focus on Russian women. The same types of programs are used by Soros and others to undermine the traditional foundations of societies, generally in the guise of promoting “women’s rights.” The “Club” “supports initiatives that advance civil society’s influence in Russia and is an effort to actively involve women in this process.” This is done mostly in the guise of wanting to help children and mothers, but the politicization of women for the purposes of globalist agendas is evident:

*...The Club has become a forum to regularly discuss achievements and problems of the new research area in the Russian social science, gender studies.*

*...On December 9-10, 2002, at the Gorbachev Foundation, the Club and the Women’s Information Network held the conference “Contemporary Women’s Movement of Russia Facing New Challenges”. It was attended by activists of women’s movement coming from 20 regions of Russia. The conference discussed the need for a new strategy of women’s organizations, consolidation of women’s movement and its participation in the 2003 parliamentary elections.<sup>63</sup>*

Among the “partners of the Foundation,” along with Green Cross, etc., is the New Policy Forum, founded in 2010 by Gorbachev as successor to the World Policy Forum. This has precisely the same intent as other globalist forums such as the Bilderberg Group, Trilateral Commission, and CFR: “...to bring together current political leaders, veterans of international politics, intellectuals and civil society representatives in a

common effort to develop new ideas and new policies for the XXI century.”

*The main priority of the New Policy Forum at its initial stage is: Considering issues relating to global governance. Sovereignty issues and efforts to diminish the negative impact of decisions taken at the government level and having global repercussions. The role and the future of European development in the contemporary world.*

The NPF was launched in Luxembourg in 2010, with the first meeting of its Academic Advisory Board, which includes “prominent experts, scholars and mass media figures.”

## **Conclusion**

Gorbachev’s political future in Russia was dim, and he became an unpopular figure, to the extent that he was feted by Western politicians.<sup>64</sup> Although the reconstructed Communist Party under Zyuganov – which looks more to Stalin than to Lenin and champions Russian traditionalism, including the Orthodox Church<sup>65</sup> – emerged as the largest party in the Duma, Yeltsin won the presidency with the help of an abundance of funds from oligarchic supporters.<sup>66</sup> Gorbachev’s future clearly rests not within the confines of Russia, but as a luminary on the world stage as an international statesman promoting a “new world,” and as a zealot for the reanimated corpse of 19<sup>th</sup> Century “economic liberalization” that over the past several decades has become a fad with ex-socialists. Hence Gorbachev, like other globalist high-fliers, is not bound to any nation, let alone a political party, and has developed a worldwide network that appears to be just as extensive as that of George Soros, NED, Freedom House, and others, for the purpose of undermining the sovereignty of states, with a focus on Russia.

Gorbachev has delivered an ultimatum to Putin, several weeks after similar comments by NED’s Gershman, not to stand for presidential re-election, or else there will be “social unrest.” Russia’s interregnum along the globalist path under Gorbachev and Yeltsin was brief. As with the rise of Stalin, Russia again has shown herself to be

untrustworthy in following the “right direction” according to the requirements of international capital.

## Notes

1 - “Privatisation is the fundamental policy of the ANC and will remain so.” Lynda Loxton, “Mandela: We are going to privatise,” *The Saturday Star*, May 25, 1996, p.1.

2 - “America is the only nation in history which miraculously has gone directly from barbarism to degeneration without the usual interval of civilization.” George Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France.

3 - Reuters, *ABC News*, “Stars honour Gorbachev at gala birthday bash,” March 31, 2011, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2011/03/31/3178823.htm>).

4 - K R Bolton, “The Globalist Web of Subversion,” February 7, 2011 *Foreign Policy Journal*, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2011/02/07/the-globalist-web-of-subversion/>

K R Bolton, “What’s Behind the Tumult in Egypt?,” *Foreign Policy Journal*, February 1, 2011, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2011/02/01/whats-behind-the-tumult-in-egypt>

K R Bolton, “‘Post-Qaddafi Libya’: on the Globalist Road,” *Foreign Policy Journal*, February 26, 2011, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2011/02/26/post-qaddafi-libya-on-the-globalist-road/>

5 - Reuters, *ABC News*, op. cit.

6 - Turner, like all good billionaires, has his own globalist network. This includes the United Nations Foundation and the Better World Foundation. Turner Foundation Inc., <http://www.turnerfoundation.org/about/ao.asp>

7 - “Gorbachev gala honours rich, famous and charitable,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 1, 2011.

8 - H Klaiman, “Peres attends Gorbachev’s birthday bash in London,” March 31, 2011, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4050192,00.html>

9 - German Jewry was the most assimilated and nationally patriotic of any Jewish entity in the world, right up until the advent of Hitler. Zionists got a poor hearing among German Jews, and the Jewish population, anti-Semitic claims to the contrary, had figured heroically in World War I, and were prominent in the German Right (e.g. *Stahlhelm*, National People’s Party), despite the conspicuous appearance of Jews among communists and other anti-national groups. If it wasn’t for Hitler’s anti-Semitic policy, Zionism would have gotten nowhere among German Jews, which explains why the Zionists tended to have an optimistic view of Hitler’s rise. (See Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (Westport, Connecticut: Lawrence Hill, 1983). A good book on the history of German Jewry is: Amos Elon, *The Pity of it all: A History of the Jews in Germany 1743-1933* (New York: Metropolitan Press, 2002).

10 - Jacob Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb and Co., for example, stated in messianic terms of the Menshevik Revolt: “May I through your columns give expression to my joy that the Russian nation, a great and good people, have at last effected their deliverance from centuries of autocratic oppression and through an almost bloodless revolution have now come into their own. Praised be God on high! Jacob H. Schiff.” “Jacob H Schiff Rejoices, By Telegraph to the Editor of the New York Times”, *New York Times*, March, 18, 1917. The globalists must have felt much the same way when Gorbachev sabotaged the USSR.

11 - Y Ivanov, *Caution: Zionism! Essays on the Ideology, Organisation and Practice of Zionism* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970). The entire document is online at: <http://home.alphalink.com.au/~radnat/zionism/preface.html>

12 - H Klaiman, op. cit.

13 - H Klaiman, *ibid*.

14 - Leon Trotsky, *The Workers’ State, Thermidor and Bonapartism* (1935), <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1935/02/ws-therm-bon.htm>

15 - For a frank and revealing account of the CFR, see the official history: Peter Grosse, *Continuing the Inquiry: The Council on Foreign Relations from 1921 to 1996*, (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2006). The entire book can be read online at: Council on Foreign Relations: <http://www.cfr.org/about/history/cfr/index.html>

- 16 - Jack Kemp, et al, *Russia's Wrong Direction: What the United States Can and Should Do*, Independent Task Force Report no. 57 (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2006) xi. The entire publication can be downloaded at: <http://www.cfr.org/publication/9997/>
- 17 - Ibid., p. 7.
- 18 - Andrei Gromyko, *Memories* (London: Hutchinson, 1989).
- 19 - K R Bolton, "Origins of the Cold War: How Stalin Foiled a 'New World Order': Relevance for the Present," *Foreign Policy Journal*, June 1, 2010, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2010/05/31/origins-of-the-cold-war-how-stalin-foiled-a-new-world-order/>
- 20 - Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: the New Press, 2000).
- 21 - K R Bolton, "Trotsky's Pink Tea Party and the Moscow 'Show Trials'," unpublished MS.
- 22 - Natalia Trotsky, "In Defense of Trotskyism," *Labour Action* (June 17, 1951). Re-printed by: League for the Revolutionary Party (New York), *Proletarian Revolution*, No. 38 (Winter 1991). [http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/socialistvoice/Back\\_Issues.html#pr38](http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/socialistvoice/Back_Issues.html#pr38)
- 23 - Rachele Horowitz, "Tom Kahn and the Fight for Democracy: A Political Portrait and Personal Recollection", *Dissent Magazine*, pp. 238-239. [http://www.dissentmagazine.org/democratiya/article\\_pdfs/d11Horowitz.pdf](http://www.dissentmagazine.org/democratiya/article_pdfs/d11Horowitz.pdf)
- 24 - Kahn had been an Executive Director of the LID until 1972. Horowitz, *ibid.*, p. 224.
- 25 - Ibid., p. 234.
- 26 - Ibid., p. 235.
- 27 - Fred Barbash, "Bush: Iraq Part of 'Global Democratic Revolution': Liberation of Middle East Portrayed as Continuation of Reagan's Policies", *Washington Post*, 6 November 6, 2003.
- 28 - See for example Reagan, Vice President Bush and Gorabcehv: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB261/index.htm>
- 29 - Dr. Svetlana Savranskaya and Thomas Blanton (ed.) "Previously Secret Documents from Soviet and U.S. Files n the 1988 Summit in New York, 20 Years Later," National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 261, December 8, 2008.
- 30 - Dr. Svetlana Savranskaya and Thomas Blanton, *ibid.*
- 31 - Ibid.
- 32 - *The New York Times*, December 8, 1988, p. 34.
- 33 - T Blanton, "When did the Cold War End?", *Cold War International History Project Bulletin*, no. 10 (March 1998), p.184.
- 34 - George W Bush, speech to US Congress, January 17, 1991.
- 35 - M Gorbachev, "What are we going to take to the United Nations?," Conference with advisers, October 31, 1988, Attended: Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Dobrynin, Falin, Chernyaev, Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation. Fond 2. Notes of A.S. Chernyaev. On file at the National Security Archive. Translated by Svetlana Savranskaya. <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB261/sov03.pdf>
- 36 - C Gershman, "Giving Solidarity to the world," Georgetown University, May 19, 2009, <http://www.ned.org/about/board/meet-our-president/archived-remarks-and-presentations/051909>
- 37 - Trotsky and Lenin believed that communist revolution would spread to Central Europe, with Germany as a pivotal state, and that the Soviet Red Army must be ready to intervene. Robert Service, *Trotsky: A biography* (London, Pan book, 2010), "World Revolution," pp. 247-25.
- 38 - C Gershman, *op. cit.*
- 39 - Ibid.
- 40 - C Gershman, "Bridging time and Borders 1989-2009," December 2, 2009, <http://www.ned.org/for-reporters/bridging-time-and-borders-1989-2009>
- 41 - Ibid.

- 42 - C Gershman, "NED: Its History, Structure and Role in Promoting Democracy," July 8, 1999, <http://www.ned.org/about/board/meet-our-president/archived-presentations-and-articles/the-national-endowment-for-democr>
- 43 - Carl Gershman, "The Fourth Wave: Where the Middle East revolts fit in the history of democratization – and how we can support them," March 14, 2011, <http://www.tnr.com/article/world/85143/middle-east-revolt-democratization>
- 44 - Ibid.
- 45 - There are two regimes that are also mentioned in particular by Gershman here: those of Belarus and Venezuela. They also figure prominently in the conferences and statements of Movements.org and others, so they are certainly states to watch out for in the near future as being particularly marked out for "spontaneous people's revolts."
- 46 - K R Bolton, "The Globalist Web of Subversion," *Foreign Policy Journal*, February 7, 2011, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2011/02/07/the-globalist-web-of-subversion>
- 47 - Gorbachev Foundation, "About Us," [http://www.gorby.ru/en/gorbi\\_fund/about/](http://www.gorby.ru/en/gorbi_fund/about/)
- 48 - Ibid.
- 49 - "Mission," The Gorbachev Foundation of North America, <http://www.gfna.net/staff.php>
- 50 - "State of the World Forum, "The First Five Years 1995-1999," [http://www.worldforum.org/conferences/1995\\_1999.htm](http://www.worldforum.org/conferences/1995_1999.htm)
- 51 - Ibid.
- 52 - J Garrison, *The Daily Record*, Dunn, North Carolina, p. 4, October 17, 1995. (The original source needs verifying).
- 53 - Ronald Bailey, "International Man of Mystery: Who is Maurice Strong?," *The National Review*, 1 September 1997. <http://www.afn.org/~govern/strong.html> (Accessed 14 February 2010).
- 54 - Ibid.
- 55 - Commission on Global Governance, *Our Global Neighborhood*, Chapter 1, "A New World", <http://www.gdrc.org/u-gov/global-neighborhood/chap1.htm> (Accessed 14 February 2010).
- 56 - Chicago Climate Exchange, CCX Directors, <http://www.chicagoclimatex.com/content.jsf?id=67> (Accessed 14 February 2010).
- 57 - New Atlantic Initiative is yet another globalist think tank of industrialists, bankers, politicians, journalists, etc. aiming to push the USA and Europe closer together and counter protectionist and nationalistic economic policies. Shultz is listed as a patron, along with former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. <http://www.jcpa.org/nai.htm>
- 58 - <http://www.worldforum.org/history.htm>
- 59 - "About Us – Supporters," <http://www.worldforum.org/supporters.htm>
- 60 - Ibid.
- 61 - Club of Madrid, [http://www.clubmadrid.org/en/estructura/board\\_of\\_directors](http://www.clubmadrid.org/en/estructura/board_of_directors)
- 62 - Green Cross, "History," <http://www.gci.ch/en/who-we-are/history>
- 63 - The Raisa Maximovna Club, "Projects," [http://www.gorby.ru/en/activity/projects/show\\_27843/](http://www.gorby.ru/en/activity/projects/show_27843/)
- 64 - Robert Service, *Comrades: Communism: A World History* (London: Pan Books 2008), p. 456.
- 65 - Ibid., p. 463.
- 66 - Robert Service says of this period that the December 1993 referendum that endorsed Yeltsin's constitutional reforms was "fiddled." In the 1996 presidential campaign Zyuganov was in the lead at the start, "but lacked the resources available to Yeltsin, who enlisted the wealthiest businessmen on his side." Service, *ibid.*

## 32.

**VACLAV HAVEL: THE "INNER ENEMY"**

*“An inner enemy is more dangerous than an outer one, because while he seems to belong, he is actually a kind of alien. An inner enemy is dangerous in two respects: first because of his own activity, and second, because of his usefulness to the outer enemy. . . . After the War, the American occupation of Europe and the despoliation of Europe were made possible only by the Michel-stratum,<sup>1</sup> which hired itself out to the enemy to establish vassal-governments, churchill-regimes, in every province of Europe. During this period between the Second and Third World Wars,<sup>2</sup> the Michel as an American agent is more dangerous than he would otherwise be himself. The reason for this is the advance of History since the 19th century has rendered his whole world-outlook completely useless to him, even for purposes of sabotage, while to the Americans it is still useful as a means of control over Europe. Thus the Culture-diseases of Culture-retardation remains in the body of Europe only because of the American occupation.” — Francis Parker Yockey<sup>3</sup>*

Václav Havel, the last president of Czechoslovakia and first president of the



Czech Republic, died on December 18, 2011. His eulogies reveal him to be an excellent specimen for the study of the role of the “inner enemy” in the process of cultural pathology. In Havel we have a particularly devolved example of the *Michel* element that worked for the spiritual, political, cultural, and economic subjugation of the Western Cultural organism by the forces of cultural parasitism, distortion, and retardation. Indeed, the cultural pathologist can place him in the *genus michelus* along with such contemporaries such as Boris Yeltsin, Lech Wałęsa, and Mikhail Gorbachev.

The most apparent symptoms in identifying an apparently normal human as a member of *genus michelus* are the accolades received from media pundits and political and plutocratic luminaries, and in particular those directly from the organs of the Culture-Distorter. In this instance, like the much-lauded Gorbachev,<sup>4</sup> Havel receives his acclaim for the role he played in dismantling the Soviet bloc.

That the collapse of the Warsaw Pact was greeted with such acclaim and is remembered as “inspirational” by the Right, from nazis to conservatives, is an indication of the banality of much of the “Right,” which remains oblivious to the Soviet bloc having been the only major force of conservatism in the world, and to the USA being the global harbinger of decay.<sup>5</sup> This American role was recognized not only by Yockey, but also — approvingly — by Trotskyites, many of whom became avid Cold Warriors,<sup>6</sup> and by necon strategists such as Ralph Peters.<sup>7</sup>

Given that the Warsaw Pact was the only geopolitical entity that constrained American global hegemony, Havel’s contribution to its demise is lauded as a great victory for “democracy” and “freedom.” However, those are words that are used by many regimes and systems, no matter what their character, and have been euphemisms since the time of Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points for post-war international reconstruction in the image desired by the US for the subordination of all nations, peoples, and cultures to everything that is conjured by the word “America.”

Havel is said to have been an idealistic opponent of the consumerist ethic, yet what is one to think of an individual who allowed himself to be mentored and patronized by the likes of George Soros and flitted about among the luminaries of plutocracy? Solzhenitsyn did not allow himself to be used in such a manner by the

forces of Culture Distortion nor did he succumb to their blandishments. Solzhenitsyn was a mystic, Havel, as will be shown, a seedy Zionist purveyor of cultural syphilis.

Havel's critique of "The West," like Solzhenitsyn's was perceptive, stating: "There is no need at all for different people, religions and cultures to adapt or conform to one another. . . . I think we help one another best if we make no pretenses, remain ourselves, and simply respect and honor one another, just as we are."<sup>8</sup>

Here was a cultural icon who obviously knew the processes of leveling that were taking place in the world, but who was nonetheless willing to let himself be used in their service, for the sake of nebulous sales pitches like "democracy" and "human rights." Like the much lauded Gorbachev, Havel became an icon of manufactured dissent in the interests of international capital that pulls the strings behind the façade of "democracy," and, as will be seen, of the Culture Distorters who had long been fearful of the directions being taken by the descendants of the Black Hundreds, and worried that the Warsaw Pact constituted a new Axis of the type predicted by Yockey in his final essay "The World In Flames."

The "velvet revolutions" that were instigated, funded, and planned by the Soros network, National Endowment for Democracy, Freedom House, and dozens of others, were a prelude to the same types of revolt that continue to be inflicted upon the former Soviet bloc states and that are taking place under the mantle of the "Arab Spring."<sup>9</sup>

### **"Rootless Cosmopolitanism"**

The collapse of Czechoslovakia as part of the implosion of the Soviet bloc provides a special example of the role of Culture-Distortion. Other than Culture pathologists such as Yockey, the Soviet leadership following the ouster of Trotsky and the Old Bolsheviks, were fully aware of the destructive nature of cultural nihilism. Ironically, the Soviet bloc stood as the only significant bulwark against what Hitler had termed "cultural Bolshevism." While Yockey's theory of Culture Pathology<sup>10</sup> shows that the presence of a foreign body in the cultural organism spontaneously creates the phenomena of Culture-distortion, Culture-retardation, and Culture-parasitism; these symptoms can also be consciously pressed into the service of

politics.

*Kulturkampf* is a major part of the world offensives of both plutocracy and Zionism to the extent that at the very beginnings of the Cold War the CIA recruited sundry disaffected anti-Soviet socialists, and in particular Trotskyites, into the Congress for Cultural Freedom to try and subvert the Soviet bloc and impose “American” values over the world in the name of “freedom of artistic expression.” Their favored mediums were Abstract Expressionism and jazz.<sup>11</sup> The Congress was established under the figurehead of Professor Sidney Hook, a “lifelong Menshevik” who had organized a committee for the defense of Leon Trotsky at the time of the Moscow Trials, and a recipient of the Congressional Medal of Freedom from Ronald Reagan. Other Congress luminaries included Bertrand Russell, the pacifist CND guru who had sought a pre-emptive nuclear strike against the USSR in the interests of “peace.” The Congress promoted the type of art that had been exposed as subversive “rootless cosmopolitanism” by Stalin, *et al.*, who correctly perceived it as part of a political offensive.<sup>12</sup>

The program of *Kulturkampf* against the Soviet bloc can be traced to Trotsky, always a very handy tool for international finance. In 1938 André Breton,<sup>13</sup> Mexican communist muralist Diego Rivera,<sup>14</sup> and Leon Trotsky issued a manifesto entitled *Towards a Free Revolutionary Art*.<sup>15</sup> The manifesto was published in the Autumn 1938 issue of *The Partisan Review*, a magazine that was of significance in the Cold War-Trotskyite offensive. Trotsky, according to Breton, had actually written the Manifesto, which states:

*Insofar as it originates with an individual, insofar as it brings into play subjective talents to create something which brings about an objective enriching of culture, any philosophical, sociological, scientific, or artistic discovery seems to be the fruit of a precious chance, that is to say, the manifestation, more or less spontaneous, of necessity. . . . Specifically, we cannot remain indifferent to the intellectual conditions under which creative activity takes place, nor should we fail to pay all respect to those particular laws that govern intellectual creation.*

*In the contemporary world we must recognize the ever more widespread destruction of those conditions under which intellectual creation is possible. . . . The regime of Hitler, now that it has rid Germany of all those artists whose work expressed the slightest sympathy for liberty, however superficial, has reduced those who still consent to take up pen or brush to the status of domestic servants of the regime. . . . If reports may be believed, it is the same in the Soviet Union. . . . True art, which is not content to play variations on ready-made models but rather insists on expressing the inner needs of man and of mankind in its time — true art is unable not to be revolutionary, not to aspire to a complete and radical reconstruction of society. . . . We recognize that only the social revolution can sweep clean the path for a new culture. If, however, we reject all solidarity with the bureaucracy now in control of the Soviet Union it is precisely because, in our eyes, it represents, not communism, but its most treacherous and dangerous enemy. . . .*

The criterion for art given here by Trotsky seems more of the nature of the anarchism of Breton and of the future New Left than of the collectivist nature of Marxism. F. Chernov, whose important statement on the arts from a Stalinist viewpoint will be considered below, was to refer to such art as “nihilism.”

Given that the manifesto was published in *The Partisan Review*, which was later to receive subsidies from the CIA and the tax-exempt foundations as party to what became the “Cultural Cold War,” this Trotskyist art manifesto served as the basis for the art policy that was adopted after World War II by the CIA and the globalists as part of the Cold War offensive.[16] Trotsky wrote *Towards a Free Revolutionary Art* as a call for mobilization by artists throughout the world, to oppose on the cultural front Fascism and Stalinism, which to many Leftists and communists were synonymous:

*We know very well that thousands on thousands of isolated thinkers and artists are today scattered throughout the world, their voices drowned out by the loud choruses of well-disciplined liars. Hundreds of small local magazines are trying to gather youthful forces about them, seeking new paths and not subsidies. Every progressive tendency in art is destroyed by fascism as “degenerate.” Every free creation is called “fascist” by the Stalinists. Independent*

*revolutionary art must now gather its forces for the struggle against reactionary persecution.*<sup>17</sup>

While the Congress for Cultural Freedom was established in 1949, and on a more formal basis in 1951, its origins go back to the defender of Trotsky, Professor Sidney Hook, who had established an embryonic movement of similar name in 1938, and who served as the figurehead for the Congress knowingly under the auspices of the CIA.

The Stalinists responded with a vigorous call not only to “Soviet patriotism” but also to the cultural legacy of the Russian people. If one were looking for a Marxist articulation of cultural theory, it would more likely be found coming from the official and semi-official agencies of the USA, rather than those of the Soviet bloc.

In 1949 a major article in the organ of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party, Chernov condemned the infiltration of cosmopolitanism into Soviet arts, sciences, and history.<sup>18</sup> The article stands as a counter-manifesto not only to the Trotskyites and the “cultural Cold War” of the time, but also as an enduring repudiation of modernism and rootless cosmopolitanism as it continues to manifest in the present age of chaos.

Chernov began by referring to articles appearing in *Pravda* and *Kultura i Zhizn* (“Culture and Life”), which “unmasked an unpatriotic group of theatre critics, of rootless cosmopolitans, who came out against Soviet patriotism, against the great cultural achievements of the Russian people and of other peoples in our country.” Chernov described this coterie as “rootless cosmopolitans” and “propagandists for decadent bourgeois culture,” while they were “defaming “Soviet culture.” The culture of the “West” is described as “emaciated and decayed,” a description with which any Spenglerian would concur. The “Soviet culture” referred to by Chernov is the classic “great culture of the Russian people” and should not be mistaken as a reference to the “communist culture” of the mass and crass propaganda spectacles of Maoist China. By 1949 the highest Soviet authority, whose views Chernov must have been conveying, had perceived that the USSR was the target of broad-ranging cultural subversion: “Harmful and corrupting petty ideas of bourgeois cosmopolitanism were also carried over into the realms of Soviet literature, Soviet film, graphic arts, in the area of

philosophy, history, economic and juridical law and so forth.”<sup>19</sup>

It seems that these “rootless cosmopolitans” were stupid enough to believe that they were in a State that was still pursuing Marxian ideas, despite the clear message that had been given during the Moscow Trials a decade previously,<sup>20</sup> along with the virtual extinction of the “Old Bolsheviks.” One, comrade Subotsky had, as presumably a good Marxist, sought to undermine the concept of nationality and repudiate the idea of the heroic ethos that had become an essential ingredient of Soviet life and doctrine, especially since the “Great Patriotic War.” Hence Chernov wrote damningly of this “rootless cosmopolitan” whose views on culture seem suspiciously Trotskyite:

*The rootless-cosmopolitan Subotsky tried with all his might to exterminate all nationality from Soviet literature. Foaming at the mouth this cosmopolitan propagandist hurls epithets towards those Soviet writers, who want “on the outside, in language, in details of character a positive hero to express his belonging to this or that nationality.”*<sup>21</sup>

Chernov continued: “These cosmopolitan goals of Subotsky are directed against Soviet patriotism and against Party policy, which always has attached great significance to the national qualities and national traditions of peoples.” Chernov then described an “antipatriotic group” promoting “national nihilism” in theater criticism, this concept being “a manifestation of the antipatriotic ideology of bourgeois cosmopolitanism, disrespect for the national pride and the national dignity of peoples.”

Chernov identified “rootless cosmopolitanism” as part of a specific foreign agenda, which was certainly formalized that year – 1949 – with the founding of the Congress for Cultural Freedom:

*In the calculation of our foreign enemies they should divert Soviet literature and culture and Soviet science from the service of the Socialist cause. They try to infect Soviet literature, science, and art with all kinds of putrid influences, to weaken in such a way these powerful linchpins of the political training of the people, the education of the Soviet people in the spirit of active service to the socialist fatherland, to communist construction.*

Chernov warned with prescience of what is today called the “cultural cold war” as a

part of the “ideological weapon” of encirclement:

*The most poisonous ideological weapon of the hostile capitalist encirclement is bourgeois cosmopolitanism. Consisting in part of cringing before foreign things and servility before bourgeois culture, rootless-cosmopolitanism produces special dangers, because cosmopolitanism is the ideological banner of militant international reaction, the ideal weapon in its hands for the struggle against socialism and democracy. Therefore the struggle with the ideology of cosmopolitanism, its total and definitive unmasking and overcoming acquires in the present time particular acuity and urgency.*

At the foundation of this “rootless cosmopolitanism” is the spirit of money, the worship of *Mammon*, and Chernov’s description is again prescient of the present nature of international capital:

*The bourgeoisie preaches the principle that money does not have a homeland, and that, wherever one can “make money,” wherever one may “have a profitable business,” there is his homeland. Here is the villainy that bourgeois cosmopolitanism is called on to conceal, to disguise, “to ennoble” the antipatriotic ideology of the rootless bourgeois-businessman, the huckster and the traveling salesman.*

Chernov cogently stated precisely the agenda of the “cultural cold warriors” that was about to emerge from the USA: “In the era of imperialism the ideology of cosmopolitanism is a weapon in the struggle of imperialist plunderers seeking world domination.” And so it remains, as will be outlined in the concluding paragraphs.

If any doubt remained as to what Chernov meant by nationalism as the bulwark against international capital, and that Stalinism was an explicit repudiation of Marxist notions of internationalism despite Chernov’s necessary ideological allusions to Lenin, Chernov makes it plain that it is precisely the type of nationalism condemned by Marx that was nonetheless the foundation of the Soviet State of the Great Russians:

*National sovereignty, the struggle of oppressed nations for their liberation, the patriotic feelings of freedom-loving peoples, and above all the mighty patriotism of the Soviet people — these still serve as a serious obstacle for*

*predatory imperialistic aspirations, they prevent the imperialists' accomplishing their plans of establishing world-wide domination. Seeking to crush the peoples' will for resistance, the imperialist bourgeoisie and their agents in the camp of Right-wing socialists preach that national sovereignty purportedly became obsolete and a thing past its time, they proclaim the fiction of the very notion of nation and state independence.*<sup>22</sup>

Chernov showed that the USSR and the Soviet bloc considered their own historic mission not as the center for “world revolution,” the ideal of the Trotskyites, but as the bulwark against one-worldism, and condemned the USA as the homeland of internationalism:

*In the guise of cosmopolitan phraseology, in false slogans about the struggle against “nationalist selfishness,” hides the brutal face of the inciters of a new war, trying to bring about the fantastic notion of American rule over the world. From the imperialist circles of the USA today issues propaganda of “world citizenship” and “universal government.”*

### **The Role of Culture Distortion in Czechoslovakia: Charter 77, Plastic People of the Universe**

This globalist *Kulturkampf* was directed with effect against the Soviet bloc. As can be seen from the seminal article by Chernov, the Soviet authorities knew precisely how this was being undertaken, and they remained conscious of it until they were finally overwhelmed. While the intelligentsia, the media, and their wire-pullers voiced their indignation and derision against the philistinism of the Soviet authorities and their regressive character, and, like the Fascist aesthetic, the supposed “banality” of “socialist realism,” an examination of both the American sponsorship of cultural nihilism and the Soviet understanding of this, shows that the Soviets were correct in their suspicions.

The Czechoslovak Soviet authorities were regarded as ridiculous throwbacks for their actually rather lame efforts to protect their youth from the supposedly wonderful freedoms of their counterparts in the West. The Western liberal conception of art –



which is the same as that formulated by Trotsky in his 1938 manifesto – is supposedly apolitical, harmless, a matter of individual taste and choice and other inanities typical of liberalism. However, leading strategists of American global hegemony to the present day are open in their lauding of the USA as both the leading revolutionary<sup>23</sup> state and the role of Culture Distortion in making a nation succumb to the blandishments of what Yockey termed the “ethical syphilis of Hollywood.”<sup>24</sup>

This globalist *Kulturkampf* in its *present-day* form has been described by neocon military strategist Ralph Peters, who worked at the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence, and elsewhere, stating that, “We are entering a new American century, in which we will become still wealthier, culturally more lethal, and increasingly powerful.” Peters outlined a strategy for subverting nations and peoples reticent about entering the “new American century” by way of Hollywood, pop icons, and the dazzle of technology,<sup>25</sup> imposing a type of soft servitude over the world of the type described in Huxley’s *Brave New World*.<sup>26</sup> As Peters and Huxley have perceived, youth in particular are unable to resist the temptation of the “soft” option of ego-driven nihilism and what amounts to “freedom” from responsibility, in comparison to the spartan regimentation of the Soviet bloc.

The “rootless cosmopolitanism” or *Kulturkampf* directed against Czechoslovakia centered around “pop” music. The Charter 77 manifesto was drafted and a movement formed after the imprisonment of fans of the rock band, “Plastic People of the Universe.” It is significant that this was catalyst for what became the “velvet revolution.”

The rot that was eating away within the Warsaw Pact was organizationally focused on groups such as Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia and Solidarity in Poland. These groups were instigated and funded by the network of currency speculator George Soros and an array of subversive, largely US-based and government connected think tanks. When Charter 77 was co-founded by Havel in 1977, its manifesto was published by the Western media by pre-arrangement, in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Corriere della Sera*, *The Times* of London, and *Le Monde*.<sup>27</sup>

Just how significant this *Kulturkampf* in the service of globalization is, and not

merely as a matter of “free expression” and individualistic “personal choice” or “taste,” etc., can be seen in the role the band Plastic People of the Universe (PPU) played in serving as a catalyst for the “Velvet Revolution.” The band is acknowledged as musically “unremarkable” yet its backers ensured that it became politically remarkable. Their origins go back to the Zionist-orchestrated revolt in Czechoslovakia in 1968.<sup>28</sup> The band obtained the assistance of Canadian music teacher Paul Wilson, then resident in Czechoslovakia. They became the “fathers of the Czech musical underground.”<sup>29</sup>

One commentator states that “an entire community of Czech dissidents sprung up around the band.” According to bassist and founding member Milan Hlavsa: “The Plastic People emerged just as dozens and hundreds of other bands — we just loved rock’n’roll and wanted to be famous. We were too young to have a clear artistic ambition. All we did was pure intuition: no political notions or ambitions at all.”<sup>30</sup>

Despite the expressions of naivete by Hlavsa it was precisely the type of youthful nihilism that the CIA and plutocrats had been promoting in the West in the form of the “New Left” as a means of manipulating pseudo-dissent. It followed the formula that had been prescribed by the Congress for Cultural Freedom and which is still utilized.

Although the band’s professional license was revoked by the Government in 1970 they hedged around the regulations, and their music was released in the West. Lyrics for the “non-political” PPU were written by “Czech dissident poet Egon Bondy.”<sup>31</sup> What emerged around PPU was a so-called “Second Culture” or “Other Culture” which played at Music Festivals. There were arrests, but apart from a few, most were released due to “international protests.” Canadian Paul Wilson was expelled. The official indictment accused the bands of “extreme vulgarity with an anti-socialist and an anti-social impact, most of them extolling nihilism, decadence, and clericalism.”<sup>32</sup>

It was in support of this cultural nihilism that Charter 77 emerged as a movement, with Havel as the figurehead, Havel stating that PPU were defending “life’s intrinsic desire to express itself freely, in its own authentic and sovereign

way.”<sup>33</sup> Havel began selecting lyrics for PPU. This supposedly “non-political,” innocent, artistic free expression has since been described by the *New York Times* as being “wild, angry, and incendiary,” and “darkly subversive.” The *Times* enthused that PPU “helped change the future direction of a nation,” stating:

*Václav Havel, the music-loving former Czech president and dissident who championed the band’s cause when several members were imprisoned in 1976 for disturbing the peace, credits it with inspiring Charter 77, the manifesto demanding human rights that laid the groundwork for the 1989 revolution. “The case against a group of young people who simply wanted to live in their own way,” he recalled, “was an attack by the totalitarian system on life itself, on the very essence of human freedom.”*<sup>34</sup>

It was, stated Bilefsky, “the ultimate rock ’n’ roll rebellion.”<sup>35</sup>

Paul Wilson reminisced that it was through music that the puerile ideals of manipulated Western youth were introduced to their Czechoslovak counterparts:

*One of the things that was very marked in the 1960s was that although intellectuals found it very hard to get a hold of books it was very easy for kids to be right on top of things because records were brought in and the music was broadcast over Voice of America and other radio stations. So, there was a very current music scene here, with a lot of knock-off bands and a lot of fans of different groups just the way you’d find them in the West. The other thing, too, is that the Prague music scene, very early, attracted the attention of the western press, because for them the existence of rock bands in a communist country was a sign of change.*<sup>36</sup>

Note that the Voice of America and other US agencies were promoting this movement.

### **Charter 77 and Soros**

It was against this background that the Charter 77 Foundation was established in Stockholm. Soros relates that he had funded this since 1981. The movement “sprung into operation inside Czechoslovakia armed like Pallas Athena,” in 1989. Soros

hastened to the country, and with Charter founder F. Janouch, set up committees in Prague, Brno, and Bratislava, and “I put \$1 million at their disposal.” He then began paying the staffs of the Civic Forum party and the newspaper *Lidove Noviny* by currency speculation. Soros states that together with Prince Kari Schwarzenberg, a supporter of the Charter 77 Foundation, and acting President Marian Calfa, “we all agreed that it was imperative to have Václav Havel elected president by the current rubber-stamp parliament.”<sup>37</sup>

Havel, like Gorbachev, was duly recognized for services rendered. An exhibition in his honor was established at Columbia University in 2006, with support from luminaries such as Soros, George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton,<sup>38</sup> Richard Holbrooke, *et al.*<sup>39</sup>

Havel served on the Board of Directors of Soros’ Drug Policy Alliance, designed to liberalize laws on narcotics, which might be viewed as part of the Soros agenda for undermining the stability of societies that are targeted for globalization, as part of a “liberal” and “progressive” agenda. One is here again reminded of the use of a narcotic, “Soma,” to keep the citizens docile in Huxley’s *Brave New World*; another cause that can moreover be portrayed as “radical” and “anti-Establishment,” while serving the “Establishment.” Among members on the “US Honorary Board” are such “progressives” and “humanitarians” as Former Secretary of State George P. Schultz, and former Reserve Bank Chairman Paul Volcker. The “International Honorary Board” includes, apart from Havel, Richard Branson, Sting, and Ruth Dreifuss.<sup>40</sup>

Havel became a member of the globalist elite, in attendance at their international conclaves for reshaping the post-Soviet world. One of these is the Club of Madrid,[41] one of many globalist think tanks that are designed to arrive at consensus on global governance among the self-chosen rulers. The Club of Madrid is a grant-making foundation set up in 2004 to raise funds for causes that promote the plutocratic version of “democracy.”<sup>42</sup> As one would expect, the omnipresent Soros is among the Club’s “President’s Circle of Donors.”<sup>43</sup> Havel was also an “Honorary Chair” of Freedom Now, a globalist organization with a cross-over of membership with the US globalist think tank, the Council on Foreign Relations.<sup>44</sup>

## **National Endowment for Democracy**

Of particular interest is Havel's association with the Congressionally-funded National Endowment for Democracy (NED), established in 1983 by Act of Congress. Havel is esteemed by the NED, an organization intended to take over the role of the CIA in sponsoring "regime change." The NED was conceived by veteran Trotskyites whose hatred of the USSR turned many — including Trotsky's widow Sedova — into rabid Cold Warriors, and from there into the present clique of neocons.

The NED was the brainchild of Tom Kahn, International Affairs Director of the AFL-CIO. He was a veteran of the Shachtmanite faction of American Trotskyism, which pursued an avidly anti-Soviet line. He had joined the Young Socialist League, the youth wing of Max Shachtman's Independent Socialist League,<sup>45</sup> and the Young People's Socialist League, which he continued to support until his death in 1992. Kahn was impressed by the Shachtmanite opposition to the USSR as the primary obstacle to world socialism.<sup>46</sup> At the outset of the Cold War Max Shachtman set his course, declaring: "In spite of all the differences that still exist among them, the capitalist world under American imperialist leadership and drive is developing an increasingly solid front against Russian imperialism."<sup>47</sup>

In 2004 Havel received the American Friends of the Czech Republic (AFCR) "Civil Society Vision Award," and was on the occasion eulogized by NED's founding President, veteran Social Democrat Carl Gershman. AFRCR appears close to globalism. Its Officers include former US Government functionaries such as Thomas Dine, of Radio Free Europe. The Treasurer and co-Director, Hana Callaghan, is a former adviser to Goldman Sachs.<sup>48</sup> Zbigniew Brzezinski, the rabidly anti-Soviet and Russophobic former US National Security, presently with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, is an AFRCR "adviser," as is fellow Russophobe, former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Another is Michael Novack of the neocon American Enterprise Institute.<sup>49</sup> Havel is listed as a sponsor of AFRCR, along with George W. Bush; former US Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright; James D. Wolfensohn, of the World Bank; Colin L. Powell, former U.S. Secretary of State. On the AFRCR "Wall of Honor," along with Havel are many corporates, including American International Group; Goldman, Sachs & Co.; Citigroup; J.P. Morgan Chase

& Co.; David Rockefeller.<sup>50</sup>

In 2007 Havel received NED's "Democracy Service Medal."<sup>51</sup>

NED, like Soros, had been a major factor in the "velvet revolutions" throughout the Warsaw Pact states. This is termed by the NED as "cross-border work" and had its origins "in a conference that was sponsored by the Polish-Czech-Slovak Solidarity Foundation in Wroclaw in early November of 1989." According to Gershman:

*That conference was the culmination of collaborative meetings and joint activities of Solidarity and the Workers' Defense Committee in Poland and the Charter 77 dissidents in Czechoslovakia that began in October 1981, shortly before the declaration of Martial Law, and continued throughout the 1980s with gatherings on the "green border" of Poland and Czechoslovakia in the Karkonosze Mountains. The purpose of the Wroclaw conference was to support from the base of the new Polish democracy the dissident movement in Czechoslovakia in the hope that a similar breakthrough could be achieved there. Vaclav Havel was later to credit the conference and the cultural festival that accompanied it with helping to inspire the Velvet Revolution that occurred less than two weeks later.<sup>52</sup>*

Gershman alludes to NED's role in sponsoring the subversion that spread from Poland to Czechoslovakia:

*It became clear to me from the many discussions I had with Polish activists in the aftermath of 1989 that they had a very firm and clearly thought through determination to support democracy in Poland's immediate neighborhood and in the larger geopolitical sphere that once constituted the Soviet Bloc. This determination was partly based on moral considerations, since these activists had received support in their struggle from the NED, the AFL-CIO and others in the U.S. and Europe and felt an obligation to extend similar support to those still striving for democracy.<sup>53</sup>*

Gershman states that this "cross border work" continues, and reaches today throughout the former Soviet Union in providing training.

## **The Zionist Factor**

The offensive against the Soviet bloc was multi-faceted, and the fantasies of many “Rightists” to the contrary, the Soviet bloc was not only a bulwark against American hegemony, but also against the international ramifications of Zionism. The USSR became the principal enemy of American hegemonic interests with Stalin’s repudiation of the United National World Government and of the “Baruch Plan.” This repudiation was the catalyst of the Cold War, as noted by Yockey in his previously cited 1952 essay.

However, the message was clear to Zionism with the purging of Zionists and Jews in 1952, that the Soviet bloc, which had armed Israel at an early stage as part of a geopolitical plan for the Middle East, considered Zionism a primary enemy. The battle lines were drawn in Prague. Yockey regarded the trial of Jewish elements from the Communist party hierarchy on charges of “treason” as a symbolic gesture to World Jewry, stating that the event would have “gigantic repercussions” on the world. This was an “unmistakable turning point” as part of an historical process,[54] although I believe that it was part of a process that began as soon as Stalin assumed authority and eliminated the Trotskyites in 1928,<sup>55</sup> and Yockey does state in his 1952 essay that the purge was “neither the beginning nor the end.” Yockey stated that “henceforth, all must perforce reorient their policy in view of the undeniable reshaping of the world situation . . .”<sup>56</sup>

Of course, most did not “reorient their policy,” and Hitlerites such as Arnold Leese, Colin Jordan, and Rockwell, and most old-line anti-Semites maintained the policy that “Communism is Jewish,” no matter what the “historical process,” and they claimed that the supposed Soviet opposition to Zionism was part of a Jewish hoax.<sup>57</sup> Nonetheless, history proceeds anyway . . . The Zionists themselves went frenetic at that point, while the Soviet bloc established Governmental departments to examine Zionism, and some of the best material on the subject came from the Soviet presses. Moscow became what Lendvai termed the “center and exporter of anti-Semitism.”<sup>58</sup>

Hence, in 1968 Zionists were a major factor in the first strike against the Soviet regime in Czechoslovakia. Zionists acknowledge this. The 1967 Arab-Israeli war

“became the catalytic agent” for the disruption of the Czechoslovak regime. The regime had launched an anti-Zionist campaign during the war and was the first Soviet state after the USSR to sever diplomatic relations with Israel in 1967, and the first to send high-level military delegations to Egypt and Syria.<sup>59</sup> As with the revolt led by Havel, the liberal-infected intelligentsia were behind the effort to establish “socialism with a human face.” Letters and articles by disaffected elements protested against the regime’s anti-Zionist campaign, and these were read at the Czechoslovak Writers’ Congress of June 26–29, 1967. Ladislav Mnacko, the country’s most successful playwright, defiantly visited Israel and condemned the Czechoslovak regime for its opposition to Zionism, with allusions to the 1952 purge.

A familiar theme emerged: supposedly “spontaneous” student protests, held on May Day, where youth carried Israeli flags and banners reading “Let Israel Live.” Students and faculty at Prague’s Charles University issued a petition calling for diplomatic relations with Israel to be resumed. This was followed by an appeal in the youth paper, *Student*, which announced the formation of a “Union of the Friends of Israel.” Student riots occurred in Warsaw, Poland, and the Communist party in Yugoslavia also condemned the anti-Zionist position of the Czechoslovaks.<sup>60</sup>

It seems difficult to imagine that all this sudden Zionist agitation arose “spontaneously,” any more than the “velvet revolutions” today occur “spontaneously” despite the same claims. TASS reported, “Israel and international Zionism had watched developments in Czechoslovakia closely since January 1968. . . . Israel as well as Zionist organizations in the United States and the West European countries have allocated huge sums to finance internal opposition in Czechoslovakia.”<sup>61</sup>

The pattern is the same as the actions of Soros, the NED, *et al.* in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere. The attempt by Dubcek to install “socialism with a human face” was aborted by the Soviet military. The reconstructed regime was more avidly opposed to Zionism than ever. The Slovak Minister of the Interior, General Pepich, referred to “thirty-two foreign centers organizing subversive activities against Czechoslovakia,” including Zionist organizations operating from Austria.<sup>62</sup> Lendvai states that the Soviet invasion and its aftermath put an end to hopes by the Jews that the celebration of the Jewish millennium would be held in Prague. Few Jews were left,



and only one rabbi.<sup>63</sup>

The subversion of Czechoslovakia had been long in the making. In 1951, shortly before the “treason trial,” William Oatis, Associated Press correspondent, was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for espionage. In September 1968, *Newsweek* mentioned that he had had extremely wide connections in Czechoslovakia among Zionists. In 1957, a Secretary at the Israeli Embassy, Moshe Katz, was expelled from the country.<sup>64</sup> While Zionist apologists such as Lendvai insist that the pro-Zionist activism in Czechoslovakia that prompted the Russian invasion in 1968 was a spontaneous opposition to anti-Semitism, even he admits broadly to the allegations of the Soviet press and regime. Yuri Ivanov, in possibly one of the best books on World Zionism, writes:

*A leading role in the Zionist activities was to be played by the inconspicuous “Main Documentary Centre” tucked away in Vienna. On the eve of the events in Czechoslovakia the Centre created a “daughter enterprise,” the Committee for Czechoslovak Refugees. It is significant that almost simultaneously a Centre for the Co-ordination of Fighters for the Freedom of Czechoslovakia was set up in Israel (which must have seemed a rather strange move, surely, to the ordinary Israeli, for whom the main thing in 1968 was the Israeli-Arab conflict).[65]*

*The Tel Aviv Zionist newspaper Maariv revealed the nature of the Centre’s activities in a routine report of October 6, 1968.*

*Yesterday the Co-ordination Centre sent a group of young Czech intellectuals resident in Israel to various European countries. The group’s task is to establish contact with Czechoslovak citizens outside the country. They are also to investigate the possibility of establishing contact with various groups inside Czechoslovakia. Part of the group is to go to Prague.*

*“The Co-ordination Centre in Israel,” the paper went on to say, “is becoming a world center of fighters for the freedom of Czechoslovakia. . . . Those who meet material difficulties and have insufficient means for activities in or outside Czechoslovakia are given material support . . . The Co-ordination Centre has*

*prepared a program for organizing the publication of Literarni Listy, a paper which is the voice of democracy in Czechoslovakia. Contributions for this purpose may be sent to: Discount Bank, account No. 450055, Tel Aviv.”*<sup>66</sup>

Zionist apologists do not explain the Soviet documentation on Zionism but broadly refer to Soviet contentions as being without merit and lacking credible evidence. The reader is invited to read the entire Ivanov book, which has been put online by Australian Nationalists.<sup>67</sup>

### **Havel Feted by Zionists**

Hence, given the history of relations between Zionism and the Soviet bloc, and in particular Czechoslovakia, Havel readily endeared himself to the Zionists, as did Gorbachev.<sup>68</sup> As can be seen by comparing the *modus operandi* between the recent and present “velvet revolutions” in the Warsaw Pact states and the machinations of Zionism in Czechoslovakia in 1967–1968, there are many parallels. Eulogies quickly appeared for Havel throughout the world Zionist press.

*Jewish World* reported that the European Jewish Congress, “mourning the death” of Havel, issued a statement that, “Havel was known as a great friend of the Jews and did much to confront anti-Semitism and teach the lessons of the dark chapter of the Holocaust during his two terms in office.”

EJC President Dr. Moshe Kantor, who was a colleague of Havel’s on the European Council on Tolerance and Reconciliation, said that he would be sadly missed. “He was a figure for a new and modern Europe to emulate. President Havel lived through communism and led the Czech Republic to a new era helping move his countrymen through a troubled past to a more open, free and tolerant future. “President Havel was a true and steadfast friend of the Jewish people and will be missed by European Jewry.”<sup>69</sup>

Israeli President Shimon Peres described Havel’s death as “a loss for the entire world.” “Peres said that Havel was both his personal friend and a friend of Israel.”<sup>70</sup> The Jewish newspaper *Forward* relates the occasion that Havel attended the 1990

Salzburg Music Festival where he delivered a speech pointedly aimed at former UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim (albeit without naming him) who was being pilloried for having fought with Germany during World War II, like most Austrians. As related by *Forward*, World Jewry found Havel's moralizing humbuggery as the finest of sentiments, Havel ending with "confession liberates." It is perhaps indicative of how low Havel would stoop to curry favor with those of wealth and power, and one might ask how much moral fortitude it takes to merely join the clamor of a global lynch party? *Forward* comments: "It was a quintessentially Havel-esque performance: deeply moral and slightly mischievous at the same time."<sup>71</sup> Kirchick in the *Forward* article alludes to Czechoslovakia's special role in opposing World Zionism, and Havel's having pledged on New Year's Day 1990 to re-establish diplomatic relations with Israel, which was done the following month. Kirchick continues:

*In April of that year, Havel became the first leader of a free former Soviet bloc country to visit Israel. It was his second foreign trip as president of Czechoslovakia. . . . As president, Havel opposed the sale of weapons to regimes hostile to Israel, like Syria, a controversial move considering that communist-era Czechoslovakia (and Slovakia in particular) was a major exporter of arms to Soviet clients. Today, according to Israeli Ambassador Yaakov Levy, "the Czech Republic is considered by Israel to be its best friend in Europe and the European Union."*

*In the early years of Czechoslovak independence, when many in the West worried about a resurgence of nationalism across the newly independent nations of the Eastern Bloc, Havel spoke out forcefully against anti-Semitism. Because of this, he became an enduring enemy of the nationalist right. In 1993, following the "Velvet Divorce" from Slovakia, a far-right party tried to block Havel's election as president of the Czech Republic with a parliamentary filibuster, accusing Havel of being paid off in "shekels" by outside forces.*

*Havel continued to speak out for Israel and against anti-Semitism well after his retirement, in 2003. Last year, he co-founded the Friends of Israel Initiative, aimed at combating delegitimization of Israel in the realm of international institutions. Earlier this year, he criticized a Czech education ministry official*

*revealed to have ties with far right organizations and Holocaust denial. When the man's defenders said that his views should not have any bearing on his ability to hold a government job, Havel replied that he was "struck . . . that quasi-fascist or quasi-anti-Semitic or similar opinions should be expressed in one's spare time, or during vacation, but not at the office. Yes, that's it exactly: After all, a certain house painter also founded his party in a pub in Munich, not at the workplace."*

The above shows just how far Havel believed in "freedom." Like all such "liberals" his liberality only extended to those who agree with liberal views. Havel was apparently happy to see a Government official purged from his job on the basis that he did not share Havel's sycophantic attitude towards Zionism and plutocracy.

The author of the *Forward* eulogy, Kirchick, is a Fellow with the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, yet another neocon Cold War II think tank founded after 9/11 to help ensure that "the new American century" comes to fruition. Funded by the likes of the Bronfmans, its "leadership council" includes a scabrous crew of neocon identities such as former CIA director James Woolsey, Steve Forbes of Forbes Magazine, Bill Kristol of The Weekly Standard, Sen. Joseph Lieberman, et al.<sup>72</sup> Its advisers include such familiar names as Charles Krauthammer and Richard Perle.<sup>73</sup> A founding Chair was Jeanne Kirkpatrick, veteran post-Trot neocon.<sup>74</sup>

According to FDD "Freedom Scholar," neocon strategist Michael Ledeen,<sup>75</sup> he can't watch a video of Havel's funeral without "tearing up." One might wonder whether he has the same reaction to footage of Palestinian children being shot by Israeli soldiers, of wars of destruction meted out by the USA on the civilians of Serbia, Iraq, and Libya? Tellingly Ledeen brings us back to a major theme of this article, writing of Havel:

*Did I mention that he loved music? Both rock and jazz, because he recognized their subversive power. He loved Frank Zappa, and made him the Czech "cultural ambassador." When Bill Clinton visited Prague in the mid-nineties, Havel took him to a seedy nightclub, where the American president played sax with the locals (and his wife, Dagmar, visited the club on a walking tour of the*

city shortly after Havel's death) . . . Havel loved to write "absurdist" plays and poems. He was a true heir to Kafka. Like Kafka, he had an uncanny grasp of the dynamics and resulting horrors of bureaucracy. And, like Kafka, he was a Zionist.<sup>76</sup>

Havel, as the pundits enthuse, was a lackey of international capital and globalization. By Ledeen's own account, Havel was a seedy Zionist. The neo-Trotskyite-Zionist-plutocratic network has "unfinished business," ensuring that there is no resurgence of a Europe of the spirit, but only an edifice founded on Mammon, a Europe subordinated to NATO, of which Havel was an enthusiast, and the continuation of the policy of surrounding Russia, until that land also succumbs to the same forces that shaped and cultivated Havel.

## Notes:

1 - For a definition of the *Michel* element see Yockey, *Imperium* (Sausalito, Ca.: The Noontide Press, 1969), pp. 405–406.

2 - Ironically, in seeing an inevitable world conflict between the USA and the Soviet bloc, might Yockey not have been underestimating the power of the Culture-distorter to cause the implosion of the Soviets?

3 - F. P. Yockey, *The Enemy of Europe* (Reedy, W.Va.: Liberty Bell Publications, 1981), "The Inner Enemy of Europe," p. 48.

4 - K. R. Bolton, "Mikhail Gorbachev: Globalist Super-Star," *Foreign Policy Journal*, April 3, 2011, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2011/04/03/mikhail-gorbachev-globalist-super-star/>

5 - K. R. Bolton, "Origins of the Cold War and how Stalin Foiled a New World Order," *Foreign Policy Journal*, May 31, 2010, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2010/05/31/origins-of-the-cold-war-how-stalin-foiled-a-new-world-order/all/1>

6 - K. R. Bolton, "America's 'World Revolution': Neo-Trotskyist Foundations of U.S. Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy Journal*, May 3, 2010, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2010/05/03/americas-world-revolution-neo-trotskyist-foundations-of-u-s-foreign-policy/>

7 - R. Peters, "Constant Conflict," *Parameters*, Summer 1997, pp. 4–14. <http://www.usamhi.army.mil/USAWC/Parameters/97summer/peters.htm>

8 - Philip K. Howard, "Vaclav Havel's Critique of the West," *The Atlantic*, December 20, 2011, <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/12/vaclav-havels-critique-of-the-west/250277/>

9 - K. R. Bolton, "Egypt and Tunisia: Plutocracy Won," *Foreign Policy Journal*, June 28, 2011, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2011/06/28/egypt-and-tunisia-plutocracy-won/0/>

10 - F. P. Yockey, *Imperium*, "Cultural Vitalism (B) Culture Pathology."

11 - Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: The New Press, 1999).

Also see the CIA website: "Cultural Cold War: Origins of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, 1949-50"; <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/docs/v38i5a10p.htm#rft1>

12 - F. Chernov, "Bourgeois Cosmopolitanism and its Reactionary Role," *Bolshevik: Theoretical and Political*

*Magazine of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) ACP(B)*, Issue #5, March 15 - 1949, pp. 30–41.

13 - Breton was the founding father of Surrealism. Joining the Communist Party in 1927, he was expelled in 1933 because of his association with Trotsky. Breton wrote of Surrealism in 1952: “It was in the black mirror of anarchism that surrealism first recognised itself.”

14 - In Mexico Trotsky lived with Diego Rivera and then with Diego’s wife, the artist Frida Kahlo, having reached Mexico in 1937, where he had his brain splattered by a Stalinist assassin in 1940.

15 - Leon Trotsky, André Breton, Diego Rivera, *Towards a Free Revolutionary Art*, July 25, 1938.

16 - The Cold War was precipitated by Stalin’s rejection of the United Nations as the basis for a world government. Stalin insisted that authority be vested in the Security Council with members’ power to veto, rather than the American proposal of authority being with the General Assembly where the Soviets would always be outvoted. Secondly, the Soviets perceived that the Baruch Plan for the “internationalization of atomic energy,” would mean US control. K. R. Bolton, “Origins of the Cold War: How Stalin Foiled a New World Order,” *Foreign Policy Journal*, May 31, 2010, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2010/05/31/origins-of-the-cold-war-how-stalin-foild-a-new-world-order/all/1>

Yockey recognized the significance of this rejectionism by Stalin, writing of it in his 1952 essay “What is Behind the Hanging of the Eleven Jews in Prague?”

17 - Trotsky, Breton, Rivera, *Towards a Free Revolutionary Art*.

18 - Chernov, “Bourgeois Cosmopolitanism and its Reactionary Role.”

19 - Chernov, “Bourgeois Cosmopolitanism and its Reactionary Role.”

20 - K. R. Bolton, “The Moscow Trials in Historical Context,” *Foreign Policy Journal*, April 22, 2011, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2011/04/22/the-moscow-trials-in-historical-context/>

21 - Bolton, “The Moscow Trials in Historical Context.”

22 - Chernov, “Bourgeois Cosmopolitanism and its Reactionary Role.”

23 - In a nihilistic sense, insofar as America does not represent any high Idea, but was founded as an anti-Traditional revolt against Europe and on the basis of the political and ideological excrescences of Europe at its most decadent.

24 - F. P. Yockey, “Program of the European Liberation Front,” London, 1949, Point 5.

25 - Ralph Peters, “Constant Conflict,” *Parameters*, Summer 1997, 4–14. <http://www.usamhi.army.mil/USAWC/Parameters/97summer/peters.htm>

26 - K. R. Bolton, *Revolution from Above: Manufacturing “Dissent” in the New World Order* (London: Arktos, 2011), pp. 48–54.

27 - “Charter 77 After 30 Years,” The National Security Archive, The George Washington University, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB213/index.htm>

28 - <http://www.progarchives.com/artist.asp?id=2800>

29 - <http://www.progarchives.com/artist.asp?id=2800>

30 - R. Unterberger, “The Plastic People of the Universe,” <http://www.richieunterberger.com/ppu.html>

31 - Unterberger, “The Plastic People of the Universe.”

32 - Unterberger, “The Plastic People of the Universe.”

33 - Unterberger, “The Plastic People of the Universe.”

34 - D. Bilefsky, “Czech’s Velvet Revolution Paved by Plastic People,” *New York Times*, November 15, 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/16/world/europe/16iht-czech.html>

35 - Bilefsky, “Czech’s Velvet Revolution Paved by Plastic People.”

36 - J. Velinger, “The Impact of the Plastic People on a Communist Universe,” *Radio Praha*, May 31, 2005, <http://www.radio.cz/en/section/one-on-one/paul-wilson-the-impact-of-the-plastic-people-on-a-communist->

universe

- 37 - G. Soros, *Underwriting Democracy: Encouraging Free Enterprise & Democratic Reform Among the Soviets & in Eastern Europe* (Jackson, Tenn.: Public Affairs, 2004), pp. 26–27.
- 38 - “Havel at Columbia,” <http://havel.columbia.edu/about.html>
- 39 - <http://havel.columbia.edu/hostcommittee.html>
- 40 - Drug Policy Alliance, <http://www.drugpolicy.org/about-us/leadership/board-directors> Dreifuss is a Swiss Social Democrat.
- 41 - Club of Madrid, Members, [http://www.clubmadrid.org/en/estructura/members\\_1/letra:h](http://www.clubmadrid.org/en/estructura/members_1/letra:h)
- 42 - <http://www.clubmadrid.org/en/about>
- 43 - “Partners & collaborators,” [http://www.clubmadrid.org/en/partners\\_collaborators](http://www.clubmadrid.org/en/partners_collaborators)
- 44 - Freedom Now, Honorary co-Chairs, [http://www.clubmadrid.org/en/partners\\_collaborators](http://www.clubmadrid.org/en/partners_collaborators)
- 45 - Rachele Horowitz, “Tom Kahn and the Fight for Democracy: A Political Portrait and Personal Recollection,” *Dissent Magazine*, pp. 238–39. [http://www.dissentmagazine.org/democratiya/article\\_pdfs/d11Horowitz.pdf](http://www.dissentmagazine.org/democratiya/article_pdfs/d11Horowitz.pdf)
- 46 - Horowitz, “Tom Kahn and the Fight for Democracy,” p. 211.
- 47 - Max Shachtman, “Stalinism on the Decline: Tito versus Stalin, The Beginning of the End of the Russian Empire,” *New International*, vol. 14, no.6, August 1948, 172–78.
- 48 - AFCR, “Officers,” <http://www.afocr.org/afocr-officers.html>
- 49 - AFCR “Advisers,” <http://www.afocr.org/afocr-advisors.html>
- 50 - <http://www.afocr.org/afocr-wall-of-honor.html>
- 51 - <http://www.ned.org/about/board/meet-our-president/archived-remarks-and-presentations/061704>
- 52 - C. Gershman, “Giving Solidarity to the World,” symposium on Solidarity and the Future of Democratization, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., May 19, 2009, <http://www.ned.org/about/board/meet-our-president/archived-remarks-and-presentations/051909>
- 53 - Gershman, “Giving Solidarity to the World.”
- 54 - F. P. Yockey, “What is behind the Hanging of Eleven Jews in Prague?”
- 55 - K. R. Bolton, “The Moscow Trials in Historical Context.” The canard that Stalin’s birth-name Dzhugashvili means “son of a Jew” in Georgian seems to be as etymologically sound as the British Israelite/Identity claim that Saxon means “Isaac’s Sons,” or the claim that Judah P. Benjamin was a “Rothschild relative.” A. Vaksberg, *Stalin Against the Jews* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994).
- 56 - F. P. Yockey, “What is behind the Hanging of Eleven Jews in Prague?”
- 57 - King Faisal of Saudi Arabia was a proponent of this theory, for example.
- 58 - P. Lendvai, *Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe* (London: Macdonald & Co., 1971), p. 10.
- 59 - Lendvai, *Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe*, pp. 260–61.
- 60 - Lendvai, *Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe*, pp. 260–69.
- 61 - Lendvai, *Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe*, pp. 290–91.
- 62 - Lendvai, *Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe*, p. 294.
- 63 - Lendvai, *Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe*, p. 296.
- 64 - Y. Ivanov, *Caution, Zionism: Essays on the Ideology, Organization, and Practice of Zionism* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970), chapter 5, <http://home.alphalink.com.au/~radnat/zionism/index.html>
- 65 - Ivanov, *Caution, Zionism*, chapter 5.
- 66 - Ivanov, *Caution, Zionism*, chapter 5.
- 67 - Ivanov, *Caution, Zionism*, chapter 5.
- 68 - K. R. Bolton, “Mikhail Gorbachev: Globalist Superstar.”
- 69 - “EJC mourns death of Havel,” *Jewish World*, [ynetnews.com](http://ynetnews.com), December 19, 2011,

<http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4163744,00.html>

70 - N. Mozgovaya, "Israel President: Vaclav Havel's death loss for entire world," *Haaretz.com*, December 18, 2011, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/international/israel-president-vaclav-havel-s-death-a-loss-for-the-entire-world-1.402157>

71 - J. Kirchick, "Havel was friend of Israel and Jews: Czech Playwright-Turned-President Led Region to Right Path," *The Jewish Daily Forward*, December 20, 2011, <http://www.forward.com/articles/148247/>

72 - FDD Team, Leadership Council, <http://www.defenddemocracy.org/about-fdd/team-overview/category/leadership-council>

73 - FDD Team, Board of Advisers, <http://www.defenddemocracy.org/about-fdd/team-overview/category/board-of-advisors>

74 - <http://www.defenddemocracy.org/about-fdd/team-overview/dr-jeane-j-kirkpatrick/>

75 - Former consultant to the National Security Department, Defense Dept., and State Dept., media pundit.

76 - M. Ledeen, "Havel, Kafka and Us," FDD, December 21, 2011, <http://www.defenddemocracy.org/media-hit/havel-kafka-and-us/>